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office this regent toke vpon hir hauing the ſame confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about ſix yeares, & died in the caſtle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and three ſcore, being vpon the point of the eightéenth yeare of quéene Marie, whoſe bodie (as hath Leſleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: Fuit autem corpus in Gallia poſtea tranſuectum, primùm ad monaſteriú Feckamenſe, quod in Normania eſt, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui ſoror ipſius piè tunc præerat, delatú, honorificè condebatur.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 569.

James Steward baſtard ſonne to king James the fift king of Scots, and baſe brother to Marie quéene of Scots now liuing and impriſoned, being prior of ſaint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three-ſcore and two, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the ſame quéene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About fiue yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conſpired againſt quéene Marie, toke hir, committed hir to priſon, depoſed hir, and vpon the ſame (on the ninetéenth daie of Julie in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore & ſeuen, being the fiue & twentith yeare of the reigne of that quéene) aduanced hir ſonne Charles James Steward (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the ſixt: this James earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yong king James the ſixt, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement aboliſh the popes-authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of three yeares after. For in the time of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the ſixt, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was ſhot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, maried Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marſhall.

James Steward.

Matthew earle of Leneux being ſent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the ſixt, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in Auguſt following, there was another conuention at Edenburgh, where by the conſent of the three eſtates of the realme, the ſaid earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntleie toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quéene of Scots remaining then vnder cuſtodie in England, which Huntleie in hir name ſummoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, whereunto the earle of Leneux was ſummoned: to incounter which, the earle of Leneux cauſed a parlement likewiſe to be ſummoned in the kings name, at the ſame place, whereunto the earle of Huntleie was warned at the ſame date. But the earle of Huntleie comming no nárer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Leneux and the nobilitie, to purſue him: whereupon inſued great warres betwéene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, ſome taking part with the depoſed quéene Marie, and other with the yong king in poſſeſſion. During which turmoiles & warres, this earle of Leneux hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a piſtoll by capteine Cawder, whereof he ſhortlie after died, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and eleuen, being about the fourth yeare of James the ſixt.

Matthew earle of Leneux.

John Areſkin earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Leneux, as maie appeare by that which I haue before ſet downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome ſucceéded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before ſpoken, and of whome we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to ſpeake of his beheading in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and one, falling about the fourtéenth yeare of Lewes the ſixt, after that the ſaid earle had continued that office about fiue yeares. For being aduanced to that place, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three-ſcore and twelue, he continued in the ſame, vntill he ſurrendered it, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ſeuentéene, as is before touched. Thus ſetting end to the diſcourſe of the protectors of Scotland, let vs deſcend to other matters which haue ſucceéded.

John Areſkin earle of Mar.

Earle Morton regent of Scotland.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ſeuentéene, we ſaie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentſhip, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancellorſhip, was trecherouſlie ſlaine by his enimies at Sterling, with a ſhot of purpoſe diſcharged againſt him, as he was comming out of Sterling caſtell, & going to his owne lodging from the councell or parlement. Whereby it ſéemeth that this murthering by ſudden ſhot began now to be a common thing: for there were three great perſons in ſhort time diſpatched after that ſort, which were the earles of Murreie and Leneux regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inueſted with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing ſo good occaſion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treate of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor diſagréeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, ſomewhat by waie of digreſſion, to diſcourſe of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumſtances belonging thereto.

The lord Glames chancellor ſlaine.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

This officer the chancellor had his firſt originall in Scotland by Malcolme the ſecond of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie neceſſarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did alſo firſt ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, conſtable, marſhall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Leſleus in his hiſtorie of Scotland in theſe words: Fœliciter rempublicam haud paucos annos adminiſtrauit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illuſtris: intérque cætera municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas noſtrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis ſeruarunt, nihil pene immutatas, regiorum magiſtratuum iudicúmque, quos licet mundiús, magiſque Latinè vocare poſſunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conſtabilem, mariſcallum, camerarium, iuſticiariúmque vocitant, & qui a ſecretis, a theſauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo eſſent: cunctorúmque miniſtrorum aulæ annua ſalaria, vt noſtris diebus penduntur, quantúmque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cæteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribúſque ſoluendum foret, inſtituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confeſſor ſéemeth alſo to me re-

The originall of the office of the chancellor.

Leſleus lib. 5. pag. 204.

uerthlie to proue, that the ſame officer was in England before the time of the ſame king, ſith it appeareth, that the Scots for the moſt part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and cuſtomes from vs, as will be I doubt not ſufficientlie proued, although it maie be that ſome will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I dw not ſuppoſe, becauſe the Romans had but little dwings amongeſt them, for as they neuer vſed anie ſuch officer in this land whileſt they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) ſo it may be, (becauſe they will not ſeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will ſuppoſe that they had the firſt ground of this officer from the Frenchs, with whome they haue alwaies bene in league euer ſince the time of their king Achaius the firſt, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred foureſcore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing that to be as it will (ſith it is no diſhonor for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall cuſtomes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer ſo ordeined by Malcolme amongſt the Scots, was ſuch an officer as was vſed amongſt the Romans, touching the cauſe of whoſe name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called Cancellarius à cancellando, cuius officium eſt reſcripta, vel reſponſa imperatoris, & mandata inſpicere, mala ſcripta cācellare, & bene ſcripta cũſignaculo ſuo ſignare, & ſigillũ eis imprimere. Of which word chancellor is riſen this name, Archicācellarius quaſi princeps cancellariæ, as is noted by Azo in ſumma.

This officer taking his name of Cancellando, (that is of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings, did vſe to annull all writings, as we at this daie dw obſerue in our chancerie, by drawing certeine ſtrokes or lines made croſſe one vpon an other ouer the writing, in forme of wodden latices, in Latine termed Cancelli, which are either ſuch latices as we at this daie, and of antiquitie vſed in windowes, or ſuch as were made to compaſſe about the iudgement ſeats. For thus ſaid the ciuilians touching that; Cancelli ſunt ligna inter ſe modicis interuallis in traſuerſum connexa, quibus tribunalia, ſcænæ & feneſtræ muniri conſueuerunt. And Cicero ſaith in his firſt booke *De oratore*; Forenſibus cancellis circumſcriptam ſententiam, &c. From which word Cancelli, is deduced this word Cancellare. For thus dw ſome write thereof: Cancello verbum videtur eſſe deductum à Cancellis, in quibus vt tranſuerſaria nectuntur ligna, ita cum ſcripta expungenda ſunt, tranſuerſo calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod propriè illinere, ſeu allinere eſt, vel litura: wherevpon thus writeth Q. F. Horace the liricall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie:

——— incomptis allinet atrum
Tranſuerſo calamo ſignum, &c:

as who ſhould ſaie, He dwth cancell and blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer an other like latices, the ciuilians fullie agreeing to the ſame and ſaieng, that Cancellare eſt ſcripta tranſductis lineis inſtar cancellorum delere. Beſide which this word Cancellarius is alſo by ſome (whoſe curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken ſcarſelie for good Latine, and therefore ſaie that this officer more purelie ought to be called Scribarum præfectus, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his hiſtorie of England, ſetteth downe theſe words: Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minùs Latina longo vſu non item ratione iam primùm in conſuetudinẽ quotidiani ſermonis veniſſe, ſic vt velimus nolimus ea interdum vſurpare cogamur, cuiuſmodi ſunt dux & comes, olim officij tantùm at ſummæ nuc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro ſcribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto: and Leland calleth the chancellor Archigrammateus. Beſides which there be ſome in our age, who ſearching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancellor to be deriued from the Saxon toung, as it were a cleare or ſhining perſon or one excelling other men: compounding that word of theſe two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere dwth after the Saxon ſignifie in Latine Præeminens, or clarus, and that part chance muſt note to vs a man. But how aptlie and trulie the ſame may ſtand to make the etymon of chancellor, I leaue to others to conſider. This thus ſaid for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whoſe ſucceſſion we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this ſort.

In the moneth of Julie there was a parlement of the nobilitie aſſembled, where Robert Steward great vncle to the king was created erle of Leneux, being girded with the ſword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, ſonne of Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, wherof we haue before intreated. But ouerpaſſing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scotiſh ſoile, though not of the Scotiſh perſons, and remember to ſpeake ſomewhat of the dwings of Steward, corronell of the Scots, which ſerued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaued himſelfe right valiantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hotteſt in thoſe low countries betweene the ſtates and king Philip (at what time the archduke Matthias was generall for the noblemen or ſtates, and John duke of Auſtria, the baſe ſonne of Charles the fift, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of thoſe parts for the ſame king Philip) the ſtates gathered a puiſſant armie of all ſuch nations as were there in ſeruice with them (as Engliſh, Scots, Germans, and their owne countriemen) vnder the conduct of the countie Boſſue, with whome duke John of Auſtria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to ſet end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countrie: it happened that on the firſt of Auguſt, in this yeare that the armie of the duke of Auſtria comming to viſit the armie of the ſtates (which laie then incamped in the field called Remenant) that in the armie (as I ſaid before compoſed of diuerſe nations both footmen and horſſemen) there was amongſt others one companie of Scots vnder the leading of Steward their capteine and countriman, who being with his companie called forth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the ſtreict on the left ſide, when the Engliſh ſhould keepe the like ſtreict on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the ſtates, they were intercepted by the Engliſh, who interteined them with ſuch ſufficient ſkirmiſh, as that they forced Don Johns men to giue ground and retire towards the ſtrength of the Scots (which the ſame Steward had in charge) and that ſo farre, that in the ſame action the Engliſh brought themſelues betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who miſtaking the companie, and ſuppoſing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they laie ſuch a volee of ſhot, that it made them to loſe more ground than euer the enimie could haue donne.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and

1578 Robert Steward created earle of Leneux.

The tragicall hiſtorie of the ciuill warres of the low countries. *li.* 4. *fo.* 31. Churchyards choice.

Gl. in l. ſi quis, libertatem, de pet. hæred.

and being now fighting vpon the retreict came forward with great force and furie, hauing a new supplie of numbers of freſh ſouldiors to ſuccour them. All which notwithſtanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the ſtreict which they had in charge, vntill ſuch time as certeine Engliſhmen (that were left within the cloſes to diſcouer the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entred the ſtreict vpon the Scots. Which thing was indeed verie true, for euen at that inſtant the fire was ſeene to ariſe in the village, and the whole forces which were to enter betweene the water and the Engliſh companies, retired themſelues to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight vpon the retreict, the lieutenant of the Engliſh was likewiſe driuen to the ſame: which if he had not done, the enimie had cut betwixt him, his companie and the trenches. This being well perceiued by captein Liggins, he preſentlie aduanced himſelfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the ſuccour of the lieutenant, to preuent the enimie and to ioine with the forces of the ſame lieutenant, all who being gotten togither do retire to the church, and perceiuing that the enimie came on appaſe, the lieutenant of the Engliſh leaueth captein Liggins to a reaſonable ground of ſtrength to interteine them, when he himſelfe rideth backe to fetch reläeſe for captein Liggins his retreict.

The enimie ſeeing the ſtreict of the waie, and that their other forces preuailed more on the other ſtreict forſooke anie longer to attempt the ſame againſt the Engliſh, and retired themſelues all they might on the ſide ouer the cloſes, to ioine them with their other forces, which had euen now paſſed the ſtreict which the Scots had in gard, who all togither made haſt vp to the hill, and ſo to the burnt houſe, then fired by the Scots, at that inſtant forſaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obteined victorie againſt the Spaniards, by valiant reſiſting & purſuing the force of the enimie. At what time alſo maiſter Morris coronell of the Engliſh and the forenamed maiſter Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obteined by the men of theſe two nations of England and Scotland. But leauing the Scots reioiſing of this good ſucceſſe in thoſe low countries, we will call backe our pen and reſalute the countrie of Scotland, at this time in ſome ciuill diſſentions amongſt themſelues, whereof theſe manie yeares, ſince the gouernment of this yoong king, it ſeemeth to me that it hath not long beene free.

In the forenamed moneth of Auguſt, there grew ſecret diſſention amongſt the nobilitie at home, which ſtill continued & fed the former vnkindlie fire of contention betweene the two factions of the yoong king, and the impriſoned quæne: by occaſion wherof the realme was diuided into three parts, ſome following the king, ſome ſtanding one the quænes ſide, & ſome aſſiſting neither of both, all which by ſome were termed by three ſeuerall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, conſiſting of ſuch as remained indifferent on both ſides, neither ſeeking to vphold the one or to ſuppreſſe the other. Amongſt which on the kings part were manie earls, lords and biſhops, as Dowglaſſe erle Morton admerall of Scotland, Dowglaſſe erle of Angus, Dowglaſſe earle of Buquhane, Areſkin earle of Marre, Steward earle Bothwell, Cuningham earle of Glenkarne, Leſleh earle of Wrothouſe, Montgomerie earle of Eglington, Steward earle of Dikenie, and Steward earle of Leneux, all which were in houſe with the king, and attendant vpon his perſon, with whome were confederat the lords Boid, Ochiltree Ruthwen treaſuror of Scotland, Harris, Maxwell, Lindſeie, Semple, and others.

Beſides theſe, biſhops and abbats, that is to ſaie, Patrike Adamſon archbiſhop of S. Andrews, Cunningham (kinſman to the erle of Glencarne) biſhop of Aberden, Boid (of bloud and kindered with the lord Boid) archbiſhop of Glaſcow, Dowglaſſe biſhop of Dunnaw, Herburne biſhop of Roſſe, Robert Petcarne abbat of Dunfermeling, chéefe ſecretarie of Scotland, Coluington abbat of Cowlros, Richard Bedwell abbat of Holierood houſe, one of the councell, the abbats of Cambuſkinnell and of Driburgh, with James Maghill maiſter of the rolles, or clearke of the regiſter, and one of the councell. Theſe noble perſons thus aiding the king, the partie of the male-contents was ſupported by manie other perſons of the nobilitie: as Camberle erle of Argile, Steward earle of Atholl, Sincleare earle of Cathneſſe, Gordon earle of Southerland, Gordon earle Huntleie (who was verie yoong, of ſix yeares of age, and had his power with theſe earles) the earles of Mentros and Menteth (being both ſurnamed Grahams) and Kenedie earle of Caſſelles a child of three yeares old, whoſe ſtrength was alſo ioined to theſe male-contents. Beſides which earles there was to aſſiſt thoſe male-contents. Crawford ſhiriffe of Aire, Kenedie lord of Kurgenie, Kenedie lord of Blachekichen, the lords of Maxewell, Locheuar, Hume (being but ſix yeares old) which Hume lord of Colden Knolles (warden of the middle marches of Scotland) Alexander Hume of Maundſtone, Care (lord Sefford, and the lord Lindſeie, with the Hebburns, which wholie depended vpon the lord Lindſeie; vnto whom in like ſort, as partaking of the ſame malecontentment, were added Alexander Areſkine, of Mar, vncle to the earle of Mar, & captein of the caſtell of Edenburough, and Cunningham the lard of Drumwaſſell, captein of Dunbritaine, with manie other perſons of honour and ſtrength.

The heads of theſe two factions thus ſet downe, it reſteth now to declare who were the neutrals, who being but few, and as I can yet learne onelie three in number, ſo they were of no great power; as well for that the one of them being Keth the earle Marſhall, was a tickelie man; as for that the Hamiltons were not beloued of the king, nor greatlie eſteemed of the other factions: and the third, the Leuingſtons familie, wanting their head the lord of that houſe, being then in France, wherby they could not be of great power, which part ſoeuer they ſhould ſupport. The order of which diuiſion and proceeding in Scotland, comming afterward to the knowledge of the quæne of England, who had ſent Robert Bowes a man of good ſeruice hir ambaſſador into Scotland, ſhe did alſo (tendering the yoong king of Scots, and as a carefull neighbour and louing godmother, fearing leaſt that he might receiue iniurie, by the aſſemblie of theſe malecontents, whoſe power grew to be ſomewhat ſtrong) direct hir commiſſion to the earle of Huntington, preſident of the north in England, and to the lord Hunſdon captein of Berwike, they both being of bloud and aliance vnto hir maieſtie. In which commiſſion, ſhe willed them to leuie an armie of footemen and horſſemen to be imploied in thoſe warres. All which theſe Engliſh lords ſhould haue in a redineſſe, againſt ſuch time as the ſaid maiſter Bowes (who, as ye haue heard before, had beene ſent into Scotland to pacifie theſe troubles, and to eſtabliſh a quiet peace and loue amongſt them) ſhould giue knowledge for their entrance into the Scotiſh dominions (vnder the conduct of the ſame lord of Hunſdon) againſt the power of thoſe male-contents. Whereupon the

lord

lord Hunſdon (hauing a time appointed him accordinglie, and being in order ſet, well furniſhed with men and munition) ſetting forward to execute the force of his commiſſion, threatned ſpoile to manie places of Scotland belonging to the borderers, and burnt the houſes of the lords there inhabiting: if they ioined themſelues with the male-contents, as they had fullie deliberated for to do. By reaſon whereof, they leauing their former determination, and for that preſent refuſing to ioine againſt the king: theſe male-contents (doubting the ſequell of their attempt, and how they might performe that which they had taken in hand, being now in the field and in armes (againſt the other faction) began to hearken vnto a pacification, and were after reconciled to the king and the other lords, about the two and twentith of the ſame moneth of Auguſt, as I haue bene informed. Which matter being more largelie to be diſcuſſed, becauſe it is knowne by the name of the battell of Faukirke, I muſt for this time paſſe ouer, determining hereafter more liberallie to intreat thereof. Wherefore, falling into other matter, we laie; that much about this time, Iohn Leſle biſhop of Roſſe (who had ſome yeares before been ſome certeine time impriſoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the impriſoned queene of Scotland, where he labored to procure ſuch aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the ſecond of that name now emperor. Which Leſle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, paſſed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was ſtaied at Phaltzburgh, otherwiſe called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Veldtzens; in which citie, his cofers and other thinges were rifled and ſearched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongſt others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters and other inſtructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithſtanding (though they gaue the ſaid George occaſion to miſtruſt Leſle, as an enimie to his religion) this biſhop of Roſſe was afterward diſmiſſed, becauſe he was furniſhed with the emperors paſport, or ſafe conduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bauier for his better diſcharge, and to manifeſt to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the preſent eſtate of theſe troubleſome times and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie diſmiſſe the ſaid Leſle, bearing all his charges, reſtoring all his goods, and conueieng him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horſſemen, after that he had cauſed the ſaid biſhop of Roſſe to leaue a teſtimoniall writing in the Latine tong vnder his owne hand, to ſhew that no iniurie was done to the ſaid biſhop, in that his deteining and ſearch for thoſe cauſes; & that the biſhop ſhould not anie waie ſeeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the ſame) I haue faithfullie and *Verbatim* ſet downe in this ſort.

The teſtimoniall left by the biſhop of *Roſſe with the duke of* Bauier.

NOs Iohannes Leſleus, Dei gratia, epiſcopus Roſſenſis, & adminiſtrator Morauiæ, &c: teſtamur hoc ſcripto palàm, & apud omnes hos inſpecturos, aut lecturos. Cùm in hiſce periculoſis & motuum pleniſſimis temporibus omnibus ſacri imperij principibus & magiſtratibus proſpectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandam pacem publicam, aut noxias diſſentiones ſub quouis pretextu tractari, ſtrui aut ſeminari inter ordines & membra imperij ſinant aut patiantur; præcipuè cùm nunc exempla in vicinis locis extāt, quàm facilè aliquid ſtrui & ſeminari poſſit. Ita factum eſt, vt illuſtriſſimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariæ, comēſque Veldentziæ, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in abſentia, per ſuos capitaneos & miniſtros, in ſuo territorio Lutzelſteinenſi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum noſtris retineri mandauerit. Quam cauſam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exequeretur ſignificauit. Poſt factam retentionem, celſitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, proteſtatione ibi aliqua habita, feſtinanter huc appulit: præſertim etiam ſimul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiæ inſtructionis & memoralium eius celſitudini miſſæ fuerāt, vnde aucta ſuſpicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cùm mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hiſce verbis facta fuerit, nimirùm, vt extirpata hæreſi, religio reuiuiſcat, & ſimul cum procuratione Scoticorum monaſteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot poſſident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præſertim cùm plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & epiſcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus à papa ſalutauerimus, & inuiſerimus. Ad quam ſuſpicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celſitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati ſumus celſitudini eius ſatisfacere. Etſi tamen aliquid ſcrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tàm in religione, quàm politicis perturbare, & ſuſpicionem principibus Auguſtanæ confeſſionis mouere, non minùs quàm ipſius celſitudini poſſent. Nihilominùs celſitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quàm præcedentibus ſuſpicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutiùs nos detenturos concluſit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriā in cauſa religionis per viam armorū, aut ſtructione diſſentionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, ſicut & alibi, ſed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere poſſimus, liberam relinquere conſcientiam. Secundò, quod polliceamur more ſolito, pro noſtro, noſtrarúmque familiarum nomine, neq; per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari poſſit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare conſideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ paſſim (potiſſimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, ſacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illuſtriſſima eius celſitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctiſſimæ inter ordines cōiunctionis, hanc circūſpectionem & detentionem noſtram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accepimus: cùm præſertim eius celſitudo, non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, ſed abſque omni rerum noſtrarum iactura, alijſque diſpendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè ſplendido equitum comitatu in maiorem ſecuritatem deduci iuſſerit. Idcircò ſanctè pollicemur, (decreto Conſtantienſis concilij, quo diuerſis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam ſeruandam haud eſſe, ſancitum fuiſſe dicitur, hoc ipſo ſcripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos noſtro, noſtrarúmque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celſitudinem, aut eius famulos aut ſubditos

&

Sure I am the king ſhall loſe a good ſeruant this daie, and ſo he exhorted the people, ſaieng: I teſtifie before God, that as I profeſſe the goſpell which this daie is taught & profeſſed in Scotland: ſo alſo now I willinglie lay downe my life in the perſecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according thereunto as I ought, yet I am aſſured that God will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in God which are profeſſors of the goſpell, that you continue the true profeſſing and maintening thereof to your power, as I would haue done God willing with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had liued: which if you do, I aſſure you God ſhall be mercifull vnto you; but if you do it not, be ſure the vengeance of God ſhall fall vpon you, both in bodie and ſoule. As concerning all the reſt of the words which he had vpon the ſcaffold, he ſpake them in effect and more amplie before. When all theſe ſpeaches were ended vpon the ſcaffold, a comfortable praier was made by maiſter John Lawſon, during the time of which praier, the erle Morton laie groueling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with ſighes and ſobs, being euident ſignes of the inward and mightie working of the ſpirit of God, as all they which were preſent, and knew what it was to be earneſtlie moued in praier, might eaſilie perceiue.

The praier being ended, and ſundrie comming to him before his death, he did moſt louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he paſſed both conſtantlie, patientlie, and humblie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maiſter Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the erle continuallie cried vntill his head was ſtriken off, Lord Jeſus receiue my ſpirit, Lord Jeſus receiue my ſpirit: which words he ſpake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now whatſoeuer he had béene before, he conſtantlie died the ſeruant of God. And howſoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, ſo he died proudlie; the charitable ſeruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: inſomuch that we are aſſured, that his ſoule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praie God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confeſſion & death of the earle Morton, penned by ſuch of the preſbyterie as were preſent thereat, and fauored him in all reſpects, ſéeking to clére him of anie euill impoſed againſt him. In ſetting downe whereof, I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie in manner of penning it; but onelie in ſome few places of ſome part of the matter, the which I haue purpoſelie omitted, becauſe it conteined the affaires of ſtate, and the accuſation of diuerſe perſons now liuing; both which are neither néedfull to be knowne to the common people, nor méete to be opened to others, thereby to bring thoſe in queſtion vpon a report, whereof there is no further hold to be had, than there was hate or loue betwéene the accuſer & the accuſed. Wherefore leauing the ſame diſcourſe of the death of the earle (which fell vpon the ſecond daie of June in the towne of Edenburgh) in that ſort, penned by thoſe of the preſbyterie, to ſtand vpon the ſupport of it ſelfe, I will deſcend to other matters.

The time when earle Morton was beheaded.

This earle Morton maried the old earle of Mortons yongeſt daughter, who being halfe an idiot brought forth no iſſue to this earle: but he notwithſtanding, leaſt he ſhould die iſſuleſſe, left behind him two ſonnes, vnlawfullie begotten. Shortlie after the death of which erle, Thomas Randulph eſquier being ſent ambaſſador from the quéene of England, entered into Scotland, whom (being honorablie interteined) I will leaue there to diſpatch the effect of his commiſſion, and fall to that which hapned.

Thomas Randulph ſent ambaſſador into Scotland.

After the death of this earle Morton, in the winter following there was a parlement called, at what time manie noble men were created, as Ruthwen was made earle of Gowrie, Robert Steward baſe brother to Marie the impriſoned queene of Scots was aduanced to the honor and title of the earldome of Orkeneie, the lord Maxwell was made erle Morton, and James Steward was created earle of Arrane, the manner of obteining which earldome of Arrane by the ſaid Steward being extraordinarilie procured, ſeemeth to me not to be forgotten: and therefore I will ſet it downe as I haue had intelligence thereof, in this ſort following. The old earle of Arrane (the duke of Chatelerraults eldeſt ſonne and brother to John Hamilton the lord of Arbroth) being lunatike, and firſt committed to the cuſtodie of his ſaid brother the lord of Arbroth, was after taken from that his tutor, and ſet ouer to James Steward to haue the ouerſight of his perſon, and the ordering of his liuing. Which James Steward being by nature and experience ſubtill witted, and by authoritie and the kings fauor in great credit; found meanes partlie by policie, partlie by perſuaſion, and partlie by flatterie, to wring from the lunatike earle of Arrane, a grant and departure of all his right, title, and honor, to the lands & earledome of Arrane. Which when he had obteined of the ſaid lunatike earle (who knew not what he did) he forthwith came to the ſaid parlement or councell houſe, or place of the aſſemblie of the nobilitie, bringing with him the grant of the earle of Arrane: wherby he had infeffed this Steward with the lands and countrie of Arrane. Which matter being fullie vnderſtood there by the nobilitie, ſuppoſing vpright dealing to haue furthered the purchaſe of this earldome by Steward, did then by the decrée and the kings conſent, eſtabliſh, and alſo inueſt him in the lands, and with the title of the earledome of Arrane; which he obteined by ſuch meanes as are before touched. Not vnlike vnto the courſe which Mordacke (made gouernor of Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix) ſometime vſed for the obteining of the earldome of Roſſe, from the daughter and heire of Alexander Leſle, intituled to the ſame earldome: the maner whereof I will here ſet downe *Verbatim*, taken out of Leſleus hiſtorie of Scotland, which deliuered the ſame in theſe words.

James Steward created earle of Arrane.

Breui poſt tempore Donaldus inſularis Roſſiæ comitatum vendicans, Hebridianos ad ſuas partes allicit: quo autem iure id fecerit hinc facilimè liquebit. Walterus Leſleus vir nobiliſſimus, poſt inſignem operam Romanis imperatoribus in extremo bello nauatam, in Scotiam rediens, filiam Gulielmi comitis Roſſenſis (in prælia apud Holidonum occubuit) vna cum comitatu, dotis loco in coniugem accepit: ex qua vnum filium ſuſtulit, Alexandrum inde comitem Roſſenſem, filiámque, quæ poſtea Donaldo Hebridiano nuptui data eſt. Alexander hic, filia Roberti gubernatoris in vxorem accepta, Euphemiam ſolam ſuſcepit. Quæ adhuc virgo & rerum imperita, gubernatoris partim blanditijs, partim minis inducta, tranſlato in ipſum comitatu Roſſenſi, ſubitò non ſine gubernatoris opera (vt ferebatur) moritur: ac Donaldus qui amitam Euphemiæ Alexandri Leſlei ſororem vxorē habebat, hæreditario iure Roſſiæ comitatum pētens, collecta ex Hebridibus ingenti manu in Roſſiam venit: quam parvo negotio in ditionem ſuam redegit, Roſſianis verum recipere hæredē non recuſantibus. Thus much Leſle. Moreouer at

the ſame parlement wherein this James Steward was aduanced to the earledome of Arrane, the king gaue vnto the duke of Leneux the lands that were belonging to the ſoreſaid beheaded erle of Morton, which lands this duke not long reteining, made ouer his part to the earle of Angus, in recompenſe whereof, the duke obteined of the king the lordſhip of Methuen, which came to the kings poſſeſſion by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan compoſed theſe verſes following, calling him Regulum Methueniæ, in this ſort:

The duke of Leneux obteineth the earle Mortons lands.

Hîc Henrice iaces primæuo in flore, dederunt
Indole cui nullum ſæcula noſtra parem.
Nemo fuit ſpes iudicijs cui credula certis,
Sponderet tantum Marte togáque decus.
Nunc pro ſpe, votis, expectatiſque triumphis,
Cura, dolor, lachrymæ, meſtitiéſque ſubit:
At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,
Adijce de gazis poſthuma fama tuis.

During theſe creations of the nobilitie, in a parlement holden in Edenburgh the eight and twentith of Januarie, in this yere one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and one, being the fouretenth of the kings reigne, were matters eſtabliſhed, touching the eccleſiaſticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to ſet downe the ſame, ſith my pen and purpoſe is bent to treat of politicall and not ſpirituall cauſes. Wherefore onelie determining but ſlenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, ſet forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the ſtampe of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuerſitie, in this yere of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foure ſcore and ſix, we ſaie that the ſame booke, publiſhed by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confeſſion of the true chriſtian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement ſubſcribed by the kings maieſtie and his houſhold, with diuers others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The eſtates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the ſame, profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus & his holie goſpell, to their naturall countriemen and to all other realms and nations, profeſſing the ſame Jeſus Chriſt with them, with grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſpirit of righteous iudgement of ſaluation.

A declaration of the Scotiſh faith, publiſhed and confirmed by the king.

After which title and ſalutation, the ſubſtance of the ſame booke, being declared in the forhead of the chapters following, conteineth theſe heads: Firſt of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall ſinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promiſe of the continuance, increaſe, and preſeruation of the church, of the incarnation of Chriſt Jeſus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Chriſtes death, paſſion, and buriall, of his reſurrection, of his aſcenſion, of faith in the Holie-ghoſt, of the cauſe of good workes, what workes are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of ſoules, of the notes by which the true church is diſcerned from the falſe, and who ſhall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the ſcriptures, of generall councels, of their power, authoritie and cauſe of their conuention, of the ſacraments, of the right adminiſtration of the ſacraments, to whom ſacraments apperteine, and of the ciuill magiſtrat, of the gifts freelie giuen to the church.

The diſcourſe of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of thoſe people, and for the further inſtruction of others, were ſhortlie after the agreement thereunto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be publiſhed and ſed through his realme, as appeareth by this his following precept, concerning the ſame.

The kings maieſties charge to all *commiſsioners and miniſters*, within his realme.

SEeing that we and our houſhold haue ſubſcribed & giuen this publike confeſſion of our faith, to the good example of our ſubiects, we command and charge all commiſſioners and miniſters to craue the ſame confeſſion of their pariſhioners, and to proceed againſt the refuſers according to our lawes, and order of the church: deliuering their names and lawfull proceſſe to the miniſters of our houſe, with all haſt and diligence, vnder the paine of fortie pounds to be taken from their ſtipend: that we with the aduiſe of our councell, maie take order with ſuch proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subſcribed with our hand at Holierood houſe one thouſand fiue hundred foure ſcore and one, the ſecond daie of March, the fourtenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus ſetled in Scotland, it fell herupon, 1582
that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before aduanced, as is alreadie ſet downe in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and ninetene, was now in this yeare vpon diſpleaſure, conceiued againſt him by others of the nobilitie, baniſhed Scotland, & enforced to returne into France, there to paſſe the reſt of his life as he had done before. In whoſe exile was perfor-med an old prophecie, which I haue heard, that a nag of fiue ſhillings ſhould beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scotiſh kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie, or England. But as I greatlie fauor not theſe things, ſo yet finding manie of them to ſort to vnhappie ſucceſſe; I cannot altogither condemne them, eſpeciallie, ſith I find two other which concerning the laſt duke of England, being the duke of Summerſet, did prognoſticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he ſhould not long keepe his head vpon his ſhoulders, after that he began to make his ſtatelie buildings. Of which prophetical verſes, declaring the ſame, the firſt verſe expreſſing his name, was as followeth:

The duke of Leneux baniſhed.

A digreſſion touching the duke of Summerſet.

a Ceſſabit miſſa cùm regnat equa marina.

a The mare of the ſea, which backeward is ſeamare.

The other prophecie mentioning his name of honor was in this ſort, as alſo the time of his fall:

b Ætatis ſedes cùm ſcandis ad alta per ædes,
Pro certo credes quòd caput perdere debes.

b Summers ſeat, or Summerſet.

And to proue that Summerſet was manie yeares paſt called in Latine Aetatis ſedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall ſometime an herald liuing in the time of Henrie the fift, who named him accordinglie, when the ſaid author excuſing himſelfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudeneſſe, ſent his booke to D. John Summerſet to correct; which doctor being the kings ſchoolemaiſter and phyſician, a great learned man well ſeene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therein, and verie eloquent alſo, was as this Roger Wall thought, moſt meete to haue the ouerſight of his workes: which matter, as it is ſet downe in the latter end of the ſame worke of the acts of Henrie the fift, written by this Roger Wall, I ſhall not greeue (although they belong not, and be vtterlie impertinent to the matters of Scotland) to ſet downe, both becauſe I would not maime the author in telling his owne tale, and would a little recreat the reader by the obſcuritie of the ſtile of Roger Wall, with ſome varie-

Roger Wall ſubmitteth his worke to the cenſure of doctor John Summerſet.

tie

tie of other than Scotiſh matter: for Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit. These therefore be the words of that writer.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannoſa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expaueſcens patefeci: ad hoc immenſæ verecundiæ terrore ducta in luſtralibus latebris, & abditis deſertis, & inuijs latitare decreuiſti, fortaſſis tamen; ſi quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animo ſitatis ſpiritum proceſſura in lucem. Eia igitur conſilijs meis adquieſcere non deſeras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorē glorioſum inuenies, qui* Aeſtatis ſedes glorioſum cognomen ſortitus eſt. Hic Tulliani teſtamenti executor, purpura abiſſo quibus te veſtiat, bonorum Oratij miniſtrator, theſauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipſius opulentiſſimæ imperatricis Rhetoricæ cuſtos, gazarum, & ærarij gemmis pretioſis, quibus ruditatis tuæ tenebras excutiens, ipſum ſyderea politura perornare poterit, præ cæteris copia pleniori floret & abundat, hic eſt qui cœli empirei ſitū & mobilitatem, ac vacui, ſi quid extra ipſum reperiri poſſit: Chaos & confuſionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta ſyderea, & actam per ipſum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, curſus erraticos in ſuis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multùm difficiles, elementorum miranda coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impreſſionum cauſas & effectus, & quicquid Ariſtotelicæ demonſtrationes ſeu Hippocratici aphoriſmi ſuadere ſufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic eſt quod plurimùm ponderandum exiſtimo, qui regalis pectoris ſacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantæque literaturæ imbalſamauit aromatibus, & corpus regium ab ægritudinum incommodis ſeruauit incolume, qui ſemper reipublicæ promotor & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & miſera tibi iutumæ conſolationis miniſtraui materiam. Eſto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter accingere. Verum quia dum regis aſſiſtit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut reipublicæ bonum promouendo, vel regiam celſitudinem ſalutaribus exhortando artis ſalutigeræ conſilijs ſic ſolicitus redditur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam ſuam ſolicitare nolito præſumere, ſed vſque ad manſionem ſuam propriam, quam per ſigna quæ tibi monſtrabo inuenies omni expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris ſtrata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam ſemitam verſus dextram, protenſam non procul à quadam capella pulcherrima fundationis regiæ in honorem ſanctorum archangelorū Raphaelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum ſanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio ſua conſtruxerat, tritura multipliciſe ipſum manifeſtante ducet. In qua cùm pauperū nudipedum ad ſuam domum confluentium impreſſa veſtigia perceperis: & corundem redeuntium pedum calciatorū quos eleemoſyna ſua iam pecuali pelle veſtijt inueneris: & cùm per eandem ſemitam nudos, eſurientes & triſtes ad habitaculum ſuum concurrentes proſpexeris, & eoſdem per ſuæ charitatis liberalitatem veſtitos, ſaturatos, & gaudentes obvios habueris, ſcito quoniam hæc eſt via in tabernaculum ipſius, quem quæris ductrix infallibilis & directiſſima. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Æſtatis ſedē velint oſtendere, &c. After which this Wall ſetteth downe the ſupplication, which his booke ſhould dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in theſe verſes, beginning alſo with the ſame name of Æſtatis ſedes, in Engliſh Summerſet:

Fertilis Aeſtatis florida ſedes,
Morum multiplici luce refulgens,
Gloria doctorum gemma ſcientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicinæ,
Pectore cœleſti cœlica condens,
Præradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet aſtrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiuſdem mira rapina,
Quid flammiuomus ignis in orbe
Aereique ſinus abdyta noſti?
Quæ fluit & refluit (piſcis opimum)
Oceanum pelagus, quæ pia terram
Numina proficiunt prole feracem
Naturæ probitas, norma, poteſtas,
Conſilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,
Clara luce tua mente coruſcant.
Hæc cumulata tua lucida virtus,
Muſarum ſedem pectore regis,
Et morum ſolium fauſta parauit,
Nec minus à regis corpore morbos,
Funebreaſque minas cauta fugauit,
Seruans illæſa gaudia regni,
Et fotrix inopum dextera larga.
Corporibus nudis frigore pellis,
Eſuriem furias & famis iram,
Cogit in exilium prodiga menſa.
Doctor qui tanta dote refulges,
Me miſeram miſerans intuearis
Turpem complectere reſpice nudam,
Incultam polias, reijce mendas,
Veſtes dilaceras conſue clemens,
Sint medicina ſitis pocula Cirre,
Quæ tibi plus reliquis copia præſtat,
Et tua ſi pietas ſordida purgans,
Si tergat maculas horrida limans,
Vt me fortuna fata fœcundans,
Inter plebeos forte remotos,
Angelicum regis cernere vultum,
Præſtet me fauſta ſorte beatam,
Et bene fatatam læta putarem,
Nobilis hæc doctor ſuſcipe vota,
Cuius virtutes, inclyta geſta,
Aeternis titulis fama perennet.

The commendation of doctor John Summerſet.

* Summerlet.

Thus hauing expreſſed the words and verſes of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed ſome hundred yeares paſſed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerſet by the words of Aeſtatis ſedes, I haue trulie bene the willinger to ſet downe the ſame by waie of digreſſion (beſides the former declared cauſes which moued me thereto) for that I would not ſuffer ſo worthie a man as that John Summerſet was to be buried in obliuion. And for that I would in ſome part (as anie occaſion maie ſerue therefore) make this worke of Roger Wall more common to the world, being onelie now in the hands of one painefull antiquarie. Wherefore in that ſort, leauing our Engliſhmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating firſt of ſome thing done by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, hauing had charge of men in ſome part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Naſſaw, earle of Aurange, did now fall from the ſtates of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines ſide, and went to aſſiſt the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in thoſe parts) becauſe the ſtates did not paie to him and his ſoldiors their due ſtipend and wages for the wars. At what time alſo the gariſon of Bruxels were for the like cauſe in an vprore. But ſome portion of monie being offered vnto them, they were for that time ſomewhat pacified. All which notwithſtanding, one certeine Scot, called Lichfeld, & ſurnamed Semple, being captaine of the gariſon of Lire, and long vnpaid

Suriꝰ in comen. de reb. in orbe hiſtor. pa. 1062.

The Spaniards obteine Lire by a ſtratagem deuiſed by the Scots.

vnpaied his ſallarie, for thoſe warres did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Wherevpon, imagining with himſelfe howbeit might deceiue Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuiſed with a new ſtratagem to bring this towne into the ſubiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, feining himſelfe that he would in the middeſt of the night with his people go forth to bring home ſome great bootie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, & late in the night gathered togither a great preie of catell, horſſes, oxen, kine, ſhæpe, and ſuch like, with ſome priſoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at ſuch time of night to ſet the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to anſwer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnleſſe he did ſpædilie open the great gate, through the ſame to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the porter beléeuing all this to be true, forthwith ſet open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth thereat, ſlue thoſe which kept the watch, poſſeſſed the towne, & into the ſame receiued the kings ſouldiors, which were not farre behind, but ſecretlie laie in wait expecting the ſucceſſe of this deuiſe. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers firſt wonne the market place, and the next daie after the calends of Auguſt reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne ſubiection: the ſame Lire being a place well fenſed, and ſet in ſuch a conuenient ſoile, that it would prohibit all paſſage and cariage to come to Antwerpe, Mecheline and Bruxels.

Ambaſſador fro the French into Scotland.

After this, much about the beginning of September, monſieur de la Mot was ſent from Henrie the third the French king ambaſſador into Scotland, the outward effect of whoſe commiſſion was to renew and conclude the old league of amitie betwixt thoſe two nations, as it had been long continued betwéene them in times paſt, which done, he returned, well accepted by his French maſter. After which in like ſort the king of Scots ſent the lord Seton ambaſſador into France to the ſame king Henrie, which lord came to Paris in the beginning of March, and there remained about ſix weekes or moze before he could find conuenient paſſage for him to returne into his countrie, becauſe there was wait laid (as was ſuppoſed) to the end that he might haue béene intercepted by ſome of his enimies, before he ſhould haue atteined the preſence of the king his maiſter.

1583 Ambaſſador from the Scot to the French.

But now as a litle before I haue ſet downe the exploits done by the Scots in the low countries out of their owne nation, ſo I thinke it not amiſſe to adde to the ſame ſomewhat done by a Scot héere in England, the ſumme whereof is after this manner. One William Creicton a Scot by birth, and a Jeſuit by profeſſion, which name of Creicton firſt came into Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand threeſcore and ſix out of Hungarie amongſt others with Agatha, the mother of Maud the wife to Malcolme king of Scots, hauing trauelled the moſt part of Europe, had conference with one William Parrie an Engliſhman, by waie of diſcourſe and argument touching ſuch matter of treaſon as concerned the death of the quéene of England. After which (Parrie being returned into England in Januarie following) this Creicton alſo, not tarrieng long behind him, did come from the parts of beyond the ſeas to take his iorne towards Scotland, who determining to paſſe through England, arriued here, was apprehended, & committed priſoner to the Towre of London, in ſuch ſort as before you haue heard that John Leſle biſhop of Roſſe was ſtaied by the duke of Bauier vpon ſuſpicion, that the ſame biſhop had dealt with the enimies of that prince againſt the ſtate of his countrie. The cauſe wherefore the ſaid Creicton was committed, was for that he had about him diuerſe plots for inuaſions of this our realme of England. When he was thus priſoner in the Towre, William Parrie was after for the ſame treaſon apprehended, examined, committed alſo to the Towre, and finallie executed on the ſecond daie of March in the yere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred foure ſcore and foure. In the Februarie before which execution, ſir Francis Walſingham knight, principall ſecretarie to hir maieſtie of England, came to the Towre, examined the ſaid Creicton and dealt with him, to vnderſtand if the ſaid Parrie had euer had conference with him in the parts beyond the ſeas touching that queſtion, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maieſtie of England or not, the which at that time the ſaid Creicton called not to his remembrance; yet afterwards vpon better conſideration thereof it fell into his mind where, when, & on what occaſion ſuch ſpéech had paſſed betwéene the ſaid Parrie and him. Wherevpon the twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foure ſcore and foure, during the time that Parrie alſo was a priſoner in the Towre, this Creicton wrote to maiſter ſecretarie Walſingham a voluntarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which being alreadie ſet downe in the hiſtorie of England is nædleſſe here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing thus ſaid somewhat of this priſoner, we will leaue him ſtill remaining in the ſame ſtate, expecting ſome following ſucceſſe of libertie to come to him, and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland, thereof to ſet downe ſuch occurrents as happened from this time.

Creicton a Scot committed to priſon in England.

Leſleus lib. 6. pag. 210.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwéene the lord Marwell earle Morton warden of the weſt marches of Scotland, and the lard of Johnſtane; the occaſion of which new diſſention proceéded of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglaſſe earle Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the ſame wardenſhip. In which hurlie burlie the lard of Johnſtane behaued himſelfe verie rigorouſlie againſt the lord Marwell, in blowing vp with gunpouder the lockes of the caſtell of Lochmaben. Which diſſention ſecretlie after the death of Dowglaſſe earle Morton, continuing betwéene the lord Marwell and Johnſtane, with further increaſe of malice, they in this yeare ſought a freſh reuenge thereof, ſith the lord Johnſtane had not (before this) either power or meanes to incounter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie Johnſtane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of James Steward earle of Arrane) obteined of the king ſome ſuccors of men of warre againſt the lord Marwell earle Morton, hir huſband (as was ſuppoſed) not being able otherwiſe to make his part good againſt the ſame earle. Wherevpon capteine Lamie and capteine Grameſtane were ſent with two companies of hackbuts vnto the reliefe of the lard of Johnſtane. Who being thus furniſhed, did in the kings name raiſe the nobilitie and countrie thereabouts to aſſiſt him with their power: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined with the ſaid two capteins Lamie and Grameſtane. But as man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth

A contention betwéene the earle Morton and the lard Johnſtane.

Ladie Johnſtane hath aid of the king.

quite

ment held at Oxford by the lords againſt the king, was called Parliamentum inſanum, bicauſe manie things were there intreted which turned to the death of diuerſe noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Chriſt 1556, (being the fourtéenth yeare of Marie the now impriſoned quéene of Scotland) and called the ſame a running parlement, bicauſe there were manie intermiſſions and remouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Leſleus in theſe words. Aeſtate ſequenti habita ſunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Brunſtonius, Grangius, Balnauius, & alij nonnulli, quorum bona à gubernatore publicata fuerunt, ſingulari regis Franciæ commendatione dignati, famæ atque bonis reſtituti ſunt. Hæc verò comitia quòd intermiſſa, potiùs quàm omiſſa, quaſi continuarentur, nomen à vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur. Thus much being ſaid about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland, which followed the former parlement aſſembled in Maie, and moued the king to make that declaration thereof which I haue before ſet downe.

The running parlement.

Leſleus.

About the time that the earle Gowrike or Gowrie was as before is remembred beheaded, the king did roiallie ſet forward his iourneie, and poſſeſſed the towne of Sterling, in which the ſaid earle was executed, hauing a ſiſter maried to Leſle earle of Rothos, and a daughter married to Steward earle of Atholl. After the death of the ſaid earle Gowricke lord treaſuror of Scotland, the king beſtowed that office vpon Grahame earle of Montroſſe, who had married the lord Dromonds ſiſter, which name of Grame is ſuppoſed to be deduced from Grahame, who in the yeare of Chriſt foure hundred twentie and two, reſiſted the Romans, inuading the Picts and Scots, for when Victorinus the Romane legat, had againe commanded a trench or fenſe to be made from the caſtell of Abincorne to Cluide, the ſame was vtterlie ouerthrowne and caſt abroad by the noble Capteine Grame, of whome as is ſuppoſed the familie of the Grames liuing at this daie had their originall, the ſame place to this daie being called the trench of Grame or Grames trench.

Leſleus li. 4. pag. 133.

The tenth of September (after that he was ſent for by the quéene of England vpon certeine articles laid againſt him) did George Talbot erle of Shrewſburie (a graue and honourable perſon, who had Marie the impriſoned quéene of Scots in his cuſtodie at Sheffeld caſtell) repaire to London according to his dutie, to anſwer thoſe things which ſhould be obiected againſt him, who comming to London verie honorablie attended on with his owne retinue, amounting to the number of two hundred horſſe, and with ſome few others of the quéenes men, which were ſent to bring him vp, repaired to his houſe at Coleherbert in London from whenſe in Nouember going to the court to anſwer the things to be obiected vnto him, about the cuſtodie and vſage of the ſame quéene of Scots, which had manie yeers béene vnder his charge, he anſwered the matter verie honourablie, and to his good diſcharge, being then diſmiſſed of the képing of the ſame quéene of Scots. During whoſe being here at London the quéene of Scots was appointed to the charge of ſir Rafe Sadler knight banneret, a graue and old councellor to the ſtate of England, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaſter; with whome was alſo ioined in the ſame commiſſion John Summers eſquier, clearke of the ſignet, a wiſe and modeſt gentleman, well ſéene in the languages, excellent at diſciphering, and brought vp vnder that worthie and rare witted gentleman, doctor Nicholas Wotton, of whome I haue ſpoken more in the hiſtorie of England. Theſe hauing this quéene thus committed vnto them, did (as perſons carfull of ſo weightie a charge) remoue hir to a place of good ſtrength, and conueied hir to be kept in the caſtell of Tutberrie, where ſhe (not remaining long in their cuſtodie) bicauſe they were remoued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following as anon ſhall appeare, committed to the charge of ſir Aimes Paulet one alſo of the priuie councell of England, hauing before béene ambaſſador legier in France, a perſon deſcended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whome and vnder whoſe charge ſhe ſtill remaineth at this preſent in the ſaid caſtle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we ſaie that about the tenth daie of Januarie following this diſcharge of the earle of Shrewſburie, ſir Lewis Balentine knight, iuſtice, clerke, and maiſter of the ceremonies of the kings houſe, which office as I haue béene crediblie informed by a Scot (but how trulie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did inioie, and to whome moſt of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinitie, conſanguinitie, or aliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie yong gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was ſent ambaſſador into England for the redeliuerie and acculation of the erle of Angus and Marre, and ſe other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a ſuppoſed treaſon wrought by them againſt their king, whoſe redeliuerie was required of the quéene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambaſſage he behaued himſelfe before the councell of England ſo grauelie and learnedlie, that the ſaid earles were ſent for from Norwich (where they ſoiorned before his comming) to Weſtminſter, there to anſwere to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge by the ſaid ſir Lewis Balentine. Whereupon after that the ſaid ambaſſador had remained in England at London (honorablie interteined and feaſted of the nobilitie and others) by the ſpace of ſeuentéene wéeks, he was diſpatched into his countrie with anſwer, that hir maieſtie would ſhortlie ſend an ambaſſador into Scotland which ſhould fullie ſatiſfie the king. Whereupon the ſaid ſir Lewis Balentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following, in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, and ſo returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie quéene of Scots, remaining in the cuſtodie of ſir Ralfe Sadler in the caſtell of Tutburie, committed to the kéeping of ſir Aimese Paulet. 1585

After this the quéene of England the ninetéenth daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie diſpatched in ambaſſage into Scotland, Edward Wotton eſquier, a gentleman of good deſcent, and one whoſe anceſtors had honorablie & faithfullie ſerued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie councellors, as alſo in manie ambaſſages into forren nations: which ambaſſador being of yeares not much more than the ſaid ſir Lewis Balentine, had trauelled the moſt part of Europe, and had before time béene ambaſſador for the quéene of England into Portingall. This gentleman ſo ſent from the quéene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other Engliſh gentlemen, departed as is before ſaid from London towards Scotland the ninetéenth of Maie, who remaining at Berwike about three dais, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to paſſe into his kingdome; which once obteined, he preſentlie entred that land on Whitſun éeue, being the nine and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie, and ſo came that daie to Edenburgh, being firſt at his entrance into the Scotiſh borders recei-

ued by the lord Hume and his retinue, who conueied them to Seton houſe, where they were interteined by the lord Seton: after which when the ambaſſador was departed about halfe a mile from the laid lord Setons houſe, he was met with ſir Robert Meluin knight, maiſter William Keth one of the kings chamber, and others, which conueied him that night to Edenburgh. The next morrow (after that the Engliſh ambaſſador was come to the citie of Edenburgh) being Whitſundaie, the ambaſſador was after dinner brought to the kings preſence, where he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambaſſage, conſiſting vpon the confirming of the old and concluding of a new league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland; which the king accepting in honorable part, did for that time diſmiſſe the ambaſſador, vntill the minds & conſents of the nobilitie might be vnderſtood and had. With which anſwer the ambaſſador then ſatisfied, tooke leaue of the king for that preſent, and remained ſtill at Edenburgh ſome fortnight, interteined with ſports of delights anſwerable to the courſe of the yeere, and the dutie of an ambaſſage. From whenſe the ambaſſador attending on the king was conueied to Dumfermling, where the king remained ſome time to repoſe himſelfe, progreſſing from thenſe to Falkland, and ſo to ſaint Andrews, hauing the ambaſſador alwaies with him. When the king was come to ſaint Andrews, the noblemen and eſtates of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement, according to the former appointment.

But whileſt theſe things did thus paſſe at ſaint Andrews, the time drew on, when the borderers of both the nations of England and Scotland ſhould aſſemble according to the cuſtome of the true daies, there to determine for recompenſe of all ſuch iniuries as each people had offered to other, in conueieng of cattell or other booties from their borders; for which cauſe there did about the ſixtenth daie of Julie aſſemble the people of both the borders, and the wardens of the ſame; at what time the lord of Fernhurſt warden of the Scotiſh borders, and ſir Francis Ruſſell knight lord Ruſſell, and ſir John Foſter knight warden of the middle marches came with their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far from Berwike, and ſo entred into ſpeech with the Scots of ſuch cauſes for which they repaired thither. After when the wardens were ſet vpon the bench to heare and determine the ſame, there did ſuddenlie ariſe among the people a contention, whereby followed at the firſt ſome ſmall fraie, which being perceiued by ſir Francis Ruſſell, he aroſe from the bench and called for his horſſe, who meaning to appeaſe the matter, went among the preaſe. At what time a certeine number of ſhot comming on him, he was ſuddenlie, but moſt vniuſtlie, ſlaine with a pece amongſt the reſt diſcharged againſt him by a Scot borne about that place (ſuſpected by the moſt to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurſt) contrarie to the nature of ſuch aſſemblies, where each part ſhuld labor for quiet, ſith publike faith at ſuch times are giuen, that euerie one ſhall returne home without anie damage or iniurie offered by anie ſide. The loſſe of which ſir Francis Ruſſell, being a gentleman of great hope, was much lamented of the Engliſh, and that eſpeciallie ſith his vntimelie death ſo iniurioulie (by the erle of Arrane, as the common fame went) procured and ſo ſuddenlie performed, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his age, did bereaue the realme of England of a goodlie young perſon, well ſtaied in gouernement, bountifull, wiſe, and vertuous, whoſe death happening the daie before that his honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the ſame chriſtian and ſurname) departed the world, occaſioned T. G. firſt in Latine, and then in Engliſh, to ſet downe certeine funerall and mourning verſes touching both the father and the ſon in theſe words:

En duo Franciſci ſubitò occubuere, ſimúlque
Et pater & natus, Ruſſellæ ſplendida ſtirpis
Lumina, quos binos mors abſtulit atra diebus:
Londini, comitem prouecta ætate parentem,
Finibus ac Scotiæ natum florentibus annis,
Ille perit morbo, inſidijs cadit alter iniquis:
Dum miſer occulta traiecit viſcera glande
Incautè Scotus, heu fictæ ſub nomine pacis.
Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.
Anglia magna tibi eſt rapti iactura parentis,
Nec leuis eſt nati, de quo ſpes optima fulſit.
Quis ſcit an irati foret hæc vindicta Iehouæ,
De vitijs pœnas dum noſtris ſumit acerbas?

The Engliſh whereof is in this forme drawne into verſe by the firſt author of them T. G. in this ſort:

Lo Francies twaine at once
both ſuddenlie are gone:
Two ſhining ſtars of Ruſſels race,
the father and the ſonne.
Whom in two daies vntimelie death
hath from vs caught awaie:
The earle in London natures debt,
the father old did paie.
The ſonne his heire, lord Ruſſell hight,
of courage freſh and yeares:
On Scotiſh borders loſt his life,
whoſe want now well appeares.
The father did by ſickneſſe die,
the ſonne through fraud vniuſt:
By Scotiſh hand with gun was ſlaine,
whilſt nothing he miſtruſt.
The ſonne before the fathers death
not manie houres was ſlaine:
Great is thy loſſe, ô England, of
theſe peereleſſe nobles twaine.
Thy fathers worthie vertues late
knowne well (and long) to all:
From fathers ſteps the ſonne great hope
gaue that he would not fall.
Who knowes if God the Lord of hoſts,
this puniſhment doth ſend:
Our ſinnes ſo great thereby to ſcourge,
and wicked liues amend?

Of which erle of Bedford (hauing occaſion to mention him in this place by the death of his ſonne) I ſuppoſe not amiſſe to ſaie ſomewhat more, eſpecialie concerning ſuch matters whereof he was a dealer with the impriſoned queene of Scots, when ſhe was at libertie and in hir beſt eſtate.

In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and three ſcore, Francis the French king died at Orleans in the kalends of December. After which, in the yere following, Marie the queene of Scots, Dowager of France and widow to the ſaid Francis, ſoiourned a certeine time in France about Januille and Loreine, where the chefe part of hir friends & kindred (being of the houſe of Guiſe) did remaine, during whoſe abode in France, and before ſhe went into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton (ligier ambaſſador in France for the queene of England) were ſent vnto the queene of Scots to conclude with hir, that the agreements and conditions of peace, which were eſtabliſhed a little before at Leith ſhould be eſtabliſhed by hir conſent. Wherevnto for anſwere ſhe affirmed, that ſhe could not determine anie thing therein, vnleſſe that ſhe were preſent with the nobilitie of hir kingdome, to whom the adminiſtration of the realme of Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the Engliſh. And that when ſhe was in Scotland, where by Gods good furtherance ſhe hoped ſhortlie for to

be

be, ſhe would earneſtlie trauell all ſhe might for the eſtabliſhing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now liuing was by his godfathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Chriſt; in the yere of our ſaluation one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and ſix, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the ſame Marie quéene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambaſſador from the quéene of England, was ſent to the quéene of Scots by waie of deputiſhip to preſent the perſon of his miſtreſſe requeſted to chriſten the yong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford preſented, in the behalfe of the quéene of England, one font of gold curiouſlie wrought, weighing three hundred thirtie and three ounces, and amounting in value to the ſumme of one thouſand fortie three pounds & nineténe ſhillings. Thus this much ſpoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

The report of the death of ſir Francis Ruſſell before mentioned, came to the knowledge of the ſaid Edward Wotton, as yet remaining ambaſſador in Scotland, and then lieng at S. Andrews: whereupon the ambaſſador went to the king, and opening vnto him the iniurie done to the Engliſh by the procurement, as was thought, of James Steward erle of Arrane then chancellor: he obteined that the king (finding the matter to ſound both to reaſon and iuſtice) did command the ſaid earle to priſon, where he remained ſome time, and was after at the ſute of William Steward brother of the earle, vpon the kings remouing from ſaint Andrewes, releaſed from the priſon, and committed to reſtreint in his owne houſe, vntill ſuch time as he had clered himſelfe of the ſame impoſed crime, and cauſe of breach of amitie betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland. During which impriſonment of the earle of Arrane, the former appointed parlement or aſſemblie at ſaint Andrewes was holden by the king & the nobilitie there gathered togither, which were Graham earle of Montroſſe treaſuror of Scotland, Robert Steward erle of March ſometime biſhop of Caithneſſe, and now prior of S. Andrewes, great vncle to the king and to the yong duke of Leneux, Keith erle marſhall, Leſle erle of Rothos, Steward earle of Atholl, & Patrike Conſtance archbiſhop of S. Andrews, with diuers others. Amongſt whom the king opening the contents of the ambaſſage ſent out of England for the concluding of the league betwéene the two nations, vſed vnto them this following ſpéech, wherein declaring the opinion he conceiued of the religion, the neceſſitie of the ioining with England, the ſworne league of other nations againſt the profeſſors of the goſpell, and the reaſons which induced him to moue this matter vnto his people, all which he vttered in this ſort.

The kings ſpeech to the eſtates, concerning a league in religion with England.

TWo cauſes my lordis and ze all of the eſtatis haue moued me to ſend for zow at this time to craue zour aduiſes towardis them, quharof ſith the one is generall & the vther particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greateſt weight. Amongſt all the beneſeits that God doth beſtow vpoun his elect and church, the triall and ſifting of the gud choſin from the bad hipocreitis, is ane of the maſt ſpeciall, quhich he hath vſed in all ages for the ſeparatioun of thame, alſwell for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the godlie, as alſo that their ſeparatioun is a taken in this earth, of Godis luue towardis them, quhich triall he doth now chéflie vſe, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in theſe letter daeis, quhérin God doth permit the deuill moſt to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the baſtard chriſtians, I meane the papiſtis, in a league quhich they terme holie albeit moſt vnholie in varic truth, for the ſubuerſioun of the trew religioun in all realmes throuch out the quhole world. This is a matter ſo manifeſt and notorious to zou all, euen by the report of the ſmalleſt merchantis that trauill, as it doth dilat the ſelfe, thought I were ſilent.

This leagues whome of I ſpeake, are compoſed of Frenchmen, and Hiſpaingnols, aſſiſted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, ſolemlie ſworne to performe the forſaid enterpriſe before they leaue armes: the performance quhereof we aught to reſiſt for thrée cauſes (to wit) for conſcience, honor, and loue of ſelfis. For gif they may atteine to their purpoſe (as God forbid) either will they deſtroie or reot out vs, our bifis, and childrein, & quhatſoeuer we poſſeſſe, gif we remaine conſtant; either elſe muſt we render Chriſt Jeſus, and ſuffer our ſaulis which is the maſt nableſt part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vſed at their inordinat pleſuris. But ſith the loue of our ſelfis and our honour cannot permit the ane, and that our conſciencis and the reuerence we ow to God, cannot ſuffer the vther: I craue my lords zour beſt and ſoundiſt opinionis and aduiſis quhat ze thinke meiteſt to be vſed for the remedie hereof. But gif ze deſire to haue firſt my opinioun, it is this in few woardis; that as ſondrie chriſtian princis haue alreadie counſelled me, our contraleague ſalbe maid, not anelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the ioining togidder all true chriſtian princis to defend themſelfis, in caſe of vtheris inuaſioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for ſelfis, acceptable to God, and vſe in the ſight of the varld. By this meanes ſall our conſciencis, honors, and liſis be preſerued, and God and his religioun glorified and aduancid.

And ſith the quéene of England is not anlie a true chriſtian, but alſo neareſt ioinit to vs in nighbourhed, conſanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meiteſt in mine opinioun, that it be our league firſt & maiſt adſtrictlie maid with hir; for quhich cauſe I haue maid & ſet downe a forme of act to be ſubſcribit by zou all, quherein ze promes to ratifie and approue in parliament, quhatſoeuer articles I, or anie in my name ſall conclude with the quéene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectualing of the foreſaid league. But for that the act it ſelfe vill mare ample informe zou, it ſalbe preſentilie read in all zour audiencis.

Upon this ſpéech, the lords being of diuerſe opinions, ſome willing to imbrace the league with England, and ſome deſirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the moſt ancienteſt leagues, which haue béene eſtabliſhed betwéene them and the Scots (by moſt of their former kings, whereof the firſt was Achaius, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure delices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the baniſhed lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the manner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this ſort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Mar, with ſuch others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, ſent thither the maiſter of Glames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verie effectuallie) returne into Scotland; at whoſe com-

ming into that their natiue countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioine in one action, for the redreſſe of ſuch gouernment as was vſed by perſons about the king, ſuſpected to nuzzell him in the Romane religion. After this their firſt meeting, they did by appointment diſperſe themſelues, euerie one to the place of his moſt ſtrength, and where he could make moſt friends and followers, appointing a daie to meete againe at Fawkirke, a meete place fenſed by nature for the aſſemblie of an armie. Wherevpon, ſome departed to Lowthian, ſome to Domefreis, and others to other places. But in ſhort time following, they reaſſembled in October at Fawkirke with ſuch power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thouſand perſons. The report wherof was brought vnto the king, then remaining at a noble mans houſe (not far from Sterling) whereas a contract of mariage was ſolemnized. Vpon which, the king ſuppoſing it to ſtand moſt for his ſuretie (iudging theſe noblemen ſo aſſembled to be his enimies) conueied himſelfe, and ſuch nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raiſing power (ſuch as the preſent ſtate of the time would permit) intending with them to haue ſubdued the earle of Angus and his companie: for which cauſe alſo, the earle of Arrane came from his houſe to Sterling, and the maiſter of Greie with commiſſion rode to ſaint Johns towne to aſſemble the kings ſubiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marſhall, the lords Hamilton, Hume, Heres, Cambuſkeneth, Dribourgh, Paiſlaie, & Coldingham; the lairds of Seſford, Drumlarige, Codentnewes, Wedderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the next morning come to ſaint Ninians chappell within a mile of Sterling, and preſented themſelues before the towne of Sterling, before anie ſuſpicion was had of their approch ſo neere. At what time, being the firſt of Nouember, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new towne, to the great terror of their enimies within Sterling: deliuering for the cauſe of their comming this proclamation following.

The proclamation publiſhed by the *nobilitie of Scotland, conteining the cauſes* of their repairing towards the towne of *Sterling to the kings maieſtie, the ſe-*cond day of Nouember.

WHeras the kings maieſtie our ſouereignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderſtood to haue bene abuſed, and his roiall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which cauſed his fame far aboue the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praiſed, to the great comfort of all his ſubiects) hath bene theſe yeares paſt obſcured by the craft & ſubtiltie of ſome lewd and wicked perſons of no deſert or worthineſſe, and for the moſt part of baſe linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aſpiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendſhip and bloud creeping in about his maieſtie, and ſeeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion: ſhaking off (as it were) not onelie all chriſtian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vſed amongſt moſt barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as ſubtill foxes and bloudie wolues, by wreſting of lawes and other deceitfull practiſes hath ſo waſted, ſome impeaches, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient ſome of iuſtice and policie receiued of our anceſtors, remaineth nothing, neither in ſpirituall or tempozall eſtate; but the naked ſhadow & counterfeited maſke thereof to our ſouereignes high diſhonor, our oppro-brie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iuſtice and quietneſſe was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maieſtie and his ſubiects, what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what dailie hope of increaſe, what expectation was of his highneſſe in forren nations, before the arriuall of Obigneie, afterwards called the duke of Leneux; and the entring in credit of James Steward, and colonell Steward with their vnhappie companies. But what hath ſucceeded ſince no true Scotiſh heart can remember without extreame dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all repleniſhed with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without puniſhment.

It is alſo well knowne, that whereas the wiſeſt of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to poſſeſſe the hearts of their ſubiects, & to keepe the ſtrengths of their relms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preſerue themſelues againſt ſuch inconueniences, as manie princes of that land miſgouerned, and lead by peruerſe counſell haue béene ſubiect vnto) that the foreſaid abuſors had depriued his maieſtie both of the one and the other ſo far as in them laie. For the cheefe ſtrength of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bragging of his pedegrée by deſcent from duke Mordacke (one that was beheaded for his treaſon againſt his ſouereigne) was not aſhamed to ſaie (meaning of himſelfe) Here ſtands the perſon of king James the ſeuenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highneſſe, and ſo (as appeareth) his maieſtie made vnable to puniſh them, if at anie time hereafter he ſhould perceiue their falſe and treaſonable dowings, what can be added more than theſe ſaid ſeditious hath alreadie done in that behalfe, ſeeing vnder his maieſties name and authoritie, ſuch parcialitie is vſed in all matters ſuch extortion with crueltie, and incredible diſſimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good ſubiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before theſe lewd men about him) clearelie vnderſtood that the cauſes of all theſe miſorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himſelfe, they had long agone by vniuerſall male-contentment of the people (proceeding from the cauſes aforeſaid) procured a great diſtraction of the kings leeges hearts, and had caſt his maieſties honor, crowne, and eſtate in maruellous danger, whereas now (bleſſed be God) all his true ſubiects are certeinelie perſuaded, that if the ſaid lewd perſons could be ſeparated from his maieſtie, he would returne againe to exerciſe his former clemencie and towardneſſe in euerie reſpect, which hath bene theſe yeares paſt maruellouſlie eclipſed by the craft of thoſe treaſonable perſons aforeſaid, who not onelie haue ſought & ſeeke for their particular commoditie, the deſtruction of certeine ſeuerall perſons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conſpired againſt the whole bodie of the realme, in ſo much as there is no eſtate of the land free from their perſecutions.

The worthieſt and moſt ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie ſuch as haue giuen beſt proofe of their forwardneſſe in true religion, and fidelitie to their ſouereigne) are by parcialitie, and wreſting of lawes, without mercie either executed, exiled, impriſoned,

priſoned, baniſhed, or at the leaſt debarred his maieſties preſence, againſt the miniſterie, ſchooles, and clergie, acts and proclamations publiſhed, inhibiting their preſbyteries, aſſemblies, and other exerciſes, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, proceedings, or at the leaſt by laudable cuſtome permitted euer ſince the firſt reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the eccleſiaſticall diſcipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie and examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of euerie perſon, and to reforme the ſame if need require. With this the moſt learned, and of moſt vnſpotted liues of that number, are either compelled for ſafetie of their liues and conſciences to abandon their countrie, or elſe inhibited to preach, or depriued of their ſtipends, Jeſuits, ſeminarie prieſts, and ſuch as be knowne practiſers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie councell of Trent are interteined, and in great eſtimation; yea ſome indurated papiſts in ſeſſion, to occupie the places from the which the moſt godlie and faithfull ſenators haue beene by them deiected. An euident preſage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the eſtate of burowes, by intruſion of ſuch magiſtrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgeſſes, nor apt to diſcharge themſelues of ſuch offices, but men elected to applauſe and to conſent to the appetite of the ſeditious aforeſaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are ſo preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that eſtate (ſometime a great ornament of the land) muſt needs ſuddenlie decaie. So as theſe three pillers (whereby the king and common wealth ſhould be preſerued, and vpholden) being waſted and vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuerſall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the eſtate; except God of his mercie preuent the ſame. Beſides all theſe, the foreſaid abuſors not reſting content with the enormities aboue expreſſed, haue practiſed, and dailie do practiſe to turne the happie amitie and loue, which now a good ſpace hath ſtood betweene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hoſtilitie and hatred, without reſpect of neighborhood or kindred, ſtanding betweene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maieſtie of England hath beſtowed vpon the king our ſouereigne, and his whole countrie, firſt by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preſeruing his maieſtie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterpriſe for himſelfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with ſuch perſons, as by all meanes ſought hir maieſties deſtruction, as by the confeſſion of ſundrie hir maieſties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifeſt. But how ſoone they perceiued open danger to ariſe, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maieſtie, they haue pretended theſe months paſt, in great freendſhip and kindneſſe, promiſing largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offenſiue and defenſiue to ſtand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithſtanding all theſe liberall promiſes, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue beene in their minds but falſhood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Ruſſell is manifeſt to the whole world, who being a young nobleman, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earneſt zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our ſouereigne, and to all Scotiſhmen in generall, one that merited great praiſe, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in moſt odious and treaſonable maner, euen when as greateſt kindneſſe and freendſhip was pretended; which cannot but produce marueilous ſuſpition and ſlander, aſwell againſt the king our ſouereigne, as againſt the whole countrie, to his maieſties great diſhonor, and diſcredit of his innocent ſubiects, if condigne iuſtice be not miniſtred vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforeſaid.

Laſt, which is moſt of all, and neceſſarilie craueth preſent reformation, the foreſaid abuſors couer all theſe enormities with his maieſties name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuſe themſelues, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie ſlanderous and dangerous to his maieſtie, if ſuch licentious perſons (who hath alreadie made ſhipwracke of all honeſtie) be ſuffered to remaine in his companie, ſo is it ſhamefull to be reported in other nations, that ſuch a few number of beggerlie fellowes repleniſhed with all vice, ſhould extinguiſh the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, & keepe his maieſtie thrall to authoriſe by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the cauſes aforeſaid and manie others that might be iuſtlie alleged, we of his maieſties nobilitie here preſent, in the feare of God and our ſouereignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be profeſſors of the bleſſed euangell, and borne councellors to his highneſſe our ſouereigne, bound in duetie not onelie to hazzard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the ſame euangell and true religion, but alſo in conſcience charged to be carefull of his maieſties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietneſſe to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In conſideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our ſelues togither for redreſſe and reformation of the ſame, ſeeing the ſuffering thereof hath alreadie wounded the eſtate of true religion, diſhonored his maieſtie, diſturbed the whole realme, and had almoſt diſioined aſwell the hearts of the princes as of the ſubiects of the two nations, we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conſcience (all doubt and perill ſet apart) to procure the ſeparation and thruſting awaie of the ſaid deſperate and enorme perſons from about his maieſtie, that his highneſſe being reſtored to his former libertie, maie freelie, peaceablie, and wiſelie gouerne his ſubiects and realme, by aduiſe of graue, modeſt, and indifferent councellors; onelie reſpecting his maieſties ſuertie and preſeruation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the ſame, maie be ſolemnelie cancelled, and for euer annulled, his maieſtie reſtored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by puniſhing of vice cheeflie vpon the authors of theſe late miſorders, and mainteinance of vertue) maie be once diſburdened of the heauie oppreſſions and iniuries that they haue with no ſmall greefe ſo long ſuſteined, and the happie amitie with England reeſtabliſhed and conſerued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our ſouereigne, and vniuerſall contentment of all good men euerie where. In proſecution whereof, we proteſt before God and his holie angels, we ſhall neither ſpare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazzard and expend the ſame as need craueth, vntill the ſaid abuſors be either apprehended or preſented to iuſtice, to ſuffer for their demerits, or elſe (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maieſties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our ſouereigne lords name) all and ſundrie his ſubiects, as well

well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and aſſiſt this godlie enterpriſe, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue teſtimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maieſties ſuertie and welfare, and the publike quietneſſe of the whole realme, certifieng all and ſundrie that dwith attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, aſſiſters of the treaſonable conſpirators aforeſaid, and enimies of true religion, to his maieſtie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietneſſe betwixt the two realmes, and will vſe them in bodies and gwds accordinglie. And that all iuſtices as well lords of ſeſſions as ſhiriffes, commiſſioners, and other inferiour iudges ſit and adminiſter iuſtice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will anſwer vpon their allegiance and vttermoſt perill, with certification of the diſobeior as is aforeſaid.

This aſſemblie of the nobilitie, and the proclamation thus knowne; the earle of Arrane and others which were in Sterling with the king, placed foure hundred men vpon the wals of the towne to defend the aſſault. But the earle of Arrane chancellor, knowing that he was the principall perſon, againſt whome they directed their force, did ſecretlie without anie other companie flie from thenſe to Dunbritaine, eſcaping the hands of the lords of the religion, wherevpon ſmall reſiſtance being made by ſuch as were within Sterling againſt the aſſailants, vſing their force by the ſpace of two houres, the earle of Angus and the reſt did quietlie enter Sterling and all parts; which being perceiued by ſuch of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montroſſe, Crawford, Rothoſſe, Glencarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the caſtell whither the other faction did chaſe them. Now when the lords of the religion (for ſo they of the preſbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten poſſeſſion of the towne of Sterling, they placed their enſignes before the foreblockhouſe of the caſtell, and ſo ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the caſtell to eſcape their hands, for they had by ſtrength inuironed the ſame, and by ſiege brought it as ſome ſaid to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittels. Wherevpon the king (after agræment made, that perſons on each part might paſſe betwæne to compound the matter) ſent forth of the caſtell vnto the lords of the religion, the maiſter of Greie his ſecretarie and ſir Lewes Ballentine, iuſtice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argile cheefe iuſtice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Steward, deſiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the firſt whereof was, that his life honor and eſtate might be preſerued; that the liues of Crawford, Montroſſe and the Colonell, might be preſerued; thirdlie, that all things might be tranſacted peaceablie: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduiſe and counſell. Wherevnto the noblemen anſwered, firſt that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preſerue his noble perſon, his honor and eſtate, and to deliuer his maieſtie out of their hands, who vnder his name had ſo grieuouſlie oppreſſed the church and commonwealth, and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there aſſembled in the feare of God, and loue to his perſon and their countrie, wholie to endeuour themſelues to ſhew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and ſo to ſhew themſelues faithfull and good ſubiects.

To the ſecond point they anſwered, that where the liues of ſuch were deſired to be preſerued, which had diſturbed the whole kingdome, and beene inſtruments of the great confuſion in the church & commonwealth, they could dow no leſſe in reſpect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vſe all meanes poſſible to bring them to the triall of iuſtice, thereby to receiue the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would moſt humblie craue of his maieſtie, that theſe things might be done in moſt peacefull maner in due time required therefore, wherby all his good ſubiects might be ſatisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their aſſiſtance, with the vttermoſt of their endeuour, becauſe they were aſſembled and come thither for the dwing thereof.

Beſides which at the returne of theſe commiſſioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the firſt was, that the kings maieſtie would allow of their intention, ſubſcribe their proclamation (conteining the declaration of their cauſe) vntill further order were eſtabliſhed by the eſtates, and ſo agræ vnto the reformation of the premiſſes, & that all the common holds & ſtrengths might be rendred into their hands to be kept as the councell of the ancient nobilitie ſhould appoint, who were there in good number aſſembled. Secondlie, that the ſaid diſquieters of the common-wealth might be deliuered into their cuſtodie, vntill they had receiued their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be removed and an other placed of modeſt, wiſe, and godlie men. Which petitions being ſo to the king exhibited, the firſt was vpon diuers conſiderations granted, and the caſtels Dunbarton & Kineile were aſſigned to the cuſtodie of John lord Hamilton; the caſtell of Edenburgh was committed to ſir James Hume of Codenknolles; the caſtell of Sterling was reſtored to the earle of Marre, to whome the cuſtodie thereof did belong by deſcent of inheritance; the caſtell of Blackneſſe to the lard of Dalketh; Tantallan and Dowglaſſe were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the ſatisfaction of the ſecond requeſt of the lords, the ſaid earles of Crawford, Montroſſe, Clenkarne, Rothoſſe, Arroll, and colonell Steward, the lords Seton, Leuingſtone, Greie, Summerwell, ſir William Steward brother to the earle of Arrane, and William Steward capteine of Dunbarton (who had bæne taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lords of the religion entered thereinto) were committed to the ſafe cuſtodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie remoued, & the maiſter of Glames was appointed by the conſent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with ſuch gentlemen as the nobilitie and he ſhould chooſe of thoſe which are alreadie entred into their places and offices.

In the meane time, as is before touched, James Steward earle of Arrane did at the entring of the lords of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flie to the caſtell of Dunbarton, where he was incloſed, as well by ſea as by land, without anie great ſtore of vittels. The biſhop of ſaint Andrews was taken by the ſcholers of the vniuerſitie, and yong men of the towne aforeſaid (as was ſaid) to be preſented to iuſtice into the hands of the lords of the religion; and ſo all capteins were ſet at libertie, the baniſhed miniſters called home (though manie of them ſtill remained in England) and reſtored to their former offices, dignities, and liuings, and the Jeſuits and ſeminarie prieſts wonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flie diſguiſed in mariners attire into the parts beyond the ſeas. Thus the king granting the requeſts of the nobilitie, and yelding

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The earle of Arrane flieth.

The earle of Angus entreth Sterling.

The caſtell of Sterling beſieged.

The king ſendeth to the lords of the religion.

The anſwer of the lords of the religion to the kings demands.

The lords of the religion exhibit three petitions to the king.

The king granteth the requeſts of the lords.

Noble men committed to cuſtodie.

The kings gard remoued and a new placed.

The biſhop of S. Andrews taken.

The miniſters called home.

The Jeſuits readie to flie Scotland.

to the state of the present time, committed himselfe to the protection of these lords of the religion remaining in their custodie, after that they had once entred the castell of Sterling.

The king in the custodie of the lords of the religion.

Wherevpon much congratulation being made for this returne of those banished lords into Scotland, the quéne of England hauing intelligence thereof, did send hir ambassador William Knolles esquire marshall of hir bench into the parts of Scotland, to vnderstand the parts thereof, and of the maner of the proceeding of these noble men with the king: which ambassador after his abode and honorable interteinment in that countrie, returned home in December following. In which moneth there was a parlement called at Lithgo, for the full ratifieng and confirming of the restitution of these lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced both from his earledome of Arrane, and office of chancellorship: and the earle of Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chancellor. Besides which also the custodie of the lunatike earle of Arrane, sonne of the duke of Chatelerault was taken from the same James Steward earle of Arrane, and committed to John lord Hamilton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike earle, sometime remaining in the wardship of the said John Hamilton, before that the said James Steward had gotten the possession of that lunatike earle into his owne hands, out of the custodie of the same John Hamilton.

William Knolles sent ambassador into Scotland.

The earle Bothwell made chancellor.

But somewhat to leaue the lunatike earle in safe kéeping, we will speake a litle of this James Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife; who being a woman of delight of change in marriage, was (after the second shipwracke) married to this earle of Arrane; for she being one of the daughters of the earle of Atholl, was first married to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to marrie than to burne (although by the sequele of the same she felt small contentment therein) she bound hir selfe with the knot of matrimonie vnto Robert Steward earle of March and bishop of Cathnesse; but after finding occasion of diuorce, the contention and sute whereof continued verie long, from the said earle, she was in the end separated; and then the third time bestowed hir selfe in marriage vpon this James Steward earle of Arrane, by whome she had issue diuerse sonnes and daughters, the eldest whereof the king tooke from the font and christened.

James Steward earle of Arrane married to the widow of the erle of March.

Thus leauing this erle of Arrane for this time, I thinke it not amisse in this place to step aside from the matters of these present times; and herein at the aduancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord chancellor of Scotland, to record some things touching some such persons as haue (to my knowledge by reading of Scotish histories) possessed that office of chancellorship before time, as in an other place before at the mention of an other chancellor I haue discoursed of the originall and deriuation of the name of that office. In which this my discourse of the succession of chancellors, although I shall set downe but few persons in number, & can not make a full continuance of their orderlie succession, from their first institution vnto this daie: yet I suppose it better to mention those which haue come vnto my hands, thereby to occasion others hereafter to treat more liberallie of such honorable officers, than vtterlie to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulnesse. Which treatise of the chancellors I am the willinger to deliuer, because I haue donne the like (but more amplie) for England, as being better acquainted with our owne than their histories.

The names and times of certeine *chancellors of Scotland, gathered out* of the histories of that nation.

William Wood.

William Wood bishop of Dunblaine was chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fiue, as some haue (but Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 226 giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand one hundred and three score, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yére of our redemption one thousand two hundred and foure tene. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancellor.

John Lion.

John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauor with the said Robert the second, maried the ladie Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whome he had in franke mariage diuerse possessions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies with the tresse in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was slaine in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw.

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred and eleuen in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Murdacke, betweene the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and the beginning of the reigne of James the first, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred twentie and six) was sent ambassador into France with other noblemen of Scotland, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270. Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius eius Mordacus regni procurator designatur. A quo Carolus septimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque locum suffectus) per legatos auxilium contra Anglos postulat. Assensus ille est, & eosdē duces (quos paulò ante in Franciam in copijs traiecisse commemorauimus) cum valido militum manu Gallo subsidio remisit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlau episcopus Aberdonensis, vir magnæ inter regni primores singularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui cancellariatus magistratum magna gessit dexteritate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Carolum consolaretur, & certiorem faceret eos, qui Galliam aduenerāt, & totius Scotiæ incolas, adeò in eius fide & amore perstare, vt se atque bona omnia, pro illius Francorúmque salute tribuere ex animo, sunt parati: idque rei exitus probabit. After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long, for Henrie Lichton, who came shortlie in his place of the bishoprike, was with other sent ambassador into England, to fetch home James the first, and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creichton.

William Creichton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chancellor to James the first, was (in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and three, about the ninth yeare of the same king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Hales, sent

ſent to the caſtle of Dunbar, with letters ſigned with the kings hand, directed to the kæpers of the caſtle to deliuer the ſame to the hringers thereof: which the kæpers of that caſtle durſt not diſobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and fiue, and the eleuenth of the ſame king, he was ſent ambaſſador into Denmarke, where he concluded a ſound peace betwéene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good ſeruice being well weied, he was after the death of James the firſt, and in the entrance of James the ſecond into the gouernment of Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorſhip, beſide which he had the gouernment of the kings perſon, and of the caſtle of Edenburgh committed to his charge. Then by reaſon of contention which fell betwéene ſir Alexander Leuingſton the gouernour of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and ſeuen, whereby inſued much miſchéefe and bloudſhed in the realme (as alwaies by my obſeruation I haue found to happen during the minoritie and the inſufficiencie of kings) at what time the quéene taking part with the gouernor againſt the chancellor, found means by ſubtiltie to get the king into hir poſſeſſion out of the hands of the chancellor, after that ſhe had handſomlie truſſed vp the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the gouernor beſieged the chancellor in the caſtle of Edenburgh, but in the end they agréed that Creichton ſhould ſtill kéepe the caſtle of Edenburgh and of his office of chancellor.

That done, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the ſecond, the chancellor obteined to haue the quéene Dowager, and hir huſband James Steward lord of Lorne releaſed out of the priſon of Sterling, whither they were committed by the gouernor. Which done the chancellor kéeping in mind the deceit of the quéene, in ouerreaching him, by getting the king out of his poſſeſſion, and ſéeing the gouernor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleaſure, did ſo worke that he found meanes, that he onlie accompanied with foure and twentie perſons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his poſſeſſion, whom he carried with him into the caſtle of Edenburgh, wherewith the gouernor was grœuouſlie diſpleaſed, but not able to remedie the ſame, there was an agrœment made betwéene the chancellor and him, that the king ſhould remaine in the cuſtodie of the chancellor, and the gouernor continue his office in adminiſtrating the affaires of the realme. Wherevpon in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the ſecond, the gouernor and the chancellor aſſemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edenburgh. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the ſame James the ſecond, both the gouernor and the chancellor (at the perſuaſion of William earle Dowglas) were remoued from their offices by the king, who being now about fourtéene yeres old, had taken the abſolute gouernment of the kingdome vpon him: beſides which they were alſo put from the councell, their friends were baniſhed the court, and they were ſummoned to appeare before the king, which they refuſed, not as giltie in conſcience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enimies, wherevpon they were proclamed rebels and put to the horne, which occaſioned William Dowglaſſe the chancellors great enimie to gather a power and ſpoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall whereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land of Dowglaſſe, and ſpoiled the ſame all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglaſſe, cauſed him to procure the king in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie and fiue, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the caſtles of Edenburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do vntill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiſcat, hauing therein no iniurie done vnto him, for as ſaith Leſleus: Primus omnium ſanciuerat Creichtonus, vt qui regi caſtrum aliquod poſtulanti reſtiterit, violatæ maieſtatis arceſſatur, cuius ille legis pœnam primus ſubijt, as did he which deuiſed Phalaris bull. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 297.

But after when the king had beſieged Edenburgh caſtle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the ſame was deliuered with condition, that Creichton ſhould ſtill remaine chancellor, which obteined, he neuer after delt in the affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie & ſix, being the tenth of James the ſecond, ſent ambaſſador to the duke of Gelderland to obteine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to paſſe. All which notwithſtanding in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes diſgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fortie and ſeuen, forfalted, for that his ſeruants would not deliuer Creichtons houſe or caſtle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it ſéemeth, ſuch is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglaſſe (ſuppoſing him to be the cauſe that the king miſliked the earle) aſſaulted one morning as he was comming out of the caſtle of Edenburgh, from which although wounded, he eſcaped vnto his caſtle of Creichton, where in ſhort ſpace after he aſſembled a power, recouered Edenburgh from the Dowglaſſe, and had deſtroied the earle at that preſent, if he had not ſhifted awaie more ſpédilie: who being thus diſhonorablie chaſed from Edenburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Roſſe to ioine with him againſt Creichton, but he little eſtéeming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred fiftie and three, or a thouſand foure hundred fiftie and foure as ſome haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, grœuouſlie fallen into the kings diſpleaſure. In which yeare alſo the king calling a parlement at Edenburgh, the earldome of Murreie was giuen to ſir James Creichton, or rather reſtored to him, from whom it had bœne wrongfullie taken by the iniuſt ſentence of William earle of Dowglaſſe, who had procured it to be aſſigned to his brother Archibald Dowglaſſe, although the right remained in the ſame ſir James Creichton. But yet when the ſame ſir James could not kéepe that earledome without the enuie of diuers perſons, he ſurrendred the ſame into the kings hands. Beſide all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathneſſe, which I thought good to note in this place, becauſe it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I do now intreat by reaſon of this chancellor.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was ſent with others into Norweie to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betwéene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Chriſt Andrew Steward.

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ding all the pretended & colourable meanes he could vse for his excuse and innocencie) he was to suffer death deseruedlie as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

An aduertisement and defense for truth *against hir backebiters, and speciallie against* the whispering fauourers and colourers *of Campions and the rest of his con-* federats treasons.

ALthough at the late arreignements at Westminster of Edmund Campion, & other his complices condemned there of sundrie high tresons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie prooued, how they all, vnder pretense of the names of Jesuits, seminarie priests, & other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to moue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawen from their naturall allegiance due to the quænes maiestie, and by these meanes to be readie in their hearts and minds and otherwise prouided, to ioine their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended spedilie to procure to be sent into this relme, as with other rebellious subiects by them to be thereto also excited, of purpose to depriue hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignitie; in like maner as latelie hath bene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilest he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Jesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, intised a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie; & so departing from their allegiance, vpon the arriuall of forren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodnesse hath giuen hir maiestie (through hir good ministers) power to the vanquishing, not onelie of those forren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in corners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Jesuits, by exhorting and teaching; with shriuing, massing, and such like acts, to moue people to change their religion, & to yeld their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar (although the same be of themselues offenses verie heinous, and seeds of sedition not allowable by the laws of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuertheless it did manifestlie appere vpon their indictments, and at their arreignements, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arreigned and condemned, were such as were in truth hie tresons committed against hir maiesties roiall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other places, and lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminaries multitudes of English Jesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitiues, whereof their heads and gouernors vse continuallie in their sermons, and in their bookes publikelie printed, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the quænes maiestie of hir life and crowne: to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to moue the subiects to renounce their naturall obedience; & according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to persuade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull quæne of the realme, nor that the subiects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all free, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfullie, yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also latelie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring vp the people in the popes name, and vnder his standard to an open generall rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the comming into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and prooued; as if by Gods goodnes by their apprehensions, after their secret wandrings and disguisings of themselues in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not bene now staied, and by iust punishments ordered to be executed, there would haue appeared such mischiefe as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by inuasion of the same with forren enimies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre ciuill, can not be without great greefe mentioned or imagined.

The true occasion of Campions & other of his stampe comming into England.

The cuill practises of the Jesuits in Ireland.

The sum and drift of pope Pius his seditious bull.

Much mischiefe preuented by the timelie attaching of Campion and his like.

The proceeding of iustice against Campion, &c. defamed.

Campion and his complices offense was ranke treason.

And to the further reproofe and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitours now condemned, they being all seuerallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arreignement to declare what they thought of the said popes bull (by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne) and of doctor Sanders, and of Brisktowes traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland; and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Rushton, could be persuaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their mislikings either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Brisktowes traitorous writings or actions, or of the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did apparantlie shew their traitorous harts still fixed to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance: whereof God giue all good subiects, being true Englishmen borne, grace to beware, and in no sort to giue eare or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoeuer they shall be couered with hypocrisie, & false and fained holines of Rome.

How the traitors stood opinioned to the said factious bull, &c.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pitifull delaies began to passe awaie, in somuch that the executioner was now to fall to his charge: whervpon Campion was exhorted to praie with the people in English; naie, to doo so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his *Pater noster* in Latine, and desired all those of the household of faith to saie

one *Credo* for him. Manie indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the quéene forgiuenesse, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortlie he replied: You and I, we are not of one religion. After a few silent praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaie, & he committed to the merice of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin séemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords praier in English, beléeuing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saued him, and in the Holie ghost that sanctified him: and according to the saieng of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his sauiour and redéemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a préest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make deniall thereof. He asked the quœnes maiestie forgiuenesse, and desired that she might long liue and reigne ouer vs. Then was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had béene read to Campion, and after a few praiers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian séemed more obstinat and impious, using verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie praiers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthie the rehearsall. Iustice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had béene before them.

Rafe Sherwins behauiour at his death.

Alexander Brians demenour at his death.

¶ No sooner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offendors from the earth; but certeine enimies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deuise, tending to the iustifieng of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and vnrecompensable defamation of the course of iustice and iudgement against them commensed and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitle them martyrs, saieng among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

Vna dies viuos pariter cæsósque videbat,
In cœlum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeternísque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,
Hæc sunt martyribus dona parata pijs.
Fœlix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyrijs donans cœlica regna tribus:
Fœlix quæ sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
*Quem cæcata odij fuderat ira * tui:*
Supremúmque manens fœlix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.

* *Alludit ad Angliam.*

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; yea forging most monstruous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnappeaseable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarilie sanctified, suffered so shamefull a death: in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie wheron Campion was executed, the riuer of Thams did neither eb nor flow, but stood still. O miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a litle before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirteenth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the quéens maiesties subiects as heretiks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (albeit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with fowle mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

Abr. Fl. *Ex concione apud crucem Paulinam per D. Sellar 6. Feb. 1586.*

But of this matter inough, & now to the processe of English accidents after this tragicall narration.] When the quéene of England and the monsieur euen duke of Anion vnderstood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Pruneaux (who had béene sent ouer a litle before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassador) what good will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walkeren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to do him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Dhain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to sée his highnes, for the present ratifieng of the former couenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was néedfull that he should passe ouer with all spéed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had béene declared oft afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassador to hir maiestie and his highnes: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolued by hir maiestie & his highnes, that the monsieur should depart. Whereupon the quéene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to chose vessels mét for transporting of the monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and spéed, that the ships being readie with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the riuer of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes nére to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe afterward by his commandement and for his seruice; the quéene determined to giue him a companie & traine mét for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therfore (as agréeing with hir highnesse hart) she commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir horsses, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike hir maiesties nére kinsman,

Monsieur duke of Anion departeth out of England.

——(*cuius fuerat matertera pulchra*
*Reginæ genetrix Henrici nobilis * vxor*)

* *Nempe Anna Henrici 8 vxor, sereniss. reginæ Elisabethæ genetrix.*

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priuie councell, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so litle time, to honour him withall: whereunto the said lords obeied verie willinglie. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsore, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Awdleie second sonne to the late duke of Norffolke: master Philip Sidneie nephue to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master John & Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Drurie, & sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windsore brother to the lord Windsore, master

ster John Bozough brother to the lord Bozough, master Walter Ralegh, master George Carew, master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Darcie, master Michaell Stanhope, master William Knols master Francis Knolles, master George Digbie, master Thomas Vauasor, master Anthonie Mildemaie, master Henrie Nowell, master Nicholas Gorges, master Michaell Harecourt, master Fulke Greuill: so as the whole traine that attended vpon the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gentlemen, and more than three hundred seruingmen. The lord of Hunsdon had of gentlemen and others togither to the number of a hundred and fiftie: and the lord Howard had as manie; besides manie more, whereof diuerse were hir maiesties seruants. The queene determined to accompanie the monsieur to the sea side, & yet neuertheless commanded the said lords to keepe their course, and to attend vpon his highnesse to the said place, with all maner of solemnities, interteinments, and feastings. Ye on the other side desired and besought hir maiestie not to depart from London, as well for that the iournie would be painefull vnto hir; and for that he saw the weather faire and wind fauorable, and therefore was loth to lose anie occasion of performing his voiage with all spéd. But he could not preuaile.

The queenes maiestie lodgeth at Rochester.

Whereupon hir maiestie tooke hir iournie with hir whole court, the first daie of Februarie, & lodged that night at Rochester. The next daie abiding still at Rochester, hir maiestie shewed him all hir great ships which were in that place, into most whereof his highnesse and the prince and lords of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lords & gentlemen, who confessed that of good right the queene of England was reported to be ladie of the seas. Also he beheld how all those ships were readie furnished and well appointed. And hir maiestie told him that all those vessels & the furniture of them should doo him seruice, when soeuer he would imploie them: for the which he most humblie thanked hir maiestie, and so after all the great ordinance had béene shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both togither, the queene was serued after the English manner by the greatest ladies of hir court; and the monsieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards togither. Then his highnesse besought hir maiestie againe to go no further, declaring vnto hir that the faire weather passed awaie. But notwithstanding his intreatance the queene went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarriance, when she had openlie feasted all the French nobilitie, either part tooke their leaue of other, not without great griefe and shew of verie great amitie, especiallie betweene hir maiestie and the monsieur. Which thing was perceiued also in the lords and gentlemen of both nations, & likewise in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to depart after they had béene conuersant and had liued friendlie and brotherlie togither by the space of three moneths, without anie change or alteration of good willes. But the honor which inforced his highnesse, asswaged his griefe, and made him to proceed on his iournie with the said prince and lords of both nations.

The queenes maiestie accõpanied the monsieur to Canturburie where they & their traine parted.

The first daie of the same moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to lodge that night of Sandwich, bicause the wind was somewhat changed. Howbeit, some of the English gentlemen, namelie master Killegreie, master Diar and diuerse others, to eschew thronging at their imbarking went to Douer, and there taking ship the same night laie a while at anchor, and somwhat after midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels. The seuenth daie in the morning about nine of the clocke, his highnesse tooke the sea in three great ships of war. In the greatest of them named the Discouerer, sailed the monsieur himselfe with the erle of Leicester, and the lord Howard the vicеadmerall; in the second called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Louall, and the lord of Hunsdon. Now as his highnesse was yet at anchor, there came a post from a lord of England, who brought him word that the states of the low countries were reuolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefore he praied him not to depart vntill he had more certeine newes. Notwithstanding this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so sailed awaie with fiftéene ships: and he had so faire weather (which continued euen vntill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feasting and solemne interteinement there) that the heauen, the winds, the sea, and the earth séemed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladnesse which the people shewed in receiuing him with so great good will.

The prince of Orange taketh order for the interteinment of the monsieur.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, séeing the time fit, departed from Middleborough, where he had taried the monsieurs comming six wéekes and more, and came to Flushing to take order for all things that were requisit for the honorable and commodious interteinement of so great a prince. At the which place, vnderstanding by the letters of the said lords ambassadours and others, that the monsieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie; and therefore thinking it would not be longer he arriued there: he dispatched monsieur Treslon his viceadmerall of Zeland, with a litle pinnesse called the Chase, to go before to méet the monsieur: commanding him that as soone as he had discouered his fleet, he should giue him a watchword thereof by the shot of two cannons. Monsieur Treslon hauing about nonetide discouered the ships that were parted from Douer, and thinking that they had béene the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the cause that a certeine vessell went forth to the sea to méet his highnesse; but anon after perceiuing his errour, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the fleet of Douer arriued. Then monsieur Treslon going forth, found the monsieur and the great fleet betwéene Newport and Dunkirke: where after salutation giuen and taken on either side, the monsieur standing vpon the hatches of his ship, espied his owne secretarie named Nephue standing likewise vpon the hatches of the Chase; to whome he sent his shipbote, commanding him to come aboord to him, which thing he did, and there aduertised the monsieur that as concerning the reuolting of the states there was no such matter, but that all things went verie well, & that his highnesse was waited for with great longing. That daie, by reason the wind was turned northeast, they could go no further, but were faine to cast anchor ouer against a place called Ostend, where they passed that night, waiting for the tide the next morning. His ships were perceiued by them of Flushing, where after midnight arriued the lord of S. Aldegond, who assured the prince of Orange, that the next morning the monsieur would arriue there with the tide. Whereupon the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie with a great number of gentlemen tooke the sea the next morning: but bicause the tide was against them, and on the other part the monsieur hauing a side wind with him was constreined to hast to the land. By meanes whereof the prince, being not able to come aboord to him with his ship, was faine to turne saile backe againe to Flushing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land alreadie & sought euerie where for the prince his brother.

Nephue the monsieurs secretarie.

The lord of S. Aldegond, the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie, &c.

When

When they had imbraced and saluted one an other like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiuing the monsieur to approch verie nere, tooke the water againe. But when he perceiued him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and hied him so fast that he tooke land before him, and there tarried his comming. As soone as he was arriued, while he was yet in his bote readie to come aland, the prince receiued him with great reuerence; and imbracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said vnto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had bene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer vnto him his most humble seruice, with goods and life, & all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing indured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Wherevnto the monsieur answered verie wiselie and briefflie. And when he had imbraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and doings: he came aland, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great preasse of men of war and other people pestering one an other, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers preasing to know the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the quenes ships as of the other ships, whereof the number was great which laie then in the rode, with so great roring and thundering, that they conueied the newes of his highnesse happie arriuall in the low countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers; for his houshold and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bullongne foure daies afore, were come to Middleborough.

Embracing of the knee.

The monsieur landeth.

Lustie discharging of guns on all sides.

The monsieur verie ioifullie receiued.

The magistrates of the citie waited for him at the gates of the citie, who told him by the mouth of their recorder, that they were verie glad of his comming, and thought themselues happie to see him, in hope, that by his guiding and gouernement they should see their countrie restored to tranquillitie, and set vp againe in hir former renowme. The states of Brabant speaking by the mouth of monsieur van Stralen Amptman of Antwerpe, after their welcomming of him, declared with what mind the noble and good cities of Brabant had expected him, beseeching him most humblie to honor the countrie of Brabant with his presence out of hand. Next then the deputies of the citie of Brurelles (besides the declaration which they made of their owne good will, and generallie of all the peoples of that countrie) declared also particularlie, with what great goodwill and affection his highnesse had bene waited for in that citie, the cheefe seat of the lords of that countrie; and that after so manie mischeefes which they had suffered for withstanding the tyrannie of the Spaniards, next vnto God they had not anie hope, but in the comming of his highnesse their prince and lord. Afterward they of Antwerpe were heard, who declared the affection of the people toward his highnesse, their long longing for him, and the great desire which they had to see their prince and souereigne. The colonels and capteins of the towne spake afterward, and declared vnto him how carefullie and diligentlie they had kept the citie, in hope to put it shortlie into his hands, and reioising likewise at his comming.

Antwerpe reioiseth at the monsieurs comming.

Vnto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and briefflie, as vnto all the residue, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leaue went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such prouision was made, that all were well lodged and serued, notwithstanding that aboue fiue hundred men of the onelie English lords were come aland that daie. All that after none was spent in feasting, in making of bonefires, in fireworks, in sounding of trumpets, and in all maner of tokens of ioie, which all men vttered vniuersallie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselues vnto him at Middleborough.

English lords and their retinues.

The prince of Orange, perceiuing that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Middleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Ramekins, to enter in at the great chanell of Middleborough by the bout of the foreland; an other by the little chanell through the countrie; and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not ioorneie either by coch or on horsebacke by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one causeie whereby folke trauelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnesse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and vnderstanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, vndertooke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie, as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alredie at Middleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swissers. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Middleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him, told him of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Middleborough for their owne part thought themselues greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifulnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, & then began the Swissers to march on in their order, striking vp their drums after their manner. Moreouer, six companies of the citizens well armed and well araied stood imbattelled without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leisurelie behind.

Three waies to Middleborough.

The monsieur is met going to Middleborough.

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioised at the happie successe which his highnes had had in making the peace in France, and in rescuing the citie of Cambraie by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for none other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finallie for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happilie arriued in Zeland, most humblie thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humblie whatsoeuer their dutie required. At the entrie of the gate one brought him a coursor of Naples, but he determined with himselfe (seeing that the

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland.

The monsieur would do as the compame did.

sed in a sentence of few words.

maie nourish the venem of that humor.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can hold in this unfortunat age that ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God, to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather shew their wils through malice, than with iust cause by desert, to saie ill, or deface princes either by speach or writing: assuring our selues, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellors shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for deprauing of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are God ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to liue vpon the face of the earth.

The reward that wicked and infamous libellors shall reape at the hands of God and men.

Giuen at Richmount the first of October, 1585. and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of November and December, manie horsses and men were shiped at the Tower wharffe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of hir maiestie & the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Esser, where the maior & his brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the next morrow set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie received and interteined.

The earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the low countries.

A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession.

The collection of the earles of Leicester by Fr. Thin 1585.

THis going of Robert Sutton of Dudleie the sonne of John Dudleie duke of Northumberland into the low countries, hath occasioned my pen to treat somewhat of the earles of Leicester. Wherefore sith there hath bene (some hundred yeares past) some noble persons indued with that honorable title of the erldome of Leicester before & since the conquest; therefore determining to make some mention of them, being a thing not common, and so much the more worthie of continuance to posteritie: I saie, that if any shall thinke this discourse ouer briefe, and slender mention of such honorable persons, of their worthie exploits, of their antiquitie, of their descents and succession; let him for the present satisfie himselfe with this whatsoeuer it now be, vntill it shall please God to giue better abilities & more time, to deliuer to the world the whole discourse of their liues, which I haue alreadie roughlie hewen out of the rocke in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I haue done of the other earles of this realme.

But here before I come to deliuer the names of these earles, it shall not be amisse to note the opinion of the best antiquaries of our age, and of such other persons, as for their rare knowledge and singular care in deliuering a truth to the world of matters belonging to antiquitie, deseruing singular commendation and aduancement. These antiquaries (I saie) of our time are led by some authoritie, (but by more reason) to suppose, that before Edward the Confessors time, there were not anie earles in England of such state and maiestie by creation of a lineall descent, as they now and manie yeares since be, and haue bene; but that they were onelie lords of those places, whereof they were intituled, as members vnder him that was principall king of that prouince, and onelie called *Comites* (as in those daies there were *Duces* and *Comites*; not of anie title of honor of place, but by vertue of their office) by reason that they were Companions appointed to associat the duke, capteine or leader of the men at arms. To which opinion I do most willingly for this time consent, as well for that it standeth with reason; as for that in all charters before the conquest, such as were witnesses to anie such deed, did onlie subscribe their name of duke and earle, without anie name of place, or title of honor, by reason of that place. As for example appeareth in a charter dated the foureteenth yeare of king Edgar, and in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and nine, in which amongst other things he gaue Howell to Westminster church: wherevnto were witnesses besides the clergie, Alfer dux, Marcher dux, Oslac dux, Birnoth dux, Ofred dux, Fordwine dux, &c. And if it be obiected, that vpon the diuision of the land into prouinces or shires by Alured, that then there were creations of seuerall noblemen of such seuerall places; I will not much contend therein: but yet I saie that then they were not such as had permanent succession of those titles of honour to their heires, but were remoueable at the princes pleasure, as it is at this daie in the shiriffe of euerie shire, being the deputie of euerie such earle as his name doth well proue, being *Vicecomes*. Yet since the time of Edward the Confessor (and as I suppose) somewhat aboue that, in the time of Canutus there were earles and lords of special places and titles of honour: but I as yet not hauing anie certeintie to set downe therein, will onelie deliuer that which I haue seene in an ancient pedegree written about the conquest time touching the earles of Leicester; not deciding what kind of earles they were either inheritable of that honor, or remoueable at the princes pleasure; but leauing the same to others, who either will or can better that which I haue done: wherefore thus I begin with those earles of Leicester.

Leofricus, the first of that name, was honored with the title of the earledome of Leicester in the daies of Ethelbald king of Mercia, which Ethelbald was slaine about the yeare of our redemption seauen hundred fortie and nine. Leofrike 1. Anonymus. M.S.

Algarus, the first of that name, sonne of the said Leofrike was earle of Leicester, and liued in the time of Offa the great, Kenulphus, Kenelmus, Ceolwlfus, Bernulfus, Ludicanus, and Witlafius kings of Mercia, which last king began his reigne ouer that prouince, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred twentie and six; during whose reigne this Algarus died, and was buried at Crowland. Algarus 1.

Algarus, the second of that name, by some called Alfricus the second, sonne of Algarus the first, liued vnder the gouernement of Burred king of Mercia, which Burred was expelled by the Danes, in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord eight hundred seauentie and two; which Algarus was killed by the Danes; Henguar and Hubba, in the yeare that the sonne of God was borne of the virgin eight hundred seuentie and three, at Strelinghain or Skrekingham in Lestinen, and buried at Crowland. Algarus 2.

Leofrike, the second of that name, the sonne of Algarus the second, liued in the time of Alured or Alfred, and of Edward the elder kings of the Westsaxons, which Edward began his reigne about the yeare that the word became flesh nine hundred. Leofrike 2.

Leofwine the sonne of Leofrike the second, was earle of Leicester, and liued vnder the reigne of Athelstane, Edmund, Eldred, Edwine, and Edgar, Leofwine.

kings of England, of which kings the said Edgar began his reigne, in the yere that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of man nine hundred fiftie and nine, vnder whose reigne this Leofwine departed this life, leauing behind him three sonnes, Leofrike, Edwine, and Norman, whereof Edwine was slaine by the Welchmen, and Norman was killed (with Edricus de Streonia) by Canutus the Dane king of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norweie.

Leofrike 3. Leofrike, the third of that name, the sonne of Leofwine, was the most famous man of his time, as well for gouernement, as for building of monasteries; he was earle of Chester, Leicester, and Couentrie, or rather (to speake better) earle of Mercia, which conteined those three prouinces, and manie more; he liued in the daies of Edward the second, Ethelred, Edmund, Canutus, Harold Harefoot, Hardeknute, and Edward the third, commonlie called Edward the Confessor, being all kings before the conquest. This man was of great yeares, and died at his manor of Bromleie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and six, being ten yeares before the conquest, and was buried in Couentrie, in the alleie which he founded; he maried Godina, by whome he had Algarus.

Algarus 3. Algarus the third of that name sonne of Leofrike, succeeding his fathers inheritance, had by Edward the Confessor further added vnto it the earldome of Oxford, for which becomming verie proud, he often aduanced himselfe against the prince, by occasion whereof he was manie times banished, but restored againe to the earledome of Leicester by Edward the Confessor: he liued in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of Harold the sonne of Goodwine, earle of Kent, and constable of Douer castle. He is appointed by manie authors to haue manie children, as Edwine earle of Mercia: Morkarus earle of Northumberland: Siwardus, or rather Siwardus, earle of Southampton at the time of the conquest: Algitha the wife of Harold the sonne of Goodwine, as saith Henrie Knighton, lib. 1. cap. 2. and Lucia first maried to Juon Tailbois, by whom she had no issue: after maried to Roger the sonne of Girald Romare, by whom she had issue William Romare heire to his father, and earle of Lincoln. And thirdlie she was married to Ranulph the second of that name earle of Chester, by whom she had issue Ranulph the third of that name, earle of Chester.

Morkar. Morkar was earle of Leicester and Lincolne at the time of the conquest, as appeareth by a booke carried about in the hands of all men, composed of all the nobilitie since the conquest: which booke within some lines after, doth also name one Simon Siluester to be earle of Leicester at the time of the conquest, by which of necessitie there must be two earles of Leicester at the time of the conquest, or else there appeareth a great contradiction in that booke; so that which waie so euer it be taken, the booke is imperfect, for it is impossible to haue two earles of one seigniorie at one time, which was at the time of the conquest to be liuing, as that booke maketh them both. To which two if you please we will with like error, and with as much authoritie adde the third person, which is earle Edwine, whome some also will needs haue to be earle of Leicester, and that with some shew of reason, for that he was earle of Mercia, which conteined Leicestershire, Lincolneshire, and manie other shires of England. But of all these three to make choise of him which was the truest, I must imbrace Simon Siluester, who I suppose came to that title after the death of Algarus, by the gift of Edward the Confessor. And that there was one Simon earle of Leicester in the Conquerors time, it is so manifest as it needeth no proofe. For the charter of Robert Mellent the first created earle of Leicester, after the time of the conqueror, in the reigne of Henrie the first, reciting one Simon to be earle of Leicester, and predecessour to the said Robert Beaumont or Mellent, doth sufficientlie aduouch the same: which Simon was earle of Leicester all the time of the Conqueror and William Rufus, as the said booke of the nobilitie saieth. Now this Simon being before the conquest intituled to that honor, the one of the nobilitie amongst others which called in William Conqueror, and toke his part against Harold (for the duke of Normandie had not beene of power to subdue England but that he was mostlie aided by the nobilitie of this Ile, and partlie by the Flemings and other nations) was after permitted by the Conqueror and by his sonne William Rufus quietlie to enjoy all such lands and honors as he possessed at anie time before the inuasion of the Normane bastard, vntill the death of the said Simon, which happened about one hundred and ten, or neere there vnto. After the death of which Simon the earledome of Leicester was bestowed vpon Robert Mellent, as hereafter followeth.

Robert Beaumont or Mellent. Robert Beaumont or Mellent, so called because he was earle of Mellent in Normandie; in the right of his mother Adelina sister and heire to Hugh earle of Mellent, was sonne to Roger of Beaumont lord of Ponte Odonar in Normandie, to the which Robert Henrie the first gaue the earldome of Leicester, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred & three, as appeareth by his charter of the foundation of the abbeie of Leicester, of whom thus writeth Knighton: *Iste* (meaning Robert earle of Mellent) *venit in Angliam cum Williamo Conquestore, cui datus est comitatus Leicestriæ.* This Robert built the church of saint Maries in the castle of Leicester, which was destroied in the time of the former war, wherin he placed secular canons, and gaue vnto them lands, rents, and possessions. In which charter and gift of those lands, he maketh mention of Henrie earle of Warwike his brother, and of Margaret wife of the said Henrie. He died in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and eightéene, being about the eightéenth of Henrie the first; he married Isabell the daughter of Hugh the great earle of Vermondois, by whom he had issue Gualeran earle of Mellent, and Robert le Bosue earle of Leicester, which Isabell the wife of this Robert the first earle of Leicester, was sister to Ralfe Perona earle of Vermondois, of whom writeth Robertus Montensis these words: *Porro Robertus consul de Mellent sapientissimus in rebus secularibus vsque in Ierusalem degentium, & regis Henrici familiaris consiliarius luce, mundana caruit: cui successerunt filij sui Gualeranus in Normania factus comes Mellent, & Robertus in Anglia factus comes Leicestriæ.* Beside which it appeareth that Robert earle of Mellent had a daughter married to Hugh Montfort, for thus writeth the same Robert Montensis: *Eodum anno* (which was the yeare of Christ, one thousand one hundred twentie and three, and the three and twentith of king Henrie the first) *Hugo de Monteforti perfecerat quoddam castellum validissimum in eodem loco, quod cum rex interrogaret, noluit dare monitu vxoris suæ sororis Curlerani comitis Mellis, qui iam discordia propalata a rege decessit: quod castrum rex obsidione cœpit.* And in the yeare following, the said Gualerane, Hugh Montfort, and Hugh Fitzgeruase were taken by William Tankeruille the kings chamberleine, & the seuenth kalends of Aprill, touching which Gualerane earle of Mellent this also writeth the same Montensis, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and six: *Gualeranus comes Mellenti factus monachus*

pratelli obijt, & succesſit ei filius eius Robertus, natus ex ſorore Ebroicenſis, duxit autem idem Robertus filiam Reynaldi comitis Cornubiæ.

Robert de Boſſue.

Robert de Boſſue, or rather Boſue, ſo ſurnamed becauſe of his crookebacke, was earle of Leiceſter after the death of his Father, he built the monaſterie of Luffeld in Northamptonſhire, within the forreſt of Wichwood, otherwiſe called Whithelwood, as appeareth by this charter.

The charter of Robert earle of Leiceſter, *about the building of the monaſterie of Luffeld.*

RObertus comes Legeceſtriæ, Radulpho pincernæ & omnibus baronibus ſuis ſalutem. Sciatis me dediſſe ſeruo meo Malgerio monacho in eleemoſynã partam landam, quæ eſt inter Lunbreodam & Cepeleiam, ad manſiones & oratorium ibidem faciendum, & de alia terra de Cernelia tantum ad ædificandum, quantum ego conuenienter conſiderabo per conſilium amicorum meorum. Et hoc feci pro anima regis Anglorum Willielmi, & Matildæ reginæ, & Rogeri de Bellomonte & Adelinæ vxoris ſuæ; & pro anima patris mei Roberti & fratris mei Gualerani. Teſtibus Willielmo de Diua, Galſrido de Turuill, &c. Et hoc feci per conſilium & laudẽ comitis de Guarenna & Nigelli de Albineto, & Gualerani fratris mei comitis de Mellent.

This monaſterie was of the order of Benedictines vnder the gouernment of a prior, whereof one Iohn was appointed by king Henrie, as maie appeare by this writ. *Henricus, &c. Vicecomitibus, &c. Præcipio quòd manuteneatis Iohannem priorem meum de Luffeld, quem ibi priorem feci & inſtitui, &c. Teſte Iohanne decano de Sarum apud Vdeſtoc.* By which appereth, that though the foundation were ſometime of the earles of Leiceſter; that yet the preſentation was at that time in the king: which earle about the ſecond of K. Stephan, hired the erle Theobald to take his part. For thus writeth Robertus Montenſis; *Comes Theobaldus nepos Henrici* (which was king Henrie the firſt) *conductus à Roberto comite Leiceſtriæ obſedit pontem ſancti Petri & cœpit eum ſuper Rogerum de Toneio.* After which this Robert de Boſſue, by the conſent of Alexander biſhop of Lincolne, did in the yeare of our redemption, one thouſand one hundred fortie and three, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Stephan, build the monaſterie called *Sancta Maria de pratis,* in the honor of the aſſumption of the virgine Marie, and of the lands, poſſeſſions, rents and churches of the ſaid ſecular chanons in the caſtle of Leiceſter. With manie other lands of his owne gift, he did richlie endow that church, which he remoued out of the caſtle, & placed in the medowes without the caſtle wals, changing them into regular chanons. In which monaſterie by the conſent of his wife, he tooke on him the habit of religious, and at his firſt entrance into that houſe gaue to the monks the manor of Stratton, in which religious monaſterie he continued by the ſpace of fifténe yeares, where he ended his life in the yeare of Chriſt (as ſaith Henrie Knighton) one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and ſeuen, being the thirteenth of Henrie the ſecond: but (as others ſaie) in the yeare one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and nine, being the fiftéenth of the ſame king, and was buried on the right ſide of the quére of the ſame church. Beſides which this Robert founded the abbeie of Gerondine which he repleniſhed with monkes: and at the requeſt of his wife, and with hir helpe, he erected the monaſterie of Eaton furniſhed with nuns. He maried Amicia the daughter of Rafe Montfort, by whom he had iſſue Robert de Blanchmaines, beſides which ſonne (as it ſeemeth by Robert Montenſ.) he had a daughter maried to Rafe Toneio. For thus writeth that author in the eight yeare of Henrie the ſecond; *Radulphus de Toneo moritur, relicto paruulo filio ex filia Roberti comitis Leiceſtriæ.* This Amicia, wife to this earle Robert, did by the conſent of hir huſband become a nun in the foreſaid monaſterie of Eaton. Moreouer this earle was right heire to the honor of Britoll in Normandie, as appeareth by the ſame Montenſis, who in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the firſt, as farre as my memorie ſerueth (as I am now driuen to truſt thereunto) writeth in this ſort: *Mortuo Willielmo de Paceo abſq; liberis, redditum eſt caſtrũ Pacei Roberto filio Roberti comitis Leiceſtriæ, quia pertinebat ad honorem Britollij, vnde ipſe erat legitimus hæres ex parte matris ſuæ.*

Robert Blanchmains.

Robert oue le Blanchmains, or Robert with the white and faire hand, ſucceeding his father, was the third earle of Leiceſter of that line and name after the conqueſt, he founded the hoſpitall of Brackeleie, and indowed the ſame with poſſeſſions, where the hart of the ſaid Robert de Mellent did in the time of Richard the ſecond (in whoſe reigne Henrie Knighton that affirmeth this did liue) remaine ſound and whole, preſerued in a veſſell of lead with ſalt. This man going to Ieruſalem died in his returne homeward at Durace in Græce, where he was buried in the yere of our redemption one thouſand one hundred foure ſcore and ten, being about the ſecond yeare of king Richard the firſt. For the hautineſſe of this Robert kicking againſt king Henrie the ſecond, the walles of the citie of Leiceſter were raſed to the ground: ſith the ſaid Robert leauing the father, and taking part with king Henrie the ſonne, was in armes againſt the king: touching which thus writeth Geruaſius Dorobern. in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred three ſcore and fourtéene. *Circa feſtũ ſanctæ Luciæ miſſus eſt in Angliam iunior Robertus comes Leiceſtriæ, & cum eo nonnulla Flandrenſium milia, & a comite Hugone ſunt recepti. Capto autem de facile caſtello de Haganeth in Leiceſtriam tẽderẽt in territorio ſancti Edmundi menſe Octobri, occurrerunt eis milites regni Reginaldũ Cornubiæ comitẽ, & comitẽ de Arundel ſequentes, à quibus perterritus cum Flãdrenſib. ſuis, comes Rodbertus fugã inijt, ſed captus eſt ipſe & vxor ſua, & Fãldrenſium tria milia vel amplius trucidati perierunt.* Thus much this author liuing in that time, whereunto Robertus Montenſis addeth, that he with his wife was committed to priſon. Moreouer, this Robert earle of Leiceſter animated the monks of Canturburie to ſtand ſtiflie to the mainteinance of their priuilege againſt Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, and ſaid vnto them (when they came from the preſence of Richard the firſt, greatlie offended with them for their contumacie) By the faith I owe to God I giue you this counſell, laie all your care vpon the Lord, and he will nouriſh you, and all things are to be loſt and ſpent for God and the libertie of the church. This earle married Petronella or Parnel the daughter of Hugh Graintmill; with whom he receiued the honor of Hinkleie, together with the ſtewardſhip of England, by the gift of the ſaid Hugh, which woman did build the bodie of the great church of Leiceſter, & is buried in the quére of the ſaid church before the high altar. This woman wreathed a cord of the haire of hir head, which ſhe tied to an other longer rope, which did draw vp and let downe a lampe tied to the cord made of hir haire, which was extant and kept in the daies of king Richard the ſecond (as ſaith the ſaid author) for a monument and remembrance of hir. He had iſſue Robert Fitzpernell, William the leprous which built the hoſpitall of ſaint Leonards in Leiceſter, Robert biſhop of S. Andrews in Scotland: Amicia married to Simon Montfort, and Margaret married to Saier de Quincio earle of Wincheſter.

Robert Fitzpernell.

Robert Fitzpernell, so surnamed after his mother, was the fourth & last earle of Leicester of that line & name. He went into the holie land with king Richard the first, where after that he had ouerthrowne, and (as saith Henrie of Leicester) valiantlie slaine the Souldan at the tilt, he returned home into England, where he died issuelesse, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred and foure, and was buried in the abbeie of Leicester: after whose death the whole inheritance (because his brother William was a leper and his brother Robert a bishop, and both dieng without issue) was diuided betweene his two sisters Amicia and Margaret, the eldest being married to Simon Montfort, and the second to Saier de Quincie, as is before touched.

Simon Montfort.

Simon de Montfort, who came into England in the twelfe yeare of king John, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and ten, was in the right of his wife earle of Leicester: for hauing the moitie of the countie of Leicester, and of the honor of Hinkeleie, he was made earle of Leicester, and by right of inheritance to him and to his heires, the high steward of England. And Saier de Quincie with the other moitie of the countie of Leicester, was created earle of Winchester. After which the said Simon for disobedience towards the king, was disherited, and banished the realme with his children; and the earldome of Leicester, with the honor of Hinkeleie, was giuen to Rafe or Randulph earle of Chester. This Simon had issue, Almaricus, and Simon. Amicia (by Tilius called Arnæ) wife to this banished Simon, was after hir husbands death (as saith the same Tilius) maried to the lord of Barres, by whome she had issue William de Barres. He died suddenlie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetéene.

Randulph Bohune.

Randulph Bohune, *aliàs* Blondeuille the first earle of Chester, after the conquest, was earle of Leicester, who inioied the same by all probabilitie during his life: though some seeme not to consent thereunto, for that they find him not so called by anie other historiographer, who onelie terme him earle of Chester, Lincolne, and Huntington: he died without issue in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, being the seuentéenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

Simon de Montfort.

Simon de Montfort second sonne to the foresaid Simon banished into France, found meanes to purchase all the right that his brother Almaricus being the elder, had to the earldome of Leicester: who being in right, and so intituled, earle of Leicester, but neuer in possession thereof, procured the king to grant the same to his brother Simon. In witnesse whereof, the said Almaricus writeth to Henrie the third on this sort.

The letter of Almaricus to king Henrie the third, requesting to inuest Simon his brother in the earldome of Leicester.

EXcellentissimo domino suo Henrico, Dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi, Almaricus comes Montisfortis & Leicestriæ, salutem, &c. Vestræ regiæ maiestati multotiens supplicaui, &c: vt mihi terram meam & ius meum in Anglia, quod bonæ memoriæ pater meus de vestro tenuit, & tenebat, dum decessit, pacificè ac quietè mihi vestro militi reddatis. Quod quia dominatio vestra non placuit huc vsque facere, adhuc vestræ M. supplico humilitate qua possum, quatenus hac vice mihi vobis seruire parato, reddere dignemini terram. Et si hoc vobis non placuerit, ego ad pedes vestræ dominationis transmitto Simonem fratrem meum, qui de domino rege Franciæ nihil tenet, cui si eam reddiderit's, me pro bene pagato tenerem. Datum Parisijs mense Februario.

Upon which letters, as after shall appeare, king Henrie gaue the earldome of Leicester to the said Simon, second brother of the said Almaricus, to whome by right of inheritance the same did belong by the law of England. But here before I talke anie further of this man, I thinke it not amisse, to note what other authors haue set downe touching the pedegrée of this Simon. Wherein Nicholas Gill the Frenchman, and Tilius, with Polydor the Italian haue erred, as I proue by our histories, and especiallie by Henrie Knighton that liued some hundred yeares before anie of them all three, and so best able to know a truth; both in respect that he liued neerer to the age of this Simon, and for that the monks of his house wrote the storie of those persons which were patrons of that monasterie, whereof he was a member. For all religious persons did, with great care, kéepe in memorie by record the succession of their patrons: for which cause I doo most willinglie follow Knighton, and leaue all the other; not forbearing yet to set downe what the Frenchmen write.

Nicholas Gill nameth this Simon to be the son of Almaricus, thus speaking in his annals of France, vnder the title of Lewis the ninth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: fol. 110. En celle annee messire Simon de Montfort, qui fitz estoit de Amaulry conte de Montfort, qui estoit mort a Rome au retourne de oulter mere, per la crainte de la royne de saint Louys, qui lauoit prins en hayne senfuit en Angliterre deuers le roy Henrye, & le recent honorablement, & luy dona sa soir in mariage. Thus he maketh this Simon the son of Almaricus. Then commeth Tilius to amend vp the matter, and he maketh this Simon the sonne of an other Simon; the sonne of that Simon that maried Amicia the heire of Robert Fitzpernell, in whose right he was earle of Leicester, and so maketh three Simons in descent earles of Leicester. Which possiblie cannot be in my iudgement. For it is not possible betweene the death of that Simon and of this Simon, to haue one other Simon meane betweene them: for there could not be anie time therefore, from the death of that Simon first earle of Leicester, sith the first Simon came not manie yeares into England before that this last Simon was made earle of Leicester, about the seuentéenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth; by mine account. But this matter shall be more plentifullie examined by me hereafter, in the liues of the earles of Leicester more largelie written, sith my meaning is onelie now by the waie, to giue a note of the contrarieties of histories of the English to the French, and of the French among themselues: and so to the matter.

This Simon, after the death of his father, and agreement with his elder brother, came into England (as some saie) if that booke be trulie copied which is caried about of the nobilitie created since the conquest, in the thirtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie eight: shortlie after which, he maried Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, and daughter to king John. Then the booke going further saith, that in the fourtéenth yeare of Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, he was made earle of Leicester and high steward of England. But trulie, sauing correction, I cannot see how that can be so. For first I cannot agrée with Nicholas Gill, who saith that he came into England

in the yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: nor with the said booke of noble men which saith, that it was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and eight, nor that he maried the kings sister in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie and nine. For as Nicholas Triuet and most authors in written hand consent, William Marshall the yonger (which had before maried the said Elenor; for being his widow, she was maried to Simon Montfort) died in the yeare 1231, so that before this time, Simon Montfort could not marie this Elenor, and hir mariage to Marshall was in the yeare 1234, as saith the anonymall author that wrote the historie of England in English rime, setting downe the same mariage in this sort:

The yoonger William Marshall
That earle marshall was,
Wedded this kings sister,
As God gaue the case:
As in the yeare of grace twelue hundred
And twentie foure thereto:
Sith sir Simon de Montfort,
Espoused hir also.

Next after this, he could not in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the third be made earle of Leicester: for Randulph de Bohune earle of Chester was then liuing. And therefore I gather out of an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Euesham, that this Simon, hauing maried Elenor the kings sister, about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight, as hath Matthew Paris, being the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, after the death of earle Marshall, was also after the death of Randulph Bohune (which died in the said yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie & two, being the seuentéenth yeare of king Henrie the third) and somewhat before this mariage created earle of Leicester, about the one and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and seuen: so that there is seuen yeares full ods betweene this account, and the booke of the nobilitie. But perhaps some will saie, to be thus curious is but to contend for moneshine in the water; for what auaileth such exact calculations of time, so that they agree in substance of matter? Wherefore of this enough at this time, if truth maie not be suffered, which for the most part purchaseth hatred: and so againe to that which must follow of this Simon Montfort. Touching the marieng of this Simon, thus writeth Ioannes Londonienſis, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: *Eodem anno rex Ailionoram filiam ſuam comitiſſam de Penbroke nuptui dedit Simon de Monteforti, propter quod omnes comites & barones plurimùm indignabantur: vnde totum regnum fuit commotum. Eodem anno Simon de Monteforti iuit Romam, impetrare vt matrimonium confirmaretur inter ipſum & ſororem regis H. quod ſine læſione conſcienciæ contraxerat, votum cum fecerat ſolenne coram Eadmundo archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi de continentia ſeruanda.* Besides which aduancement by this mariage of the kings sister, this Simon Montfort was also by the said Henrie the third made high Steward of England and earle of Leicester, whereby he recouered his mothers inheritance in England, all which the king fullie granted vnto him, except the patronage of the abbeie of Leicester and the priorie of Kenelworth. This Simon being called the yonger, or Simon the second (who should not haue beene so named if there had beene three Simons in descent earles of Leicester) maried (as before is touched) Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, which had vowed chastitie, or (as the order then was) had taken vpon hir the mantle and the ring by the hands of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie. Afterwards in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and eight, as hath the same Iohn of London, he was sent into Gascoine with a great armie against Gastine the sonne of the countesse of Biard, being then a capitall enimie vnto the king of England. And shortlie following in the yeare of Christ 1252, being greeuouslie accused for his misgouernement of that countrie, he was for his tyrannie remoued from the same. Whereupon some few yeares after, this Simon being so (as before is said) by the king thus aduanced, did like an vnthankful Frenchman moue warre and rebellion against the same Henrie the third, which was called The barons war, whereof there is liberall discourse in all our chronicles, set downe in the reigne of the same king. During which warres at the battell of Euesham, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred sixtie and fiue, being the nine & fortith yeare of the long reigne of this king Henrie the third, this Simon was iustlie slaine for his wicked insurrection, in taking vpon him to correct and rule the king and kingdome. He had issue Henrie his eldest sonne, slaine with his father at the foresaid battell of Euesham; Guido Montfort, who forsaking England and going into France, was stipendarie to the French king; Simon de Montfort who fled likewise into France, and renounced all his title to the earledome of Leicester, being content with a yearelie stipend; Henrie Montfort who being treasuror of Yorke, did after the death of his father (accompanieng his brethren) depart out of England into France, and continued a student at Paris: which foure brethren had one sister named Elenor (after hir mother) maried to Lewline prince of Wales, in the time of Edward the first as our chronicles do speake. But Tilius the Frenchman, purposelie writing the pedegrée of the Montforts, saith that she was first maried to Peter de Courtneie lord of Towche, and after to Henrie lord of Sallie, speaking nothing at all of the prince of Wales. After the death of this Simon de Montfort slaine at Euesham, king Henrie the third gaue the earledome of Leicester, with the honour of Hinkelcie, and the stewardship of England to Edmund his sonne, falselie surnamed Crokebacke, as most authors do agrée.

Edmund Plantagenet, second son to Henrie the third, was made earle of Leicester by the gift of his father, with the castell of Kenelworth, in the fiftith yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and six, hauing also besides the same earledome of Leicester the earledome of Lancaster: which Edmund, Triuet further calleth the earle of Holderneſſe. He about the three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & nine, on the eight daie of Aprill, married Auelina the daughter of the earle of Albemerle, who was heire to hir fathers & mothers inheritance, in whose right the said Edmund should haue had the earledome of Deuonshire, and the ile of Wight: but she preuenting the death of hir husband, and dieng in his life time, had neuer possession of those places. After the death of which Auelina, this Edmund maried Blanch quéene of Nauarra, and widow to Henrie king of that prouince, by whome he had issue three sonnes; Thomas earle of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and John. This Edmund founded the nunrie of the minories without Aldgate of London, in the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, in which yeare the said Edmund and his wife were banished out of the French kings dominions. He

Edmund Plantagenet.

died at Baion in Gascoine, & was buried at Westminster, on the north side of the high altar (whose tome is yet extant) in the fiue & twentith of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred ninetie seauen with this epitaph:

Icy gist Emond fitz le roy Henrie le tierce d' Angleter, a qui aime Deieux fait mercye.

Thomas Plantagenet.

Thomas Plantagenet, earle of Lancaster, Leicester, Derbie, Lincolne and Sarum, the greatest earle of England, as well for birth as dignitie, rebelling against Edward the second, was beheaded in the fourtéenth of the said king Edward the second, being about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and one, at Pomfret, and was there buried by the religious men in his owne church toward the south, néere to the high altar. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne and Sarisburie, lord of Pomfret and of Halton, but had no issue by hir.

Henrie Plantagenet commonlie called Henrie of Monmouth.

Henrie Plantagenet, lord of Monmouth, brother to Thomas last before slaine, in the fourtéenth of Edward the second, was after the death of his brother receiued into title and honour of the earldome of Leicester, he maried Mawd the daughter & heire of sir Patrike Chaworth knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after made duke of Lancaster, surnamed Torteoll. He died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and fiue, and was buried in the monasterie of the chanons at Leicester.

Henrie Plantagenet.

Henrie Plantagenet, surnamed Torteoll or Crookenecke, sonne to Henrie of Monmouth, sonne to Edmund commonlie (as before) but falselie surnamed Crookebacke, was earle of Derbie, Leicester, and duke of Lancaster. He died the fiue & thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and one, at London, and was buried at Leicester in the collegiat church which he had builded, with a deane, twelue chanons, prebendaries, manie vicars and other ministers accordinglie answerable to the offices of that house. This man was glorious in fortune, and in his youth full of honour, in matter of chiualrie a valiant souldior and a wise councellor, a liberall prince, and a courteous supporter of iustice. He married Isabell the daughter of Henrie lord Beaumont, and had issue two daughters, Mawd married to William duke of Bauaria, earle of Henalt, Zeland and Holland, who after became mad, and Blanch maried to John of Gaunt.

John of Gaunt.

John of Gaunt, fourth sonne to Edward the third, was by his wife Blanch, earle of Leicester, as heire to hir father, so that he was in his owne right, and in the right of his wife, duke of Acquitaine and Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Derbie, Sarisburie, and Lincolne, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England pag. 1230, and of the protectors of England set downe before in the time of Edward the first pag. 1069.

Henrie Bolingbroke.

Henrie Bolingbroke, sonne of John of Gaunt, by his first wife Blanch, was duke of Lancaster & Hereford, earle of Derbie, Leicester & Lincolne, being after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth. From whose atteining to the crowne, vntill this Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester (by whome I haue béene occasioned to make this discourse of these earles of Leicester in this place) I do not remember of anie that hath béene indued with that title of honor to himselfe or to his heires.

Robert Sutton *aliàs* Dudleie created earle of Leicester, &c: see pag. 1207.

Robert Sutton *aliàs* Dudleie, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, baron of Denbigh, was created earle of Leicester in the first yeare of quæne Elisabeth, being the yéare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, because it is already set downe in the said yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton in especiall, whose honourable interteinment in the lowe countries (whereinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue) deseruing not to be forgotten, doth follow in this sort.

John Stow. Robert earle of Leicester transported ouer sea to Flushing.

On the eight daie of December, the said earle accompanied with the earle of Ester, the lord North, the lord Awdeleie, sir William Russell, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Garuise Clifton, and other knights, capteins and souldiours, with his traine, to the number of fiftie sailes of ships & hoies, set forward towards Flushing, with sound of trumpets and drums, shouts, and praiers of the people, to happie and fortunate successe. On the tenth daie he arriued at Flushing, where with his whole traine (garded in his owne person by fiftie archers with bowes and arrowes, fiftie halberds, and fiftie gunners) he was with the interteinment of souldiours, and shot of the towne, and his noble companie before him, interteined by sir Philip Sidneie, gouernour vnder hir maiestie of the same towne, by Graue Morris second sonne to the deceased prince of Orange, by hir maiesties ambassador ligier there, and by the states of the towne passing honourablie interteined with ringing of bels, and making of bonfiers after their manner, which is to fix great pitcht barrels on the tops of high poles, and then to fire them. He was there feasted and lodged in the ambassadors house, where, according to his accustomed disposition, he demeaned himselfe so humblie (as he likewise did in all places where he came) that he purchased to himselfe no lesse loue & good liking than among the English:

Quippe loco positus sublimi, pectore miti,
Mansueto ac humili cunctis fit amabilis ille.

The earles arriuall at Flushing and his interteinment.

He saileth towards Middleborough.

On the next daie after a sermon had in the publike church, and dinner ended, he tooke shipping and sailed toward Middleborough. Halfe waie betwixt Middleborough & Flushing standeth the strong skonce of Ramekens, garnished with Englishmen, at the which he with some of his especiall traine landed and viewed the same, who returning againe to their ships, were presented on the top of the wals, in the front of the sea with fiftie pikemen verie brauelie furnished, hauing their English ancient displaied with triumph of shot, sound of trumpets & drums, néere two houres togither. In the which honorable triumphs, the whole fléet hauing good wind and faire wether, sailed along to Middleborough, where on the shore side at the landing place were, vnder nine ancients displaied with great store of shot, the best states of the countrie attending my lords landing.

The skons at Ramekens garnished with English.

His interteinment at Middleborough.

Ouer the gates by the port was painted the red crosse of England, hir maiesties armes, and the states, through which gates the earle and his traine entering, he was thus from his landing to his lodging garded through a lane of musket shot with the ancients borne before him, with trumpets & drums verie roiallie, almost a quarter of a mile. In the middle of the market place was the English ancient aduanced, and deliuered vnto him, with the which and the rest borne before him he came to his lodging, where at the intreatie of the states, he staid more than two houres at the gate, to see the souldiors marching and their strengths; after which, because it was neere vnto night, he entered, and made his dinner and supper all one. Three of those nine ancients were new. In the first were hir maiesties and the emperors armes quartered. In the second the

Three ancients excellentlie emblasoned.

earle

earle of Leicesters and the Prince of Oranges armes togither. In the third were the seuen prouinces yéelded vnto hir maiestie, all verie excellentlie emblasoned.

The armes of the quenes maiestie, the lord lieutenats and the states.

In a large table hanged ouer the gate of the English house in Middleborough, were emblasoned the armes of hir maiestie alone aboue the rest, next vnder that the lord lieutenant his armes on the one side at large; hard by the which was set out the armes of the states and their houses: all which artificiallie by a chaine were linked togither, & fastened to the English armes, vnder which was written at the fæt of this frame, *Quos Deus coniunxit, homo non separet*. Thus with great ioie and continuall triumph was he interteined on their Christmas éues eue, after the Romish computation, which they in Zeland and Holland obserue in that order.

The lord lieutenant verie honourablie feasted in Christmasse time, with the maner of the seruice.

On Christmas éue, the states of the towne in the states house, which standeth in the middest of the towne or market place, feasted him sumptuouslie. In the first course of which feast thorough out the table was nothing but boiled meats, most excellent and deintie. In the second course was all roast meats that could be thought, pigs serued in on their fæt, and wild fowle part in the fethers. In the third course was all kind of baked meats, as fowles in pies with their heads and tailes vnpluckt, all beset with pendants of hir maiesties, the lord lieutenants, the countries, and diuerse English mens armes on the same. The fourth and last course was a rare banket of incredible workmanship, as a castell of christall, founded vpon a rocke of pearle, about the which flowed siluer streames, in which laie fowles, fishes, and beasts of all kinds, some hurt, some slaine, and some gasping for breath; on the top of the which was a faire virgin ladie leaning, and giuing hir hands ouer the castell to succour them, verie wonderfullie wrought. There was wine in abundance, musike of all sorts, varietie of all things, and wonderfull welcomes. This feast began at eleuen of the clocke before none, and continued till fiue in the afternone.

A proper and delightsome deuise at a banket.

The nert daie being their Christmas daie, the earle to requite the states cost, inuited them all, whome he feasted verie roiallie after the English fashion. On saint Stephans daie he feasted the widow princesse of Orange, with hir second sonne countie Morris, and their traines, so sumptuouslie as besæmed his and their honors. Here dispatching his weightie affaires he continued seauen daies, after which he determined to saile towards Dort, which by iudgement of the countrie is not past ten houres sailing at the most. On the seuentéenth of December (after the account of England) with faire wind and weather, the whole fléet of Dutch hoies hoised vp saile toward Dort; but on the sudden, being onward on their iournie, the aire was so ouercast with mists, that they knew not how to saile for succour, neither backewards nor forwards. The reason was this. The riuer they had to saile thorough, was none other but an ouerflowne countrie, full of old foundations of houses, churches, and castels, so that the clærest aire did no more than safegard the hoies from danger.

The lord lieutenant inuiteth all the states, and feasteth them after the English maner.

The lord lieutenant landeth at Williamstat, and there dineth.

On the twentith daie my lord with some other landed at Williamstat, or Ragonhill, where he dined, and after dinner went abrode againe. On the one and twentith of December, diuerse ships of men of warre, and others, with the states of Dort in them met our fléet on the water, where betwirt their ships & ours was at the méeting of the earle great triumphs with shot, in which came manie small scouts of succour, to hasten the traines to shore, where in good time they entered Dort, verie roiallie and triumphantlie. On the port, to gard his person was set his owne gard of archers, shot, and halberds: and ouer the gate of enterance was hir maiesties, the earles, and the states armes emblasoned. When he was landed, and conducted by the states, he passed from the port thorough a lane of musket shot, all Dutch, braue and well appointed, with eight ancients displaied before him; in the middest whereof was the English ancient aduanced, whense with eight hundred shot he was brought to his lodging. After whose enterance they and the great shot continued triumphing an houre and more. Here he continued a daie and two nights, with singular interteinement, and reioising of the people. Ouer the court gate were on the wall at the entering written certeine Latine verses, signifieng the state of the low countries, to this effect in English:

He entreth into Dort, how magnificallie he was receiued, and what time he abode there.

Verses written ouer the court gate.

The widow countrie wailing in hir losse,
Subiect to soldiors, and a strangers crosse,
By weeping hir missortune, sits here alone,
To thinke of hir pleasures past and gone,
But after France and Spaine haue doone their woorst,
Hir helpelesse yoong ones, are by England nurst:
Blest be that virgine queene, that sent this good,
And blest be he that comes to saue our blood,
Whome to our soules a buckler we maie call,
And to our countrie, we crie welcome all.

On the thrée and twentith of December, the earle tooke scouts to passe to Rotherodame, by a pleasant riuer of fresh water, verie narow, where the botes or scouts are some by men, some by horses dragged along the riuer, verie pleasant, spædie, and easie. But yet in this passage the night being clære, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that it put the small vessels in verie great danger; but after one houre the weather wared calme, and the night clære, onelie a Dutch capteine and thrée or foure of his men were drowned. Toward night he drew nére to the towne of Rotherodame, where on the water he was met with thrée barges of pleasure, in euerie of which was twelue sailers, the first all in blew ierkens and venecians with redcaps, and whole cypres white Satyre like. In the second, twelue all in buffe. In the third twelue all in shag thrummed silke verie braue, with their oares red and white: in these boats were great store of fire works, & rockets, to cast into the citie: and at the sterne of euerie one were cressets which towards night were lighted, and on the water made an excellent shew.

A Dutch capteine with three or foure of his men drowned in a fresh riuer.

Thus with trumpets sounding all the waie, was he brought to Rotherodame by water to his lodging in the midle of the towne. On the other side of them, on the banks stood ranks of soldiors, all with musket shot, betwirt euerie foure of them was placed a torch, or cressets burning: and thus triumphantlie he entered his lodging, where the states accompanied him to supper that night. Here the inhabitants were ioifull of the Englishmens comming, praising God therefore, and making much of the traine, insomuch that euerie man dined in his hostes house of frée cost. The townesmen had made verie memorablie in the middle of the market place the whole proportion of Erasmus in a pulpit, as though he were preaching, holding a booke of the paraphrasis on the gospels in his hand, vnder whome was written Erasmus Rotherodame.

The lord lieutenant commeth to Rotherodame by water, and the maner of his triumphant enterance therinto.

Diet of frée cost.

A counterfeit of Erasmus.

On the thrée and twentith of December, the earle made hast towards Delph, being from thense accompanied with the states, his barges of pleasure, and whatsoeuer was thought honorable. They came late to Delph, somewhat darke, but lighted by cressets along the narrow riuer, on the which manie rockets and fire works were vsed. On the landing port stood great store of musket shot (with manie new ancients) like a lane, for him to passe thorough

The maner of the lord lieutenants entring into Delph.

rough as is commonlie vsed in the countrie, all which brought him to his lodging, which was the house where the prince of Orange was slaine. Ouer the gate of which house were certeine Latine verses written, conteining a gratulation & welcomming of the earle thither, testified with a consent of all degrees and professions: the same verses being thus:

He lodgeth in the house where the prince of Orange was slaine.

Salue perpetuùm comes illustrissime salue,
O bene quàm diuûm nomine gratus ades!
Te nihil est gratum magis, optatúmque tuendæ
Auspicium fidei, quàm patriæque venis!
Hinc tibi gratantur læti (sacer ordo) senatus,
Et memor officij cætera turba sui,
Spe meliore animi recreantur, gaudia toto
Pectore concipiunt pressa dolore diu,
Irrita quæ superi nolunt fore cassáque facta,
At magis inque dies accumulata volunt,
Reginam incolumem téque illustrissime seruent,
Sospite qua tecum patria sospes erit.
Dedecus infandum, probra turpia multa sequuntur,
Est mala cui nequam mens animúsque malus.

The lord lieutenant feasteth and is feasted.

On the fiue and twentith daie the earle was feasted of the states verie roiallie, and on the next morrow the earle feasted them, amongst whome was (besides the states and countie Norris) the princesse of Des, with a companie of honorable ladies and gentlewomen: at the table was Dutch musike of all kinds, orations in Dutch and Latine, with infinite welcoms. And it is to be noted, that the further the earle went vp into Holland, the brauer the countrie was, and the better his lordship was beloued, as appeared by his more excellent intertein-

The countrie of Holland commended.

The lord lieutenant remoueth to Donhage, and his entrance therinto.

ment. Heere he staied the fiue and twentith and six and twentith daies, and then on the seuen and twentith he remoued to Donhage, where he determined to kæpe his standing court. In the euening the earle by cressetlight, torches, & deuises of fire worke verie strange, entred into the towne of Donhage with a verie princelie traine of our Englishmen, with an hundred and fiftie of his gard, besides all or most of the states of Rotherodam & Delph, with those of Donhage that met him on the water with musket shot verie manie, and great triumphing. At the entrance of my lord by water on the riuer met him certeine fishermen, which represented Peter, James, and John at their herbour: by them Christ walking on the water, who commanded them to cast out their nets the second time (according to that of saint Matthew) they drew in abundance, wherewith they made shew of presentment to the erle, for the which with thanks he passed by. Further on the riuer sat the representation of Mars and Bellona, who vttered spæches vnto him as he passed, at that present.

The first shew at Donhage of fishermen.

The second shew of poeticall gods.

At his landing met him a troope of horssemen, furnished and trapped antikelie in colours, before whome hauing fetcht manie courses, because the strèt wared narrow, they rode awaie. At the entrance of the fairest strèt, being also somewhat narrow, there was on ech side of the same gallorie, raised a mans height, ech against other, all hong with blacke baies, on both which gallories on ech side stood fiftæne virgins all clad in white, with branches of palme or bor wreathed about wax candles light in their hands, euerie of which did reuerence vnto the earle; these stood a speares length distant ech from other. Betwixt euerie one hong a looking glasse, and betwixt euerie glasse vpon a pretie antike pearch stood a wax candle burning, and at ech end of the gallorie stood a champion and a blacke More, the one supporting the armes of England, and the other the armes of Holland. This shew was verie proper, but these had no spæches. All the waie as the earle passed through, were artificiallie made gates raised of ragged staues, and vpon euerie snag stood a small wax candle burning, by which hong the armes of diuerse craftsmen of the towne. The strèt all the waie was hong with broad clothes, vpon the which were placed store of red roses on shætes of paper painted. At the next turning he was interteined with this shew. Ouer a gate vpon a verie high scaffold was a conceiued battell fought betwæne the English soldiors and the Spaniards, the English men still preuailing, vnder the which was written thus much in effect: furthermore, these lines in the Latine tong, alluding to England, anciently called Britaine, were written in open sight as followeth:

The fift shew of ragged staues with other deuises.

The first shew of conceiued battel betweene the English and the Spanish.

Such be our fortune, as this dooth foreshoo,
To vs freedome, to England fame also.

BRITANIA.

Maris terrarúmque sidus,
Aequa Romanorum olim imperio,
Luxit salus, affulsit Constantinus,
Qui adsertor libertatis, instaurator
Christianæ pietatis:
Da & nobis fidam vicinámque dextram.
Faxit Deus optimus maximus,
Vt reginæ auspicijs, Dudlæi ductibus,
Militis tui viribus,
Iugo seruitutis excusso, belli nimbis discussis,
Ex infæliciſsimis fæliciſsimi Belgæ simus,
Sacro tecum arctóque vinclo iuncti!

Passing still forward, was a loftie scaffold verie faire builded, with hir maiesties armes at large placed, on the top stood seauen virgins, representing the seuen prouinces, euerie virgin holding a speare, and the armes at large emblasoned, which prouince she did signifie; in the middest of whom stood Minerua armed, incompassed about the bodie with the armes of England, vpon whome all the rest seemed to relie, as most euidentlie appeared by their verse:

The seuenth shew of seuen virgins representing the seuen prouinces.

Adsis ô nostrúmque leues regina laborem.

All which were represented vnto hir maiestie by Necessitie an old champion. The next was on the like scaffold, seuen persons presented the seauen liberall sciences in their kinds, yelded to the earle by desert: out of euerie windoow hong lanthorns and candles, and euerie strèt was furnished with cressets, torches, and links light: one deuise that hong in the middest of the strèt conteined eight and thirtie lanthorns, and seuerall lights comelie burning: a verie pretie sight. Besides this, against my lords gate, a barbar had on a wall placed three score or more basons of bright copper, & in the middest of euerie one a wax candle burning was placed, in the middest of all was painted a rose and crowne: this made a faire shew, and was a pretie deuise. Under the red rose was written these verses following:

The eight shew of seauen personages representing the seuen liberall sciences.

Floreat hæc semper rosa, cuius odore reuixit
Belgia languescens, regina dite potita.

Ouer the entrance of the court gate, was placed aloft vpon a scaffold, as if it had bene in a cloud or skie, Arthur of Britaine, whome they compared to the earle; within were hoboies, cornets, and diuers kinds of musike. And thus they brought him to his lodging triumphantlie, and after he was entred in a great hall of that house, they discharged such volees of shot as was wonderfull to heare. In the night they vsed fireworks of rockets, squibs, wheles, and balles of fire, with a dragon that continued casting out of fire an houre, wonderfull artificiallie made.

The ninth shew of Arthur of Britaine, with swæt musike therewithall.

The next daie, on the riuer adioining to my lords lodging, they deuised a running as it were at the tilt in botes, which was thus. From ech end of the riuer came a bote running with six oes, in the sterne of which on the top stood a man armed in a red wastcote, with a staffe in his rest, hauing a

The last shew of running at tilt in botes vpon the water.

but

but end of corke; now ech meeting other with their staues, both fell into the water, where spare botes were readie to succour them, for awaie went their horsses. This sport with fresh men they continued till the earle was wearie of it, in pitieng the poore case of the men.

The lord lieutenant entreth Leidon, and of his intertainment there.

On the third daie of Januarie the earle with three hundred horsses in their furniture, verie braue-ly with his retinue entred Leidon, where by the waie he was met by the best of the towne, first by twelue burgomaisters, clad in long blacke gownes, and on their shoulders was the townes name, written in verie large letters of siluer: next them followed o-ther twelue of the cheefest burgesses, and then ma-nie on horsse backe, all in blacke veluet. At his en-trance into the towne, all ouer his head, and downe to the ground on ech side, was hanged with saie of diuerse colours to his lodging, which was a great waie; himselfe with a canopie carried ouer his head was brought to his seat, against the which was a stage, on the which stood two men like poets, who presented these seuerall shews that follow. It is to be noted, that eight yeares before this, they were be-seeged, and therefore now presented their extremi-ties, which at that time they were driuen into. They brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie brauelie apparelled, & she represented the towne, hir they assalted by Spaniards, with false fiers of great & small shot a long time in order of battell, and then retiring continued their siege; heere they laie so long that vittels waxed scarse, and then they presented af-ter the poets of what this shew had passed. Famine attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman; after which they presented men rending dogges and cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, and soul-diors robbing women of their children.

The first shew of a woman representing Leidon.

The second shew of famine.

Sickenesse now possesseth hir and pestilence, and this they presented in abrupt burials of townes-men on heapes; and lastlie with a braue buriall of a capteine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead matches, howling trumpets, wrapt up ancients, trailed pikes, drawne peeces; and after he was put into the ground, and bid farewell with a volee of great and small shot. The Spaniards pitieng hir, writ and sent letters by diuerse messengers, all which she read and refused, without returne of an-swer: now hope possesseth hir, and therefore they toke another waie. Now she commanded a light to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signi-fie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph, how they hoped for succor; who againe, by deuise of a doue sent them promise of aid, by which doue they promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew ended.

The third shew of sicke-nesse.

The fourth shew of Spa-nish seruitude.

The fift shew of hope to be succored.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome the towne relied, and she leaned: Gods prouidence in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the wall and bawmure of six and twentie poles. Which the enimie hearing, and fearing the prince and his power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome when the towne had in pursute, they put all they o-uertoke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and so with the woman, as it were now at libertie that presented the towne, they marched awaie merilie with great triumph. At the last they brought in a woman verie braue, armed as the other was, hir they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian twise, the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping off hastilie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning march-ed awaie. The earle led hir to his lodging, whereun-to he entred with shot. On the scaffold were written these verses, in effect as followeth in English:

The first shew of aid promi-sed.

The last shew of libertie, vic-torie, and tri-umph.

These verses seeme to be made by no metrician: per-haps they were deuised by some of Leidon.

We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babilon, by the water clere
Bicause we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeare,
But our deliuerance is now verie neare,
For God hath looked vpon our miserableness,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseeme,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the hart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince aboue all that liueth,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the doore of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis Roberti Dudlæi, regiæ maiestati apud An-glos à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgiæ, &c: ad Holandos consolatio.

Verses writ-ten vpon the doore of the lord lieute-nants lodging

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras,
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,
Nos licèt innumeris hostilia bella periclis
Assiduè infestent, mille necésque trahant,
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia si sit
In Domino, miseris expediet facilè.
Nicanor Lestrij generis viribus malè nostras
Ceruices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:
Viribus at Leicestranis iugulabitur ille,
En Machabæus adest, qui Nicanora premat,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.
En generose comes, Dauidis pia facta sequutus,
Iusticiæ exerce iura seuera tuæ:
Et tibi sit præsens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Vt pede victrici colla teras Goliæ.

The lord lieu-tenant return-eth backe from Leidon to Donhage.

On the daie after his comming to the towne, he was banketted, at which banket were orations and deuises manie. On the fift of Januarie hee came backe from Leidon vnto Donhage. The tenth he mustred part of his horssemen, to the num-ber of fiue hundred or more, and then pointed them into seuerall garisons, and to seuerall gouernors, the earle of Essex was that daie made generall of the horsses. The eleuenth daie hee came from Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall fast was proclamed through Holland, Gelderland, and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale. The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with prea-ching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither he or anie of his eating anie thing. The nineteenth of Januarie he came from Leidon to Donhage, where in his time of abode, he rode to a little fisher towne two miles from the Hage, named Skeue-ling, which towne doth bound on the maine seas. In this towne he was presented with these verses:

A generall fast proclamed and deuoutlie obserued.

The lord lieu-tenant rideth to Skeueling, and is presen-ted with a few English ver-ses.

Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this Englisn Thetis, who all praise de-serued
Sent vs this Achilles to our Assistence,
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These words were written in the great hall at Donhage, conteining terms of honor & welwishing: Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. ¶ Inclyto principi Roberto Dudlæo comiti Leicestriæ, inter magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permissu a regina misso, præfecto ac gubernatori Belgarum, prosperum hunc optatúmque aduentum toto læti-tiæ sinu gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem optamus, fœderati ordinis Belgij, addicti celsitudini eius. ¶ Deus cæpit, Deus dirigat.

Titles of ho-nor ascribed to the lord lieute-nant, with a reioising at his comming.

The foure and twentith of Januarie, the prince of Portugall came to Donhage. The fiue and twen-tith

The estates sworne to the quæne of England.

The earle of Leicester installed at Donhage, with the maner and order thereof.

tith my lord was installed and sworne, and likewise all the states sworne to the quéene. The maner of the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruellous faire hall, at the vpper end whereof are fiue or six large steppes ascending, which do reach to a faire chamber, at the vpper end whereof on high was placed a cloth of estate, in the midst of which were the armes of England, and against them my lord was seated, on ech side of him two steps descending sat twelue of the principall states, and below them sat the residue, to the number of twentie right before my lord, but foure or fiue steps descending. On the right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Portugall, next him the lord Norleie, next master Norris gouernor of Munster, next sir William Russell, & sir Robert Germin, with diuers men of great account. On the left hand of my lord did stand the Graue Norris, next the earle of Esser, sir William Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas Parrat, with diuers other of great account. Thus being placed, a Dutch man made a large oration in Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand, with thanks to the quænes maiestie and the lord lieutenant.

Persons of honor and worship.

The couenants betwæn the quænes maiestie and the estates, read in Latine and deliuered to and fro.

Then was read in Latine the couenants betwéene the states, the quéene and my lord: this done the couenants were deliuered to my lord, which he deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an other to him: then was my lord demanded to vow the same by oth, who holding his hand to heauen did swear to the couenants. The like did the states, holding vp their hands, vow to performe. Then againe were the states sworne to the quéene and my lord hir lieutenant in those affaires. This done my lord gaue to them seuerall thanks, and they seuerallie did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all sounding before him. This daie my lord feasted all the states most sumptuoullie, so that they had their fill both in their bellies and heads. This daie after dinner the souldiers of the towne, which were three ancients, came into the court furnished, and did there shew themselues with drum and fiffe, at night were aboue an hundred fiers burnt about my lords house.

The souldiers of the towne shew themselues in martiall maner.

On the foure and twentith of Januarie, the countie Norris came to my lord lieutenant, and was receiued in good sort. The same eight and twentith and last of Januarie companies mustered by Thomas Digs, muster-master generall in Guelder, Frisesland and Holland, were as followeth. Master Norris coronell gentleman, two hundred thirtie and six: coronell Morgan, two hundred foure score and ten: capteine Wotton, one hundred thirtie and six: capteine Powle, one hundred and seuentéene: capteine Baskerfield, foure score: capteine Norke, foure score and six: capteine Hunings, one hundred and eleuen: capteine Udall, three score and seuentéene: capteine Powell, foure score and fouretéene: capteine Hart, three score and eight: capteine Price, one hundred twentie and three: capteine Wilson, one hundred fourtie and fiue: capteine Blunt, one hundred twentie and seuen: capteine Burros, one hundred and ten: capteine Harlton, one hundred twentie and foure: captaine Shaw, foure score and foure: capteine Enge, three score and nine: capteine sir Walter Waller, one hundred thirtie and seuen. The second of Februarie capteine Willoughbie died at Hage, and was there honorablie buried. On the third of Februarie all the yeomen of the gard toke their oth, whom remitting to the conscience of their charge, we purpose now to touch the peremptorie authoritie committed to the said lord lieutenant, by common consent of the states; and so by degrées to descend to other occurrents concerning these netherlands.

Capteines with their companies that mustered.

The death of capteine Willoughbie.

A placard conteining the authoritie giuen by the states of the low countries, vnto the mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, &c: for the gouernment of the said low countries: translated out of Dutch into English, as followeth.

The generall states of the vnited prouinces of the low countries, to all those which shall see or heare these present writings, health and dilection. Euen as it hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to send ouer into these countries the high and mightie prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, and one of the priuie councell, knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie to admit and institute his excellencie as cheefe head aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foote, which hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter into these countries; & to the end to assist vs with counsell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience, policie and wisedome in the direction of publike affaires of the land, as well touching the feates of warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land, to bring backe and reduce the same into such good order and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the force and tyrannie of our enimies, and to frustrate all his practises: but also besides this to honor and inrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authoritie, might and commandement, aboue all hir maiesties admerals and viceadmerals, and ships of war, to command them all, & to emploie them to the seruice of these countries, and in such order as his excellencie shall find nædfull for the same countrie; and that his excellencie following hir maiesties commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the good will and affection which he beareth to these affairs, and to the preseruation of the same, and also of the true christian religion, and hath imploied himselfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and abandoned his natiue countrie and goods, and transported himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir maiestie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Note what a title and stile of excellencie the states giue to the earle their gouernor, and the honorable seruice to him appointed.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premisses signified and by good proofe testified.

Therefore are we resolued, with good and ripe deliberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the foresaid mightie & honorable prince, lord Robert earle of Leicester, &c: to be our gouernor and generall capteine ouer all the vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie giuen vnto him, the highest and supreame commandement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute and administrat the same to the resistance of the enimie, euen as his excellencie shall thinke most commodious to the preseruation of those countries: and so further, to do all such things as apperteine to the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore, we commit the administratton and vse of policie & iustice ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same into his hands, to execute and administrat the same with such power and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the other gouernors of these low countries before him; and especiallie, as haue béene exercised, and lawfullie administred in the time of Charles the fift; reserued

The states agnise the peremptorie authoritie put into the lord lieutenants hands in respect of his gouernement.

Like authoritie giuen to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernors his predecessors haue had in the low countries.

serued onelie the lawes and priuileges of the foresaid countries: also with especiall power to collect profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contributions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be deliuered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missiues written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath deliuered solemne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preseruation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the priuileges and rights of these lands and prouinces, members, and cities of the same.

An acknowledgement and performace of dutie and alegiance inioined to all persons of the low countries (vnder paine of punishment) to the lord lieutenant.

We therefore ordeine and command all gouernors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and vice admerals, all officers, coroners, capteins, their officers and souldiors by sea and land, and furthermore all other councellors, officers, treasurors, receiuers, bailiffs, burgomaisters, marshals, magistrats, gentlemen, burgers, & other inhabitants and subiects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soeuer; that they & euerie of them do acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and capteine generall ouer the forsaid vnited prouinces, to honor, respect, & obeie him, as they ought to do, without making anie difficultie in doing the same, vpon paine of falling in the displeasure & anger of his excellencie, & to be punished according to the heuines of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command expresselie to make knowne these ordinances, to proclaime and publish them, where as men are accustomed to proclame all publications, proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disdainors & neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anie fauour or dissimulation to the contrarie, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preseruation of the countrie.

All pretense of ignorance cut off, least the course of obedience might be hindered.

Giuen in our congregation and assemblie in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

Councellors for matters of state elected by the lord lieutenant.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge vndertaken, did ordeine certeine speciall men, natiues borne, of the councell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conuenientlie managed: the names of the said councellors, with the places they were to superintend, orderlie following. For Guelderland Heldebertus Leoninus, for Flanders Doctour Tomedicurke, for Holland lord Walraven Brederough, Sebastian Loron, William Birdese; for Zeland James Walke, Geoise Toiling; for Vtricke Paulus Buce, for Friseland Asmaugh president of Friseland, Charles Rodæ. ¶ Hauing thus far discoursed of the lord lieutenants passing from place to place, with the manner of his interteinement agreeable to his person, as also the seuerall shews full & significant, togither with the conditions interchangeable betweene him and the states, and lastlie hauing touched the names of such as by his election were dignified with the ordering of the countrie affaires, depending vpon their graue and experimented counsell: the obseruation of time doth vrge vs yer we proceed anie further, to deliuer a peece of seruice done by coronell Skinke, and then to proceed in the continued commemoration of the lord lieutenants interteinement in other places where he came.

Note therefore, that on the one and twentith daie of Februarie, Skinke not lieng still from indamaging the enimie, did take the towne of Marle and the castell thereto belonging: the maner whereof was this. Himselfe lieng in Wendelo, a towne in part besieged, left his men with the Graue Morris, charging them not to depart, till such time as they heard from him, which they fulfilled. The twentith daie of Februarie he came with two or three men from Wendelo to his men, no man knowing his enterprise, caused them in the morning to be readie, and so passed on till middaie, at which time they were not far from Marle. Skinke espieng a thirtie wagons going with vittels to the towne, he tooke the wagons, clad certeine of his men in the bours apparell, sent them into the towne to sell the vittels, which they followed, and one of them broke his wagon in the gate, so that the gate could not be closed. One of them shooting off a dag gaue Skinke warning, and he suddenlie entered the towne without resistance, and tooke both it and the castell. This towne is thought not so strong as profitable, yet verie strong. In it are diuerse saltpits which do make great store of salt, which salt doth serue a great part of the countrie to Cullen, and further altogither serued the enimie of salt, which now he wanteth. About the first of March he left the towne, burning it and spoiling the countrie; the cause was this. There was an armie comming to staie his passage, which he hauing three hundred horsses did assaie, slue a thousand souldiors, tooke fiue ensignes and sent to the lord lieutenant. This did valiant Skinke, whom wishing no lesse fortunat in his attemps hereafter, then prosperous hitherto, we will leaue, and take backe to matters of delight another while, as the date of time doth offer.

Coronell Skinke taketh the towne of Marle and castell thereto belonging.

The cause why Skinke burnt the said towne.

When the state of the countrie was prouided for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, insomuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leidon, and the third of March from Leidon to Harlem, whose interteinement there was in this maner. A little from the gate of the towne, he was met with the burgers, or principals of the towne. One of the which being an old man with a long white beard, made a long oration in Latine to him: after the which he passed to the entrie gate of the towne, on the which was placed a maiden apparelled all in white, holding a scutchion in hir hand, wherein were painted the armes of England, and all about were painted red roses, vnder the which were these verses:

The lord lieutenant commeth from the Hage to Harlem, & how he was receiued.

Euge Calidonias princeps celebrate per vrbes,
Ingredere Harlemi mœnia fida tui,
Me licèt Hispanus plusquam ciuilibus armis,
Pressèt, ac horrifico Mulciber igne deus:
Haud tamen extremo mihi eris decorandus honore,
Nam tua corde pio sceptra fidéque colam,
Ipse rosæ afflictos clypeo si texeris omnes,
Donabis Batauos pace Roberte lares.

These verses are supposed to be spoken by the towne of Harlem.

Passing further into the towne, was a scaffold, where on was placed diuerse personages, amongst the which was a woman hauing a scutchion, conteining the armes of England in the one hand, and a sword in the other hand, and diuerse persons lieng dead before hir, with these Latine verses written vnderneath, and a posie to the same also annexed:

Diuerse shews, and first, the counterfet of a woman represented.

Vana fugat verum veluti mendacia purum,
Sic viciorum abigat tua dux præsentia Lernam.
Veritas, verbum Dei.

Passing yet further, there was an high scaffold, wheron was a representation of the queene of England with hir sword in hir hand, vnder whome laie enuie, tyrannie, and diuerse other the like, all whom

A representation of the queene of England.

the

she had brought vnder, and vnder this was written these verses in legible Latine letters or characters:

Iustitia infestos frænat pietate tyrannos,
Sic tuus aduentus cuncta Roberte mala.

A crowne, the foote whereof was adorned with roses.

Passing further into a faire market place, there was a piller of great height, on the top whereof was a crowne, and about the foote of the crowne roses set, and these eight verses were written about the piller:

Elisabeth regina atauis quæ regibus orta est,
Hunc dedit atroci qui nos tueatur ab hoste,
Ergo ducem iuuenis meritò venerare senéxque,
Munere quando Dei Geticum nympha ista fugabit.
Pyramidum Pharia sileant miracula gentes,
Quámq; vetus molem duxit ad astra Rhoãos,
Iam tibi dux vilem pro tempore ponimus, at hâc
Aurea si possem concelibrandus eris.

The beare & ragged staffe, with certeine verses concerning peace.

Ouer the entrance of the palace or lodging for the earle, there was set a beare with a ragged staffe, and these verses written vnder concerning the peace:

Venisti ô auibus tandem fœlicibus heros,
Regia quem nobis munere nympha dedit:
Virgo Calidonias ad sidera nota per oras,
Vltima spes fessis præsidiúmque viris:
Reddere te sine quis patriæ Saturnia regna
Posset, & armisoni pellere tela deis?
Vera etenim de te si dux oracula fantur,
Hæc Dudlæe teget nos sine Marte rosa:
Pacificè rege, regnis lætantibus, heros,
Pacifico quis non principe lætus erit?

A shew made by the souldiours according to military skill.

In all the streates of this towne, where through the earle passed, were planted souldiours in most braue furniture, and he being placed in a window right against the market place, the same souldiours there ranged themselues first in a ring, then marching into a square; and after passing in verie good forme, the night for the most part being spent with fire workes and shewes most braue. In one of the shewes a picture of a woman signifieng enuie, was burnt. On the fourth of March, the L. lieutenant saw the earle of Essex coronell, and sir William Russell coronell, muster and traine by Harlem to the number of two hundred horsse. And on the second daie after, he was feasted and banketed. The tenth of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, and by the waie was met with diuerse men of warre well shipped, which brought him by a long riuer that went into the towne, ouer the which riuer were three strong bridges placed full of armed souldiours, & on the first bridge was planted ten or twelue peeces of ordinance, which all after his honor was passed shot off, the souldiors on euerie bridge discharging by volees in most braue maner.

The L. lieutenants going to Amsterdam, with the maner of his receiuing.

Two pageants & what they represented.

Being past the bridge, he was met with two great pageants or shewes, in this manner. Two boats were made in monstrous greatnesse; on the one the shape or likenesse of a horsse swimming, on the other the likenesse of a fish, on each of them a man riding, signifieng the god Neptune: both these, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, did accompanie him to his landing, which was at the market place, where were planted great numbers of armed men with shot. Right before him where he landed was a faire scaffold, whereon were placed armed men fighting, the one companie ouercomming and the other flieng. Ouer them, on the same scaffold kneeled an old man, holding vp his hands towards heauen, and on each side of him, one other supporting or staieng vp his hands. Which signified that Iosua and the Israelits preuailed, and ouerthrew the Philistines, so long as Moses did praie for them with his hands erected towards heauen; but when his hands were downe, the children of Israell had the worst; and so now through the praier of good men, God had at length sent them succour and releefe.

The state of the people represented in a shew of comparison.

Vnder this were written these coupled verses:

Ad Dominum qui confugiunt cum fœdere pansis
Innocuis palmis, manet hos victoria læta.

Spanish tyrannie represented, with poses significant.

Passing further, there was an other scaffold, whereon was placed one seeming to be in great distresse, a tyrant being readie to kill him; but by the aid of Elisabeth queene of England, he was sheelded, defended and deliuered, and the enimie repelled & driuen awaie; aboue the which were these verses:

Eia age magne, veni ô Anglorum ductor, & altos
Ingredere & celebres cape quos spõdemus honores.

On the one side was written this that followeth:

Iustitia & æquitas maximè
Reddunt diuturnum imperium.

On the other side was written this that followeth:

Fides sacra beatissimum humani
generis bonum est.

Ouer all was written this that followeth:

Maximè vbi ancipiti filo pia causa tremiscit,
Ex insperato sæpè redemptor adest.

The quenes aid to the low countries represented.

Passing further, on an other scaffold was placed the likenesse of a queene most sumptuouslie apparelled, and on both sides of hir was hanged all sorts of armour and munition for the wars, and ouer hir head these verses concerning aid & succour were written:

Vt sacra Iosiæ dextra olim restituisti,
Sic ope reginæ Belgas Deus optime serua.

In the afternoone of that daie, all the souldiours of the towne with fiue ancients mustered before his lodging most brauelie, and all the night following was passed in fire works, & bonfiers, with other triumphes. The thirtenth of March he was sumptuouslie banketed by the burgesses of the towne. This towne of Amsterdam is a towne greatlie frequented with merchants of all sorts and countries, which causeth the same to haue such store of shipping as is woonderfull: for they lie as groues before the towne. In this towne haue béene manie Anabaptists, which within this twentie yeares did great mischéefe, not onelie with their lewd sects, but also by their wicked acts: as first by burning their houses, then running naked about the towne, after by rising in armes against the other inhabitants: but they were ouercome, taken, condemned & hanged. This towne is of a woonderfull strength, the wall whereof is so passing faire, that it is great pleasure to behold it, and to walke on it. Without the wall is a ditch of great breadth. This last yeare, to wit, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, the burgesses augmented the towne, in making a mud wall ten or twelue score yards round about the citie, with such a ditch, bulworke, &c: as is not to be wished to haue a towne better fortified, lacking nothing that may set it out for strength: the countrie round about this towne being of such kind of moisture, that it is past reason to haue a place to batter it, or to plant anie ordinance against it. There is a great arme of the sea two miles ouer, on the one side of the towne the wals be strong, the ditches great, the vittels innumerable, plentie of people, ordinance sufficient, water good store, and all other things that might make the towne strong. ¶ Heere leauing the lord lieutenant for a while, we will giue a little leape to actions of manhood against the enimie, and then returne to the matter whense we haue made digression. Wherfore touching the valor of captein Skinke, a man of singular seruice, this report doth flie of him, agreeing with a note sent to the lord lieutenant, then residing at Amsterdam.

1586

Amsterdam a towne of great concourse and commerce.

Anabaptists a sect heretical and hurtfull: note.

Amsterdam a towne inexpugnable.

The said coronell went of late with his horsse-men to Nuce, and thense toke both footmen and horssemen to the enterprise by him intended against the towne of Warle, which they toke by sallie, in the

A note from coronell Skinke at Amuelo.

morning

morning earlie, meaning to haue taken the castle, but failed. The duke of Bauiers men with those of the countrie, gathered togither to the number of three thousand, but colonell Skinke salied forth & charging them, ouerthrew their force, slaieng about one thousand. Within three daies after they assembled againe to the number of six thousand bours well armed with ensignes displaied, and with them eight hundred of the said dukes soldiers, and two hundred horsses of the knights and gentlemen of that countrie, with intent to rescue the castell. Skinke salied againe forth of the towne with two hundred and fiftie horsse, leauing the rest therein, bicause of the citizens and those in the castell, and if he had not made this salie he had beene in danger to haue beene taken or slaine, but he issued and ouerthrew the said forces, and slue about three thousand, amongst the which were thirtie of the chiefest gentlemen of the countrie, and he with his men went backe to the towne, himselfe was shot in this conflict, and lost diuerse of his best men. The castell and countrie was in maner nere ouercome, had not the Spanish forces hastned that waies, vpon the comming of which, Skinke was forced to giue place being void of hope to be rescued, and in his retract spoiled and burnt the countrie.

A note concerning the magnanimitie and valor of capteine (otherwise called colonell) Skinke.

The Spaniards make against colonell Skinke in three parts.

The Spaniards made to him in three parts, the one passing ouer by the Keisers weart with eight companies of horsse, and sortie ensignes of footmen, towards Ketwich, Dortmont and Dinar. The second led countie Charles of Mansfeld, consisting of six companies of horssemen, & fiftene companies of footmen, which came from Graue toward the Rhene at the becke to passe ouer, and so to hinder our comming forth of the towne. The third was led by Uerding out of Friseland with six companies of horssemen, and peasants of that countrie about Reckling-honson, and to the third of those were againe gathered the third time the gentlemen and peasants of that countrie: & ioined to the duke of Bauiers men by Arnberch. If the said aids had not come, the cantred had beene subdued, so by Gods prouidence, he and his people are returned, not without some small losse, to Uendelo againe. The first part being the Spaniards lie yet in the land of Marke and Westualia, Uerding lieth still in the stitch of Mounster about the towne of Haltern on the riuer Lipo. Countie Charles Mansfield abideth in the land of Cleue about Santenburch & Seusberke. The speech was they meant to besiege Nuce, but Skinke feareth more Bericke, he hath procured those within Nuce one moneths paie in monie and cloth, and they were well prouided of powder and munition, so as there is least feare of that place, in it are one thousand good footmen and two hundred horsse.

In what places the Spaniards lie diuided.

Thus much touching colonell Skinke, and his enimies, whom I will leaue to their successes allotted by the Lord of hosts, and come backe againe to the lord lieutenant, who on the one and twentith of March came from Amsterdam to a castle called Mullen, foure miles from Norden, and there did dine, and from thense he came to Norden to supper and to bed. On the two and twentith of March he came from Norden to Utricht, where as his receiuing was nothing inferior to most of the rest before written. Three or foure thousand souldiors on foot, marching a mile out of the towne met him, and then marched before him to the towne; at the entrance whereof, the burgesses of the towne met him, one of them making vnto him a long oration in their language. Comming into the towne, the ordinance was discharged, and at the entrance of the market place, there was a woman placed on a high scaffold, which held in hir hand a gold ring, offering it vnto him, with certeine posies therein written. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold seuen yoong men, holding in their hands seuen cotes or armes of the seuen vnited prouinces, and vnder them were written verses of conuenient deuises. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold, sitting in a chaire, a woman representing the quenes maiestie of England, before was the picture or likenesse of a yellow lion, hauing a sore foot, who looking on hir seemed to complaine, & she caused hir handmaiden to dresse the lions foot, and vnder hir were written verses agreeable to the spectacle. From thense he passed to his lodging, and all the night following (as also manie other nights) was spent in fier works, bonfires and shewes of maruellous ioie.

Diuers shews and representations to the purpose.

Twelue hundred horse met the lord lieutenant vpon a heath.

Out of Utricht and other places thereabout, there met the earle foure miles from Utricht on a plaine, or heath, twelue hundred horse, most part of which were Englishmen, so well mounted as might be, at which time they trained themselues in good order before him in maner of skirmish, and so brought him to Utricht. On the six and twentith of March the earle of Esser went to Leger with his horsemen, where he began a new worke. The eight and twentith of March the earle was feasted by Graue Norris, on the which daie in the morning there was charge giuen to all the English souldiors in the towne, that they should march from thense to Liege, which for that they wanted their paie they refused and raised a mutinie, for the which one of capteine Polles men was taken and put in ward; wherevpon the rest of his followers seeing this, came to the gaole, burst the locks of the doores, and tooke out the prisoner, for the which there were fiue apprehended, and three of them were hanged on the nine and twentith of March, the more to terrifie the rest. On the eight & twentith of March was also hanged the secretarie to the countie Hollocke, which secretarie was a counsellor principall to the betraieng of the towne of Graue. The thirtith of March the earle feasted the nobilitie and burgesses of Utricht, where there wanted nothing that might fill their bellies or heads.

The earle of Esser goeth to Leger.

A mutinie among the souldiors with other outragious disorder procuring execution by death.

Countie Hollocks secretarie hanged.

The people of this towne haue shewed themselues greatlie to fauor our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger 300 or 400 souldiors so sicke and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie, and the townesmen not onelie receiued them, but also relieued them with meat, drinke, and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessarie apparell, loking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished. In this towne was builded by the duke of Alua one castle inuincible, which by the Spaniards was long kept, till at length, either werie of their abode, or desiring souereigntie, they set their forces against the towne, and the towne also bent against them; so that after much hurt was done to the towne by beating downe of their houses & churches, and killing the townesmen, the castle vpon composition was yeelded to the towne, the Spaniards issuing out of it: which being done the townesmen did beat downe the castle to the ground, reseruing the wall of the towne on which part the castle had beene planted: in which place where this castle stood is now a horse faier or market kept, and execution is there done.

Utricht people commended for their great kindnes shewed to the Englishmen.

A castle of defense builded by the duke of Alua ruinated and beaten downe.

On the first or second of Aprill, generall Norris tooke the sconse called Lite. On the fourth of Aprill was a sore conflict betweene the malecontents and the English, the enimies being foure thousand, were vanquished by generall Norris with one thousand men, wherof he lost a great number, and slue twelue hundred Spaniards. This gentleman no lesse fortu-

The lord lieutenants comming to Utricht and his receiuing there.

The sconse of Lite taken by generall Norris.

A gold ring presented to the lord lieutenant.

nat than victorious, deserueth a far better remembrance, than my barren wit can frame: and requisit it were that he should be mentioned in storie, considering that he hath obiected himselfe against manie deadlie dangers, which it hath pleased God, by directing his policie, to driue to prosperous euents: as appeareth by a letter sent to the lord lieutenant, the tenor whereof insueth.

A copie of a letter sent by generall *Norris from his road by Rawston, neere* Graue, on the sixt of Aprill.

Exploits of colonell Norris reported out of a letter directed to the L. lieutenant.

MAie it plese your excellencie to be aduertised, that finding the wind to be contrarie, we being to intrench our selues this last night within one houres march to Graue, the which the enimie finding, came with a resolute mind before we had ended our worke, and put vs from the place, where we had not aboue three hundred Englishmen, and hauing sent for the rest being eight hundred or thereabout, to come with all spéd to vs: but in the meane time the enimie did so ouercharge vs, and with fresh men hauing then in place aboue three thousand that were fastened on vs, after that we had bidden and driuen a braue charge, to leaue the place, and méeting with the rest of our Englishmen, in one halfe mile retract we turned and forced them to quite the place, and had the killing of them aboue one English mile; and then by meanes of a sudden raine that fell, and the wearinesse of our souldiors, we made a retract, in the which I dare assure your excellencie we lost not aboue ten men: but the souldiors vpon the retract threw awaie much of their armor. In this companie, there is my selfe hurt, capteine Burrowes, and capteine Price, and diuerse other gentlemen that did serue most trulie. I dare assure your lordship that there was not séene a better daies seruice in this countrie than this, and your honor shall doo well to signifie by your honors letters partlie to all the townes of Holland, that the enimie hath lost a great companie of braue men, and most of their leaders, that which your excellencie shall find most true. I find, that your excellencie is not to make account of anie other nation than your owne: for after the first retract, there would verie few Dutchmen turne backe with vs: but your excellencie should doo well to take no knowledge of it. And if the raw souldiors would haue béene commanded, we might haue kept the place that we came to intrench our selues in, but for want thereof, we did retract to Marbnanble. Assure your honor that I will to the vttermost of my power doo your honor what I maie, to the hazzarding of my life to doo your excellencie honor and seruice, as knoweth the almightie, to whose tuition I commit your excellencie. From the rode in my bed, before Rawston, the sixt of Aprill.

This seemed to be a post-script.

¶ I must signifie to your honor that countie Hollocke, countie Philip, my brother Henrie, & diuers other gentlemen did serue this daie most brauelie. Hauing taken counsell, we fullie mind to retire to Maseumble, where if it please your excellencie to send vs three hundred horses, and putting the rest of the horses in garisons in the townes thereabout, and send vs the rest of the footmen, we shall haue a daie with them againe, within these ten daies, doubt not.

Your excellencies most humble to command, *Generall Norris.*

Thus you sée a great discomfiture giuen to the enimie, and the same with little losse on the English partie: wherby we are to gather, considering the inequalitie of the number, as appeareth by the clause of the said letter, that the ouerthrow giuen to the enimie did speciallie proceed from God, who as he is called the Lord of hosts, so is it his good pleasure to prosper the attempts of those that fight in his feare, and put not their trust in an arme of flesh, neither in bands of footmen, nor troops of horsemen. And now séeing we haue made so good an entrance into the name of Norris, enobled by famous feats of armes, we count it an eclipsing of his renowme, to neglect the declaration of other enterprises and atchiuements, no lesse tending to the inlargement of his honor, than to the reproofe of the reporter if they should be concealed.

The winning of the sconse called Bolt.

Touching the maner therefore of the winning of the sconse called Bolt by generall Norris the second of Aprill, thus it was. Marching thither, he summoned it with a trumpet, but they within with most reuiling words denied to yéeld, which the generall perceiuing, sent fiftie or three score souldiors in little skips with muskits to view the sconse, for that it stood so as none could come to it but by water. These men did so plie the lope holes with shot, that they made the enimie kéepe in his head: which these men perceiuing, did go néere, still shooting so till they came to the fort, which with spéed they scaled, and put straw in the lope holes, setting fire on it, which they within perceiuing, did not resist, and so this strong fort was suppressed without anie shot of cannon, or slaieng anie one man, and hurting but foure. And so they marched toward Graue, leauing sufficient to kéepe it. Now concerning the maner of the conflict doone by generall Norris against the Spaniards néere Graue, thus it was.

A conflict betweene generall Norris and the Spaniards.

The whole companie of English and Dutch, marching within six miles of Graue, staied, sauing three hundred English, which marched within one English mile of Graue, or thereabout, there meaning to insconse themselues, which they put in practise. But the enimie well knowing their strength and intent, set out three companies: the first being a thousand Spaniards naturall, all for the most part old souldiors, & great sort leaders. These thousand thinking to haue cut the English in péeces, set forth first, which the Englishmen perceiuing, sent for the other forces which marched apase; but the enimie pursuing his enterprise charged our men, & at length draue them from the trench alreadie in part made, and caused a retire on our side halfe an English mile, where they met the rest of our forces, which turned them backe. So they marched togither and incountered with a great sort of fresh Spaniards, which were come to the skirmish, and by the great power of God by force of armes they draue the enimie from them, and pursued them to their owne sconse, and by the waie they atteined a péece of ordinance of the enimie, prepared for to destroie our men, but yet they could doo nothing, they were so ioined togither in fight. So the English had the killing of them the halfe mile that they retired, and an English mile more, where a fresh supplie of the enimie was made; so our men were forced to retire againe in some disorder, with small losse of anie men. But the enimie was so wearie, & so danted with these conflicts that they followed but a little way, and left their pursuing, so that the spoile, honor, and gaine on our side obteined, there were of the enimies (as was thought) three thousand braue souldiors, of our side onelie eight hundred English, and three hundred Dutch, countie Hollocke & countie Philip in person serued most valiantlie, but their men did small good. Generall Norris was hurt in the face with a pike, as thrust through the chéeke, and further into the side, there was hurt capteine Burrows and capteine Price, who with the generall fought most brauelie, this was doone the sixt of Aprill. This

The enimie pursued to their owne sconse.

The huge number of the aduerse part, and the small of our side.

flict being done, our men cut the great riuer of Mase in diuers places, and in despite of the enimies shot, sent six and thirtie ships or small vessels into Graue, although they passed one of their sconses, and a little from Graue by a dort or village that shot most vehementlie to them, yet they passed through to the towne, and returned without anie great losse. Understand that these ships did not go by the riuer but by the land, for the water ouerfloweth the land in some places twelue foot at least.

Since about the sixteenth of this moneth there passed to the towne two & twentie more of those ships, and in their passage had but foure or fiue men slaine, and twentie hurt, although the enimie shot most vehementlie vpon them, and sent out to take them three ships well appointed, which in fight our men sonke one of them, and tooke the other two, bringing them to our companie. There was slaine of the enimies, and drowned of naturall Spaniards fortie or fiftie. Now do our men meane to pursue them no more neither by land which they determined, hauing made a sconse within two arrowes shot of their great sconse, and determined to go neere and assaile their sconse: yet now they purpose to staie a good wind, that their ships of war maie come downe to the riuer, and beat at their sconse: at which time I iudge our men at land will not be idle, for the piles that the enimie made ouer the riuer, are by violence of water driuen awaie, and the water greatlie sonke on the land, so that the little vessels can not well flote as they did on the land.

The enimies bite their fingers for anger, note why.

It is reported, that when they in the sconse saw they could not command our ships, they bit their fingers, with signe of wonderfull anger. Now Graue is sufficientlie victualled for ten moneths at least, that the strength of the towne, the courage of the souldiors, and the store of victuals do make them of the towne to assure the erle in spite of the enimies violence, though they be let alone without helpe this yeare, they will almost warrant the towne, vpon the battell by Rawlston against the Spaniards. They that laie before Graue, I meane our enimies, sent a letter to the prince of Parma, that of our side were slaine six or seuen hundred of braue gentlemen that came now with the earle out of England: but saie they, we haue lost a great manie braue men, and sent to the prince the number. The prince writ againe, that he could not but be sorie for the death of so manie braue men, but he was glad our men had tasted of the same cup; & this letter was also taken of our men presentlie. The prince let it be knowne that our men for the most part were slaine, whereupon in all places there were bonfires made for ioie.

Furthermore, one thing worthie the noting doth yet remaine, that is, that soone after the fight done against the Spaniards by Rawlston, our men went to Battenburrow a most braue house for beautie, quantitie, and strength, for the Fase runneth by it & a great riuer on the other side it; but our men laieng the cannon to the gates of it, made a breach, which being perceiued of the enimie they yelded. There were thirtie or more Italians, the rest boures and peasants of the countrie; the Italians went awaie, their liues and ransoms spared, but the boures are kept to be ransomed: in it were thirtie women which also were kept. Thus wonderfullie hath God blessed vs, that without slaughter on our part to be accounted, these victories are atteined with so small a companie as was looked for of vs, but God hath preserued vs. Thus now will we conclude and shut vp these exploits with the names of the great men of account that were slaine at the battell by Rawlston, as was noted in a letter sent to the prince of Parma, by Francisco de Ceresota after the eight of Aprill, the letter being intercepted, don Iohn de Pauilla coronell generall, don Iohn de Castilo, don Pedro Ramares de Albano, capteine Flolis, capteine Cedran, don Iohn Calagiron, Mignell de Cardona. There were slaine in all by that note six hundred. Slaine, hurt, and (in the retire) disarmed, of our companie as followeth, 161 slaine or taken, thirtie three hurt, fiue hundred foure score & nineteene disarmed.

Persons of name on the enimies part slaine, with other seuldiors, some taken, hurt, and disarmed.

The eighteenth of Aprill th earle went from Vtricht to Ammerford, where through his sudden comming the towne was not so fullie prouided for his interteinment as other places had beene: but there wanted no good will in the townsmen as appeared, for he and all his traine did find the people to their power readie to sauor them, and to do them all the good and pleasure they could. This towne is double walled, first with stone, and then with mud, and also double ditched. The nineteenth of Aprill the earle went to Newchirch foure English miles from Ammerford to see the Leger of our horse and foot there. The twentith of Aprill he came from Ammerford to Vtricht againe.

The three and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of his maiesties forces in the low countries of the vnited prouinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Vtricht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honourablie the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so manie thousand strangers, I could not chose (hauing gotten the true and faithfull description, by one William Dragger *alias* Portcullis an officer of armes in that seruice) to make some breefe remembrance of the maner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of Vtricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wearing scarffes knit like roses white and red vpon their armes, betweene whome from the court of my lord vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the proceeding was on horsseback. First rid the trumpetors apparelled in scarlet, laid with siluer lace, sounding their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols being displaied and richlie limned with my lords armes. Then followed the gentlemen, captains, colonels, and his maiesties sworne men, to the number of a fortie horsse, richlie adorned in cloth of gold, siluer, and silkes, of all colours. After came six knights, foure barons, with the councell of estates, the right honourable earle of Esser accompanied the bishop of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portingall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of the gard, the tresuror and controllor of the houshold, bearing their white staues. After whom followed two gentlemen vshers, and Portcullis herald in a rich cote of armes of England.

S. Georges feast solemnlie obserued at Vtricht.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuested in his robes of the order, garded by the principall burgers of the towne, which offered themselues to that seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie halberds in scarlet clokes, garded with purple and white veluet. He being thus honourablie brought vnto the church, after due reuerence done vnto the quenes maiesties state, which was there erected on the right hand, he tooke his owne stall on the left, by certeine degrees lower. Then began praiers, and a sermon made by master Knewstubs my lords chapleine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering; first for his maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he performed with such decorum & princelie behauiour, that all generallie spake most honourablie of him.

L. lieutenant inuested in the robes of order.

These solemnities being done, his lordship returned as he came, leauing behind him the earle of Es-

ser and certeine gentlemen to accompanie the princes and the ladies of the court. His court was a faire and large house, belonging in times past to the knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great hall richlie hong with tapistrie: at the vpper end whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of estate for the quænes maiestie, with hir armes and stile thereon, and before it a table couered with all things so requisit as if in person she had bëene there; on the left hand almost at the tables end was my lords trencher and stoole, for he would haue no chaire. The tables being couered, and all degrees assembled, my lord before the state of hir maiestie knighted a Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his manifold seruices done to his countrie, the which done, the vshers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right side of the hall sat the yong prince of Portingall, the prince Elector and his wife, the princesse Simeie, the earle of Esser, the Graue Morris and his ladie, & betwæne euerie ladie was an English lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the states and chëefe burgers of the towne, and the grand prior of Amerford (who came to sëe the feast) was by my lords appointment placed vppermost at that table. Then began the trumpets to sound in the seruice which was most princelike & abundant, serued on the knë, carued and tasted to hir maiesties trencher.

Martin Skinke knighted, who promised Portcullis to shew him seauentie ensignes that he had now in the field.

The side tables being furnished all in siluer plate, & attended on by gentlemen, sundrie sorts of musikes continued the interim of the first course, which done and auoided, the trumpets sounded in for the second, which was all baked meats of beasts, and foules; the beasts as lions, dragons, leopards, and such like, bearing veins of arms, & the foules, as pecocks, swans, phesants, turkie cocks and others in their naturall fethers, spred as in their greatest pride, which sight was both rare and magnificent. This seruice being placed on hir maiesties bord, the beasts on one side, and soules on the other, the lion lieng couchant at hir highnesse trencher; the vshers cried, A hall, which being made with much a do (by reason of the multitude) they brought vp betwëene them, with thrë reuerences to the state, Portcullis herald, inuested with the armes of England, who in Latine, French and English pronounced the quënes maiesties vsuall stile of England, France & Ireland, defendresse of the faith, &c: crieng thrë times, Largesse.

A sumptuous feast and full of deuises.

Then began the trumpets to sound, and the Dutchmen to carouse, to the health of hir maiestie, the welfare of my lord, and to the prosperities of the vnited prouinces, and nothing wanted wherein either state, magnificence, or ioy might be expressed. To be brëfe, the feast ended, and tables voided, there was dansing, vawting, and tumbling, with the forces of Hercules, which gaue great delight to the strangers, for they had not sëene it before, and thus they passed the time till euensong, and then departed. At supper being all assembled againe, great was the feast, and plentifull the chëere; and after supper began the bariers betwëene chalengers and defendants men of armes, wherein the earle of Esser behaued himselfe so towardlie, that he gaue all men great hope of his noble forwardnesse in armes. The bariers done, and either part retired with equall praise (though not with equall blowes) there was a most sumptuous banket prepared of sugar meats for the men of armes, and the ladies: which being finished, my lord wishing them all good rest tooke his leaue, and so this honourable feast broke vp about twelue of the clocke at midnight.

The earle of Esser commended for chiualrie.

About this time our men woone Knowles sconse, a strong thing, and presentlie after they woone Ample sconse: and Skinks pursuing a companie of Spaniards, slue a thirtie, and tooke a fourscore and ten. The fourth of Maie all the horsemen at Newarke were viewed, and the gard perteining to the L. lieutenant were sent to këepe the towne from spoile, where they tooke prisoners to the number of thrëescore and ten boures, which had slaine diuerse of our gentlemen. The same fourth of Maie countie Hollocke put (in despite of the enimie) thrë hundred men into Pame, and about that time capteine Skinke builded a sconse in Clëueland and manned it. About this time they of Graue shot fire bals out of the towne, which lighted in the great sconse of the enimie, and set all the powder on fire, where through not onelie the said sconse was laid flat, but also all the men therein were blowne vp: also the enimie about the same time, making a breach in the base towne of Graue, entered the same, but was repelled, and thrë hundred of his men slaine.

Seruice against the enimie by Skinks.

The tenth of Maie, our English capteins and soldiors tooke eleuen barkes and hoies, and drowned seauen that issued out to skirmish with them. The twelfe of Maie Skinks tooke in an Iland of inuincible strength in the Roine, and there hath made a mightie sconse. The fourëtënth of Maie, our men lieng at Nemingam sconse, there reuolted to vs out of the towne two hoies. The fiftënth the enimie issued out of the sconse, but was retired, and lost their Lope sconse. The sixtënth, the lord lieutenant passed from Armew to the campe at Nemingam, this daie the castell of Lenon was yëelded to vs, he being there in person; this daie came fiue hoies more to our men from Nemingam. The eightënth of Maie came news to our campe, that the enimie entering Graue, lost fiue hundred men. The same day at night the enimie issued forth of the sconse to këepe our men a worke, but our men retired them streight, and there came a bote from the towne to the sconse, in despite of our men, in repelling of which, the canon from the towne shot at our men, and slue two lieutenants, and fiue or six souldiors, the capteine of the sconse was sore hurt, so was the lieutenant with an arrow, and two or thrë other souldiors.

Diuerse exploits done to and fro.

The twentith of Maie earlie in the morning was the sconse yëelded to our men, the souldiors passing awaie as souldiors. There was in the same sconse seauen score and seauentëne braue men, especiallie well furnished; there was in the same found a most braue pëce of ordinance and two lesser pëces, there was two canons comming to the sconse, which were turned to Barriks house. ¶ Thus far hauing noted out of a booke penned by Henrie Archer, one of the gard to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall in those parts, I leaue with heartie praier his honors happie and prosperous successe, and returne to other accidents such as in the meane time happened.

On the one and twentith daie of Januarie, two Seminarie priests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie, a wench was burnt in Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like to hir vncle. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham lord warden of the fiue ports and Thomas lord Buckhurst, were chosen & taken to be of hir maiesties priuie councell: the two first to wit, the archbishop & the lord Cobham, were sworne the same daie, and the third on the next morrow; who being persons worthie that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, & for the gifts of nature & learning wherewith they are richlie adorned, haue occasioned Francis Thin to make the like discourse of the

Seminarie priests executed at Tiburne.

A wench burnt in Smithfield.

Archbishop of Canturburie, lord Cobham, & lord Buckhurst of the priuie councell

arch-

archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before done in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.

The liues of the archbishops of Canturburie, *written by Francis Thin,* in the yere of our redemption 1586.

POsthumus Labienus (good reader) when he wrot the Roman histories in Greeke, craued pardon of the reader. Whereupon Cato the elder did scoffinglie saie; Truelie he had beene to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke as one compelled thereunto by the decree of the Amphictiones; the which like matter also found in Aulus Gellius lib. 9. cap. 8. and spoken of Aulus Labienus, is the same historie vnder other names. For Gellius reciteth that Albinus, who was consull with Lucius Lucullus did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke tong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those books. For being a Roman borne in Latium a part of Italie, the Greeke tong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendinglie said; Art not thou Aulus a great trifler, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committing of a fault, sith we are accustomed onelie to craue pardon when we erre unwittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others? Whereunto Cato further added: Te quis perpulit vt id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignosceretur? Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saieng of Cato, the name of Posthumus Albinus is there to be placed; for these two Aulus Posthumus Albinus, and L. Lucinius Lucullus were consuls at the time when Cato persuaded that warre should be denounced vnto the rebelling Carthaginians: so that the same storie recited vnder the name of Posthumus, Aulus, and Albinus is all but one thing, done to and by one man, hauing diuerse names. Which historie I haue not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the doings of other persons in a tong wherein I am skilleſſe; because it deserueth not anie pardon, that one should heedleſſe and headlong both wittinglie and wilfullie run into that for which he must after craue pardon. But I haue set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saieng that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reuerend a person incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy fauourable acceptance) because I haue beene moued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (worthilie sworns of hir maiesties priuie councell) in the new augmented chronicle of Holinshed, haue with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands and duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops, being a thing neuer written before in our vulgar tong. Whereunto although I am most vnapt amongest great numbers in this land, as well for the matter and stile, as for the shortnesse of time which I had therefore (all which might feare a better man than my selfe, to withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections) yet I hope that courtesie accompanied with a mild disposition of nature will fauorablie imbrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exactlie handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before aleaged, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnaduised entring into anie such vndertaken action, & a iust cause to moue thee not to mislike of this or anie thing which we do at the entreatie of our neere and deere friends, vnworthie of anie denial. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christianitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streictened within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganisme, with which all the rest of the parts of this Ile now called England was ouerspred; which Augustine the moonke of Rome (not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Affrica) found here when he came first into this Iland, but onelie nakedlie to shew the time, the order, the succession, the deeds and names, with the honor and offices of the archbishops and metropolitans of the same see of Canturburie. Wherefore, for this time I doo in this homelie sort enter into the matter, taken (in some part) out of Matthew Parker, who learnedlie in Latine wrote the liues of seuentie bishops of that place, as here doth presentlie follow.

Augustine.

Augustine the moonke, in the foureteenth yeare of Maurice the emperor, being the yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and six, as hath William Thorne moonke of Canturburie (though some attribute his comming to the yeare fiue hundred ninetie and nine, but not so rightlie as I suppose) being about one hundred and fiftie yeares after the landing of the Saxons in this Iland, was sent by Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome into England, which Augustine first arriued in Kent at a place called Retesburgh, and after christened Ethelbert king of Kent, who gaue to him a house at Stablegate, as hath Thomas Spot, deliuering that matter in these words: *Et concesit* (which was Ethelbert king of Kent) *eis locum habitationis in ciuitate Dorobernia situatum, videlicet in parochia sancti Alphegi ex opposito regia strata versus aquilonem, per quam murus palatij archiepiscopalis in longitudine se extendit. In quo loco sanctus August. cum suis domesticis vsque ad conuersionem regum hospitatus est. Illa tamen quæ per viam extiterant sarcinis onusta loco prædicto longo post tempore stabulata sunt, ob quam causam vsque hodiernum diem situs ille Stablegate vocatus est. Fuerat enim tunc quasi oratorium pro familia regis vt ibi adorarent, & dijs suis libamina immolarent, &c.* And a little after that also he thus saith; *Anno Domini 597 Augustinus cum suis socijs illo in loco conversans vitam cœpit imitari apostolicam,* and that king Ethelbert with his people was christened on Whitsundaie.

Thomas Spot.

This done, Augustine was the sixteenth kalends of December made archbishop of the Englishmen by Etherius bishop of Arras in France, to whome Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome did send the archbishops pall. Whereupon Augustine placed his archbishops see at Canturburie, and was the first archbishop that sat there: for in the yere of Christ fiue hundred ninetie and eight, king Ethelbert remouing his palace from Canturburie vnto Reculuer, gaue his palace which he had in Canturburie to the said Augustine and his successors, that the metropolitan see might remaine there, which pa-

Thomas Spot.

lace he turned into the palace in which the said Augustine dwelt, being the palace which after remained to his successors archbishops of Canturburie; besides which this Augustine ordeined for the metropolitan chaire, a certeine old church built by the Romans consecrated to our Sauior; which church is at this date called Christs church in Canturburie, for difference of the other Christs church beside Aldgate in London. Moreouer, this Augustine, as saith William Thorne, did dedicat a church in Canturburie called saint Pancrace. Touching which, because that Matthew Parker hath not fullie made mention therof by the name of saint Pancrace, although he speake therof as of the abbeie of saint Augustines and monasterie dedicated to Peter & Paule; I shall not spare to set downe the words of the said William Spot, which were written after this manner: *Erat autem non longè ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem quasi medio itinere inter ecclesiam sancti Martini & muros ciuitatis phanum siue idolum situm, vbi rex Ethelbertus secundùm ritum suæ gentis solebat orare, & cum nobilibus suis dæmonijs & non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanũ ab inquinamentis & sordibus gentilium purgauit* (which was Augustine) *& simulachro quod in eo erat confracto, synogogam mutauit in ecclesiam, & eam in nomine sancti Pancracij martyris dedicauit, & hæc est prima ecclesia ab Augustino dedicata.*

A little after the which he further saith thus: *Hijs námque gestis, Augustinus prædicti sancti Pancracij ecclesiam à rege obtinuit vnà cum terra adiacente: in cuius fundo prædictus rex suggestione sancti patris Augustini ecclesiam in honore apostolorum Petri & Pauli à fundamentis construxit: & in eadem ecclesia rex sibi & successoribus suis Cantuariæ regibus sepulturam elegit. In hac & ecclesia Augustinus se & successores suos Cantuariæ archiepis. statuit sepeliri: hæc igitur ecclesia vsque ad hodiernũ diẽ monasteriũ Petri & Pauli, sanctíq; Augustini ab omnibus terræ incolis appellatur.* Thus much that old booke written, as some haue noted (for the title therof) by William Thorne, or William de Spina: although for mine owne part (grounding my selfe vpon Matthew Parker, who verbatim hath inserted much of this matter into his booke) I suppose that it was rather written by Thomas Spot or Sprot, than by William Thorne, being both of them monks of Canturburie; and therefore sith the one continued the historie of the other, I haue vouched it sometime by the one name, and sometime by the other.

This Augustine (as saith that booke) died the seuenth kalends of June, in the yéere of our redemption six hundred and fiue, being about two moneths, two wéekes, and two daies after the death of pope Gregorie, after that he had béene bishop eight yéers, six wéekes, and three daies, as saith an ancient and goodlie booke of saint Augustines: but as saith Matthew Parker, he died in the yeare of our Lord God, six hundred and eleuen, after that he had remained sixtéene yeares in that sée; or but ten yeares, as the said Thorne will haue it, whose bodie was buried and laid without the doores in the porch of the said monasterie of saint Peter and saint Paule, the same church being not yet perfect nor dedicated. But as soone as the same church had receiued his dedication, his bodie was translated into the north porch thereof, and there was honorablie buried; which porch (saith the said booke of Thorne) was in that part of the old church, where in his time did stand the chapell of the virgine Marie; and in the same also were all the other succeeding bishops of Canturburie accustomed to be buried, vntill the time of Theodorus the archbishop, who with the other bishops were inforced to be buried in the church, because the said porch could not hold anie more dead bodies. Vpon the tome of which Augustine was this epitaph ingrauen. ¶ Hic requiescit diuus Augustinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, qui olim huc à beato Gregorio Romanæ vrbis pontifice directus, & à Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, & Ethelbertum regem, & gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Christi perduxit.

Laurence borne at Rome, and of great learning, Laurence. was chosen successor to Augustine by the said Augustine whilest he yet liued. He laboured by his letters to reduce the Britons, Scots and Irish to true christianitie and obseruation of Easter. He (as saith Matthew Parker) built a church to the virgine Marie (whereof more shall follow) in the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, which yet he did not consecrate, but left the same to be performed by his successor Melitus. There hath béene an opinion amongst the monks, that all the archbishops of Canturburie, from the time of Augustine the first bishop vntill Stigand, or rather Thomas Becket, were monkes: but that is refelled, in respect that this Laurence was a priest, as Matthew Parker auoucheth out of Bede lib. 1. cap. 27. Touching which bishops to be monkes thus speaketh a booke of the monasterie of S. Augustines: *Hoc discernens* (Ethelbert king of Kent, who sent Melitus bishop of London and after bishop of Canturburie to Rome to haue licence to place monkes in that monasterie) *permisit vt ipsi prædicatores nostri monachi monachorum sibi associarent gregem, & eorum vitam sanctis moribus exornarent, vnde diuino nutu tam consono regis voto & ordinum monachorum accidit in posterum, vt in archiepiscoporum Cantuarienſis ecclesiæ successione, omnes fermè ab aduentu Augustini vsque ad Thomam martyrem, qui in numero 39 fuerunt, per 568 annos intermedios, monachi fuerunt.* This Laurence died that yeare in which Eadbald king of Kent imbraced the faith of Christ, which he had till that time detested, after the death of his father Ethelbert, or rather the next yeare (as some haue) but others plainlie affirme that he died in the yeare of Christ six hundred and ninetéene, the fourth nones of Februarie, being the second yeare of Rufinian abbat of saint Augustines, and the third yere of Eadbald king of Kent. But againe to the church of the virgine Marie within the monasterie before said, as the said Thorne writeth with these words: *In isto monasterio ecclesiam in honorẽ sanctæ Dei genetricis ob facinorum suorum expiationem fundauit* (king Ethelbald after his christening) *& ipsam ecclesiam manerio de Northborne regaliter dotauit. Quod manerium est 30 aratrorum vt in codicillo eius apparet, quod monasteriũ huic monasterio ita liberè contulit sicut pater suus aut ipse vnquam liberiùs tenuerunt. Ista autem ecclesia beatæ virginis à principio fuit posita ad orientem monasterij, & erat cœmiterium fratrum inter ipsam ecclesiam & monasterium. Sed post dilatato monasterio fuit ista ecclesia penitùs prostrata, & ibi superædificata crypta sicut nunc apparet.* Now although it maie séeme to come out of order to speake anie more of this Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, sith I haue alreadie made mention of the daie and yere of his death, yet I thinke it not amisse, rather here than not at all, to set downe the words of a famous booke (which Matthew bishop of Canturburie neuer saw) of Augustines, the goodliest monument that I haue beheld belonging to anie house of religion, touching the same Laurence: which words I am the willinger to write, although they be somewhat long, because I will not defraud the author of the true telling of his owne tale, nor posteritie of the spreading by print the part of that booke, which otherwise perhaps might neuer more come to light; thus therefore

speaketh that booke. *An. Dom.* 613. *Laurentius archiepiscopus, qui non solùm de Anglis nouæ quæ tunc erat ecclesiæ curam gerebat, sed & veterum Britaniæ incolarum necnon & Scotorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Britaniæ proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem curam impendere intendebat, à suæ prædicationis solicitudine ad suam sedem Dorobernensis ecclesiæ regressus, præsentis monasterij ecclesiam consecrauit, & præsente rege cum confluis turbis corpus Augustini transtulit in eandem ecclesiam consecratam, corpus verò sancti Letardi episcopi Syluanectẽsis in Gallijs, cuius metropolis est Remẽsis, necnon & corpus Bertæ vxoris Ethelberti in porticu sancti Martini sepeliuit, horum enim corpora extra ecclesiam prius fuerunt sepulta, eo quòd tempore obitus eorum ecclesia nondum fuerat consecrata. Et nota quòd ista porticus quæ vocatur sancti Martini, fuit ex parte australi ecclesiæ tunc consecratæ. Quod tamen in eodem loco vbi nunc est altare sancti Iohannis non fuerat idem sancti Martini porticus, patet per Bedam li. 2. cap. 4. vbi eandem ecclesiam inter alia describit in hunc modum. Habet (inquit) hæc ecclesia viz. apostolorum Petri & Pauli in medio pene sui altare, in honorẽ Gregorij papæ dedicatum. Dato igitur quòd altare Gregorij quod nunc est, fuit in medio pene eiusdem ecclesiæ primitùs ab eodem Laurentio dedicata (quæ multo fuerat arctior quàm est ecclesia nostra moderna, sicut in locis sequentibus sibi aptis temporibus Wulfrici, Scotlandi, & Widonis abbatũ qui ecclesiam dilatauerunt erit manifestiùs explanatum) sequitur idem Martini altare siue porticum, quamuis in eadem parte ecclesiæ fuerat, non tamen in eodem loco quo nunc est altare sancti Iohannis vbi Berta fuerat regina sepulta verisimiliter extitisse.* But now leauing this matter of that author, and returning to the death of Laurence, we saie that there was this epitaph fixed vpon his graueſtone, placed next vnto the bodie of saint Augustine as here followeth:

Dedicatio ecclesiæ sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.

Porticus sancti Martini in ecclesia sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.

Hic sacra Laurenti sunt signa tui monumenti,
Tu quoque iucundus pater antistésque secundus,
Pro populo Christi scapulas dorsúmque dedisti,
Artubus hinc laceris multa vibice mederis.

Melitus. Melitus borne of a noble familie, and an abbat of Rome, being sent by Gregorie into England to aid Augustine in the harueſt of the Saxons conuersion, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred and one, was in the yeare six hundred and foure by Augustine made bishop of London; he went to Rome in the fourth yeare of his bishoprike, being about the yeare of our Lord six hundred and eight; he was expelled his bishoprike by the sonnes of Sigebert or Sebba, in the yeare of Christ six hundred and eightéene, and fled into France; but he was called out of banishment by Laurentius bishop of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ six hundred and ninetéene, in which the said Laurence died, after whose death, this Melitus was made archbishop of Canturburie; he died the eight kalends of Maie about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure, in the eight yeare of king Eadbald, and was buried in the porch of the monasterie of Peter and Paule, after that he had gouerned the sée of Canturburie fiue yeares, as hath William Thorne: though Polydor Virgil will affoord him but foure yeares: vpon the graue stone of which Melitus was this epitaph set:

Summus pontificum flos tertius & mel apricum,
Hic titulis clara redditis mellitè sub arà:
Laudibus æternis te prædicat vrbs Dorobernis,
Cui semel ardenti restas virtute potenti.

Polyd. lib. 4. Angl. histor.

In which epitaph this bishop is called *Mel*, alluding to the vertue of his name, which was Melitus, in English signifieng honnied, or made of honnie.

Iustus. Iustus was first created bishop of Rochester in the life of Augustine the first archbishop of Canturburie; who not long inioieng the sée of Rochester, with Melitus in the yeare of Christ six hundred eightéene, flieng the persecution of the christi- Kent, when he passed ouer into France, but after returning home in the yeare of Christ six hundred and ninetéene, this Iustus was againe restored to his sée of Rochester, where he remained so long as Melitus liued: after whose death, he was about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure remoued to the arch chaire of Canturburie; where he ordeined Paulinus to be archbishop of Yorke, in the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and fiue, though some haue six hundred fourescore and seuen. This bishop Iustus departed this world the fourth ides of Nouember, in the yeare that the world became flesh, six hundred threescore and foure, and about the ninetænth yeare of king Eabbald, and was buried in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule with his predecessors. On the graueſtone of which Iustus was this epitaph set:

Istud habet bustum, meritis & nomine Iustum,
Quarto iure datus cum cessit pontificatus:
Promeritis Iusti, sancta grauitate venusti,
Gratia diuinam diuina dat hic medicinam.

Honorius archbishop of Canturburie. Honorius by birth a Romane, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, and was consecrated at Lincolne by Palinus archbishop of Yorke, in the church which the same Paulinus there built, and receiued his pall from Honorius the first of that name bishop of Rome: he diuided his prouince into parishes, appointing inferior ministers vnto them: he made Paulinus flieng out of the kingdome of the Northumbers bishop of Rochester, he died in the twelfe yeare of Ercombertus king of Kent, in the yeare that God became man six hundred fiftie and foure, or rather six hundred fiftie and three, the last daie of Februarie, as hath Matthew Parker, but of September as others haue, & was buried with his predecessors in the north part of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, after whose death the bishoprike was void by the space of one yeare & six moneths, whose epitaph was on this sort:

Quintus honor memori, versu memoraris honori,
Digne sepultura, quem non teret vlla litura:
Ardet in obscuro tua lux vitramine puro (demit.
Sic scelus omne premit, fugit vmbras, nebula

Deusdedit. Deusdedit, or Adeodatus, descended of the Westsaxons, who in his mother toong was called Frithona, was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Ithamar bishop of Rochester. This Deusdedit, died in the yeare of our redemption six hundred threescore and foure, or rather six hundred threescore and three, the daie before the ides of Julie, after that he had béene bishop nine yeares, foure moneths and twelue daies, being buried with his predecessors in the porch of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule in Canturburie, being the last archbishop that was buried in that place: this man doth Polydor call Theodatus, which is all one in signification with the other Deusdedit, or Adeodatus: but that the one is compounded of the Latine, and the other of the Græke, both signifieng in English, a person giuen by God: the epitaph of which Adeodatus was after this maner, according to antike inuention greatlie then vsed, & alluding to his name of Deusdedit in the second & third word of the 1. verse:

Alme Deusdedit, cui sexta vocatio cedit,
Signas hunc lapidem, lapidi signatus eidem:
Prodit ab hac vrna virtute salus diuturna,
Qua melioratur, quicúnque dolore grauatur.

After whose death the bishoprike was void fiue yeares eight moneths & fiftéene daies, during which time none administred the same bishoprike, though Matthew Parker will haue the vacancie of the bishoprike to continue a longer time, about the date of ten yeares or more.

Theodorus. Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie was cho- sen

ten in this sort. The see of Canturburie being long time void of a pastor, Wigard the priest a learned Englishman was sent to Rome by Egbert king of Kent, and Oswie king of Northumberland, to be ordeined archbishop of that see. After his comming to Rome, this Wigard and most of his companie died of a grieuous plague there, before he was created bishop: whereupon, about the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and eight, as hath Matthew Parker, but six hundred threescore & nine, as others haue, Vitilianus the pope made Theodorus, a Grecian borne archbishop of Canturburie, and sent him into England: who arriued here (as hath William Thorne) in the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and ten, the first kalends of June, being threescore & three yeares of age, hauing legantine power ouer England, Scotland, and Ireland. This man brought with him into England a large librarie of Greeke and Latine bookes: who about the yeare six hundred threescore and eightéene, deposed Wilfrid archbishop of Yorke, a man notablie learned in poetrie, arithmetike, astronomie, musike, and in the Greeke and Latine tongs, as hath William Malmesburie.

An. Do. 668. Matth. Parker, *In vita Theo. & venit Cantuar. anno 2. postquam consecratus est 6. kalend. Ianuarij.*

This Theodor in the yeare that the world became flesh six hundred & fourescore, diuided the prouince of Canturburie into fiue dioceses, & appointed gouernors thereof: he held two synods, the one at Hereford, and the other at Cliffe at Yo besides Rochester, as hath Matthew Parker. Besides which, as it appeareth by William Thorne and Beda (or else the historie of Rochester hath mistaken Cliffe for Hedfield, or Hethfield, if these two synods were all one) by Florilegus, and the Saxon chronicles of Merton, and of Peterborow (as that worthie antiquarie M. William Lambert hath well noted) that Honorius held a synod at Hedfield in the yeare of Christ six hundred and fourescore, to keepe backe the heresie of Eutiches begun in Constantinople, & first ordeined the vse of singing throughout England, which before was vsed onlie in Kent. He wrote manie bookes, namelie, *Summam pœnitentialem, Patrum canones, Ordinationes cleri, De fide contra Eutichem*, and manie others: he consecrated Erkenwald bishop of London, and Eadhed, Bosa, and Eata bishops of Yorke. He died the nineténth daie of September in the third yeare of the vacancie of the kingdome of Kent, after the death of king Edricus, falling in the yeare that the second person of the trinitie tooke on him the forme of a seruant, six hundred foure-scoze and ten, being fourescore and eight yeares of age, after that he had gouerned that see one & twentie yeares, three moneths, and foure and twentie daies, being buried in the church of Peter & Paule at Canturburie, but not in the porch thereof, as his other predecessors were: for Deusdedit was the last of those which were buried in that place, whose writing on his graue I find to haue béene verie much: but because that worthie booke & monument of saint Augustine hath not fullie set it downe, as it hath done some other epitaphs, I will onelie deliuer so much of that epitaph as is come to my knowledge, concerning the said archbishop in this sort:

Chro. Wincelcombe.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 17.

Matth. Parker *in vita Theodori.*

Hìc sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul,
Quem nunc Theodórum lingua Pelasga vocat:
Princeps pontificum, fœlix summúsque sacerdos,
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

After which there lacked a great number of verses, which should haue hanged herevpon, but they not appearing, the latter part and conclusion of his epitaph was there deliuered in this maner:

Námq; diem nonam decimam September habebat
Cùm carnis clàustrum spiritus effugeret:
Alma nouæ scandens fœlix consortia vitæ,
Ciuibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli.

Touching which archbishop, I thinke it not amisse to deliuer to the world, what an ancient anonymall chronicler hath written concerning his erection of schooles of learning at Crékelade, which is supposed to be the mother of the vniuersitie of Oxford, the words of which author are these.

Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis per omnes chronicas commendatur Luciferos radios rationis vna cum Adriano abbate orbi Britannico infulsisse, & insulam quondam nutriculam tyrannorum in familiare philosophiæ domicilium contulisse. Horum vtique rationis euidentia memoria reducitur modernorum per illam villulam quæ lacus Græcorum, Anglicè Grekeslade à Theodori disciplina vbi scholas primitùs tenuit nũcupatur. In illa enim lacu refulsit quasi sol Theodorus à sole iusticiæ illustratus. Thus much that author, which I suppose that the archbishop of Canturburie Parker had not séene, when he maketh Theodorus (vnlesse my memorie faile) to be author of the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

Genlade.

Brightwaldus. Polydor. l. 46.

Brightwaldus an Englishman borne. This man hath Polydor falslie shewed to be the first archbishop of Canturburie that was an Englishman, making the rest to be Italians and Romans, wherein he hath doublie erred (as saith Matthew Parker) for Deusdedit the second bishop before this man was of the Westsaxons, and Theodore next before this man was borne in Tharsis of Cilicia, in which error of Polydor, William Thorne was drowned long before him. This man was sometime abbat of Raculfe now called Reculuer, besides the north mouth of the riuer Gentade néere the Ile of Tenet, he was chosen archbishop in the second yeare of Withred king of Kent, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred ninetie and two, and ordeined bishop in the yeare six hundred ninetie & three, in the third kalends of Julie, being consecrated by Godwine metropolitane of France, as hath William Thorne and Beda. Sergius the first of that name, bishop of Rome granted vnto him by his bull the full primasie ouer all the English churches. When this bishop entered the see of Canturburie, there reigned in Kent two brothers, Wilred or rather Withred, and Swinfard, which Withred built the church of saint Martins in Douer where they became monks, and indowed it with great possessions.

691. Willam Thorne.

Withredus & Swihardus.

Touching which thus writeth the same booke of S. Augustine: *Withredus monasterium sancti Martini apud Douerià fundauit, vt testatur Gulielmus Malsmeburie, & secundum aliquos in eodem loco 22 canonicos instituit seculares, sed propter illorum execrabilem vitam, rex Anglorum Henricus 2, concilio Theobaldi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis in monachorum ordinem idem monasteriũ transtulit, & ibidem nouam ecclesiam construens 13, monachos de ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis introduxit.* Brightwaldus died in the fift ides of Januarie, in the first yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred thirtie and one, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, after that he had gouerned the same chaire eight and thirtie yeares, three moneths, and foure téene daies, whose epitaph was written as hereafter followeth:

Matth. Park. Beda li. 5. ca. 24. 37 ann. 6. mens. 14 dies.

Stat sua laus feretro Brithwaldus, stat sua metro,
Sed minor est metri laus omnis laude feretri,
Laude frequentandus pater hic & glorificandus,
Si prece flectatur dat ei qui danda precatur.

Tatwinus or Tadwinus in Saxon T[illegible] winus.
whome some call Cadwine or Scadwine by[illegible]

ruption and ignorance of writers, was borne in Mercia, a monke of the order of S. Benet in the abbeie of Bne dune, Bruidune, or Brenton, although some others saie that he was not of the profession of a monke. Bede doth constantlie affirme that he was consecrate (in the first yeare of Gregorie the third bishop of Rome) in Canturburie by Daniell bishop of Winchester, Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and Adulfe bishop of Rochester. Controuersie falling betweene him and the bishop of Yorke, concerning the honours of their bishopriks, this Tadwine went to Rome about the yeare of Christ 733, where he receiued the pall of pope Gregorie: to this archbishops time doth Bede continue his historie. Tatwine died after that he had béene archbishop of Canturburie three yeares, in the yeare of our redemption 734, or (as hath William Thorne) the last daie of Julie, seauen hundred thirtie and fiue, being the tenth of Edbert king of Kent, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, with this superscription written vpon his graue stone:

Beda. l. 5 ca. 24.

Pontificis glebe, Tacwini Cantia præbe,
Thura, deus, laudes, e cuius dogmate gaudes:
Huius doctrina caruisti mente ferina,
Et per eum Christi portare iugum didicisti.

Nothelmus. Nothelmus borne at London, archpræst of the church of London, and bishop of the same, was aduanced to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 736, in the fift yeare (as hath Matthew Parker) of pope Gregorie the third, & was consecrated at Rome, where he receiued his pall. He was a great helpe whiles he was præst of London to Bede for the increase of the historie of Bede, written of the church of England: he was (as saith Gulielmus Spina) three yeares and more in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and died in the fiftéenth yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and fortie, the sixtéenth kalends of Nouember, and was buried with his predecessors, hauing this remembrance ingrauen vpon his sepulture:

Thom. Spot. Wil. Malms. hath fiue years Chron. Couen. hath six years.

Hîc scrobe Nothelmus iacet archiepiscopus almus
Cuius vita bono non est indigna patrono:
Cunctis iste bonis par in bonitate patronis,
Protegit hic iustos vigili munimine custos.

Cutbert. Cutbert, borne of a famous familie of the English nation, was first bishop of Hereford in Mercia, and then in the yeare of our redemption 740, being the ninth yeare of Pope Gregorie the third, made bishop of Canturburie, who in the time of Ethelbald king of Mercia, called a synod at Cliffe besides Rochester. In this synod was present king Ethelbald of Mercia, Cutbert archbishop of Cantur. Totta, Hunita, & Padda bishops of Mercia, Aldwinus bishop of Lindsei, Sigga bishop of the south Saxons. This archbishop procured Edbert king of Kent by publike edict, to change the place of buriall of the archbishops, which were before accustomed to be buried in the monasterie of saint Augustines of that citie, to the metropolitane church of Canturburie, in which church he was buried by subtiltie before the monks knew of his death; who thinking to haue his bodie to their church, and finding him buried before they came, did afterwards assemble with armes (as saith Spot) to fet awaie this bodie of his successor Bregwine, to burie it in their monasterie: but when they saw it was alreadie buried, they departed in anger deceiued of their hope. Capgraue saith that he was buried in the church (néere vnto the great church) which was built in the honor of saint John, which he therefore built to be a place for christenings, to examine causes of iudgement, to correct euils, and to burie the archbishops: which church of saint John manie ages after did Lanfranke repaire. Which

741. Wil. Spin. Clouesho. Thom. Spot. An. Dom. 747. mense Septem.

translating of the buriall of the archbishops to Canturburie, happening in the time of Aldhumus the tenth abbat of that house, which died in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred and sixtie, and the fiue & thirtith of Edbert king of Kent, occasioned the monks finding fault with his default in that action, to set these verses (for the memoriall) vpon a stone of his buriall, made in the monasterie of saint Augustines:

Fert memor abbatis Aldhumi nil probitatis,
Pontificum pausam cassat tutans malè causam:
Prisca premens iura dñi Cutbertus tumulatur,
Fulta sepultura sanctis per eum reprobatur.

Before the death of which abbat, that is in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred fortie and eight, being the three and twentith of the reigne of the same Edbert king of Kent, this archbishop Cutbert, after that he had sat seauentéene yeares, departed the world, and was buried (as is before said) out of the monasterie of S. Augustines from his predecessors.

Begwinus. Begwinus borne of worshipfull parents of the Saxons bloud, in the countrie of old Saxonie in Germanie, came into England, & was here made a denizen: who being vnwillinglie made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fiftie and eight, or seauen hundred fiftie and nine as some haue, confirmed the burieng of the archbishops in the place which Cutbert had before appointed. He sat in that chaire three yeares, and then surrendered his soule vnto God, whose death was not knowne, till that he had béene buried three daies before in the church of S. John besides his predecessor Cutbert, about whose time was Stretburg, Winchester, London, Yorke, and Doncaster, with manie other places much consumed by lightening.

Lambertus. Lambertus or Iambertus, or rather Ieanbepche, and Zeanbopche, being abbat of S. Augustines, was made archbishop of Canturburie, the seauenth ides of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and two, who hauing the pall giuen him, was made archbishop of Canturburie by pope Paulinus or Paule, the first of that name, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and foure. In this mans time Offa king of Mercia found means to translate the archbishops see from Canturburie to Lichfield, (when Eadulphus the bishop thereof had a pall giuen him by pope Adrian) for the greeuous displeasures which Offa conceiued against the Kentish, but especiallie for that this bishop would haue aided (as saith Matthew Paris in his chronicle of saint Albons) Charles the great determining to inuade England, touching which matter thus writeth Matthew Parker, shewing what bishops were subiect to the metropolike see of Mercia, and what bishoprikes were vnder the metropolitane see of Canturburie: his words be these.

Marianus Scotus saith that he was ordeined bishop on Candlemasse daie, but an old author saith he is not there in to be credited.

Eadulfo igitur Lichfeldensi episcopo archiepiscopalem celsitudinem administranti subijciebantur hij Merciorum episcopi, Denebertus Wigorniensis, Werebertus Legecestrensis, Eadulfus Sunacestrensis, Wulmardus Herefordensis, necnon & orientalium Anglorum episcopi viz. Harardus Helmanienſis, & Tidferth Domucensis. Sedi verò Cantuarienſi, Londonensis, Wintonienſis, Roffensis, Sireburnensis, antistites, dum Lambertus sedit, tantùm superfuerunt, etsi neque sumptui neque labori pepercit, vt sedem suam pristinæ dignitati restitueret. Quidam verò referunt cùm legati ab Adriano papa in Angliam missi concilium apud Calcuch (or rather Calchith) *in prouincia Northumbrorum tenuissent anno* 787, *ibi Lambertum archiepiscopatus præfatam partem episcopo Lichfeldensi remisisse.* This man after that he had gouerned his lamed archbishoprike about seuentéene yeares, or rather two and twentie yeares, perceiuing his end to draw néere, and desirous to vndo all such decrées as his predecessors had made touching

Ex archiuis. W. Malms. lib. 1. De reg. gestis. Roff. histor. Henricus Venantudunensis. Edmerus.

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ing the place of the buriall of the archbishops, and to bring that to his ancient place, commanded that his bodie (when he was dead) should be carried vnto the monasterie of saint Augustines, and there to be buried with his former predecessors, which was easilie performed; and therefore was honorablie buried in the chapter house of saint Augustines, with this epitaph heere vnder written in forme following:

Gemma sacerdotum decus à tellure remotum,
Clauditur hac fossa, Iambertus puluis & ossa,
Sub hac mole cinis sed laus tua nescia finis,
Incola nunc cœli, populo succurre fideli.

Athelardus. Athelardus was first abbat of Maldune, then bishop of Winchester, in the yeare of our redemption seuen hundred ninetie and three, in the yeare of the reigne of Offa surnamed the great king of Mercia thirtie and fiue, and in the one and twentith yeare of the gouernement of pope Adrian. This bishop of Canturburie going to Rome, obteined of pope Leo the fourth of that name, to haue the whole metropolitan iurisdiction reduced vnto the church of Canturburie from Lichfield, in behalfe whereof Kenulfe king of Mercia wrote vnto the pope, wherevnto the pope answered. The tenor of both which letters Matthew Parker hath set downe in his booke of the liues of the bishops of the see of Canturburie. In this mans time, as hath Matthew Parker noted, Simon Dunel. *Pagani* (which were the Danes and Norwegians) *portu Egfredi regis vastato, monasterium Doni amnis prædarunt*. During the regiment of this bishop, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred ninetie and eight, manie houses and multitudes of men were consumed in London, by a sudden chance of fire. After which he died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred and six, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, and not in the monasterie of S. Augustines; from which time there was neuer anie controuersie nor quarell mooued by the monks of S. Augustines for the not burieng of the archbishops in their abbeie, as there had manie times beene before.

Wulfredus. Wulfredus being first a monke of Canturburie, was elected and aduanced to the dignitie of the archbishoprike of Canturburie at Rome, by pope Leo, the fourth of that name, who also consecrated and indued him with the pall, in the third yeare of Kenulfus king of Mercia, being the yeare of the incarnation of Christ eight hundred and six. This man in the ninth yeare of his bishoprike went vnto Rome, and was accompanied with Wibert bishop of Shirburne. Whilest this man was archbishop, a great plague was in the church of Canturburie, which consumed & killed all the monks except fiue. Besides which, at the request of this bishop, Kenulfe king of Mercia, at the dedication of the abbeie of Winchcombe, which he had built from the ground, set the king of Kent at libertie, being his prisoner; who after departing this world was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

W. Malms. Io. Capgra. Tho. Spotus.

Ex archiuis. Ross. hist.

Theologildus. Theologildus, or Flegildus, or Feogildus, or Fleologildus, as most books haue, being first abbat of Canturburie, was after aduanced to the archiepiscopall dignitie of the metropolitan see of all England, who because he died suddenlie, is not placed in the catalog of the archbishops, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie, as saith Gerua- sius, before the altar of saint Michaell towards the south.

Ex archiuis. Geruas. Dorobor.

Celnothus. Celnothus, or Ceolnothus, otherwise called Ciathredus, or Swithredus, deane of the church of Canturburie, was aduanced to that bishoprike by pope Gregorie, of whome he receiued the pall. He was buried in the church of Canturburie, dedicated to our sauior Jesus Christ, after that he had ruled that chaire eight and thirtie, or as others haue, fortie yeres. In the foure and twentith yeare of this bishop, and the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie and fiue, a great armie of the Danes did winter in Shepeie. In the nine and twentith yere of his gouernement, being about the yeare of saluation eight hundred and three score, the greater part of the Danes by deceit went to Winchester, tooke it, & leuelled it with the ground. Shortlie after which, Swithine the bishop thereof being an old man departed this life. The yeare that this Celnothus died, the bishops see of the east Angles, which was at Domne or Dunwich, was translated to Eltham; the cause whereof is set downe by William of Malmsburie in this manner: *Tempore* (saith he) *Bedicani regis Merciorum, & Egricti regis Westsaxonum, Humbrictus & Wilredus fuerunt episcopi orientalium Anglorum. Sed eodem Ludecano & antecessore eius Burredo inuadentibus prouinciam, etiam episcopis necessariorum copia sublata fuit. Et quidem, vtrique reges intra regionem prouincialium incursu extincti sunt. Cessarunt autem episcopatus, & ex duobus unus factus, sedem apud Elteham villam non adeo magnam accepit.* Thus much he, and thus much I touching the time of Ceolnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, which giueth some cause of wonder to me, that nothing is found written (for anie thing I can learne) of him gouerning that see so long as he did.

Athelredus. Athelredus first being a monke of Canturburie, was after bishop of Winchester, and from thense by the liberalitie of king Ethelred, aduanced to the metropolitane miter of all England. Of whose doing (saith Matthew Parker) this onelie is found written, that in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the Father into the wombe of the mother, eight hundred seuentie and two, the seuenth ides of June, being Whitsundaie, he consecrated Werfred bishop of the Wicces, after the death of Alcwine. This Athelred after that he had possessed the honor of archbishop of Canturburie eightéene yeares, died an old man, ouerworne with sickneſſe, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie with his predecessors.

Plegmundus. Plegmundus by kindred a Mercian, being chosen archbishop of Canturburie, was sacred at Rome by pope Formosus, of whom he receiued the pall with full power of a metropolitan. This man did first in the ile Cestria (which of the inhabitants is called Plegmundesham) liue an heremits life manie yeres, after which he was schoolemaster to king Alfred or Alured, of whose doing thus writeth Matthew Parker. *An. Dom.* 905. *Plegmundus Cant. archiepiscopus, vnà cum rege magnificè cognomento Eduardo seniore, concilium magnum episcoporum, abbatum, fidelium, procerum & populorum in prouincia Gewisarum (id est in illa parte Angliæ quæ in plaga australi sita est fluminis Thamesis) cõuocauit. Fuerat enim illa regio iam 7 annos præ hostium vi & impetu furioso episcoporum sollicitudine & cura pastorali destituta: vnde salubriter constitutum fuit in hac synodo, vt pro duobus episcopis, quorum vnus Wintoniæ, alter Sireburniæ sedē habuit, quúmq; crearentur antistites ne grex domini pastorum cura orbatus luporum lanienæ & voracitati subijceretur. Quorum antistitum sedes hoc nomine appellantur, Wintonia, Sireburnia, Wellia, Cridium, & Petrocium, quod est iuxta Wellenses aquilonares, ad flumen Heremoth* (or rather Hellmuth) *posita villula. Celebrato itáque concilio, & canonica electione facta, constituit Plegmundus archiepiscopus in sede Wintoniensi Brithestanum: in Wellensi Athelmum (qui post Plegmundum factus est archiepiscopus Dorobernensis)*

Plegmundus, Chron. eccles. Cantuar. Asser. Mene. Gerua. Dorobernen. W. Malms.

Gewissi ex Saxon. occidentalib. populus.

Ex archiuis W. Malms. *De modo erigendi episcopatum Wellen. vidi tractatum amplum de episcopis Wellen. & Bathon.*

bernensis) in Cridiensi Radulphum: in Sireburnensi Wolstanum: & in Petrociensi Athelstanum. Sed & in alijs prouincijs ordinauit duos episcopos, australibus Saxonibus (quorum antistites sedem habuerunt Ciceſtriæ) virum idoneum Burnegum præfecit, Mercijs verò Kenulphum ad ciuitatem Dorceſtriæ: hij omnes vno die Doroberniæ ab archiepiscopo Plegmundo consecrati sunt. Non multò post, facta parochiarum distributione, superfuerunt episcopo Wintonienſi prouinciæ Hamptonienſis, Sutherensis, & Wilcensis cum insula Vecta. Prætereà Eduardo rege adhuc viuente Wilcensis pagus suum habuit episcopum, cuius sedes Rameſberiæ fuit, Sireburnensis verò episcopus habebat Summerſetam, Wellensis Dorceſtriam & Barkeriam, Cridiensis prouinciam Deuonienſem, Petrociensis Cornubiensem patriam. Thus much Matthew Parker, which I haue thought good here to insert, that thereby the state of the clergie, the number of bishops with their dioceſſes might appeare in the life of this Plegmund, who ordeined them out (as you see) of the dioceſſes of other bishoprikes. This being thus ordered, this Plegmund did by the kings appointment go with others to Rome, to pacifie the popes displeasure. Now after the death of this archbishop, his bodie was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

Roff. hist.

Athelmus.

Athelmus being first abbat of Glastenburie, then bishop of Wels, and lastlie archbishop of Canturburie, of whom we can saie but little, onelie this we set downe out of Matthew Parker, that he laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie. But for that it is somewhat dissonant from that which I haue read in other authors touching the same, who make Adhelme the inlarger of Malmsburie to be bishop of Shirburne, I will set downe what others haue written thereof. Malmsburie, saie they, was founded by one Medulph a Scot, of whom it was first called Medulphesburie, but of so small reuenues (though Lesleus bishop of Rosse lib. 4. pa. 167. saie that *Medulphus cœnobium magnificum extruxit in ciuitate Malmſburienſi, &c.*) that the mœnks were not able to liue thereof, whereof Adhelme being abbat, it was in his time greatlie aduanced. He was a learned man & first made abbat of Malmsburie, in the yere of Christ six hundred three score & fiftéene by Eleutherius then bishop of the west Saxons. This Adhelme the twentith of Inas king of the west Saxons, was made bishop of Shirburne, whereby it appeareth that Adhelme who first inlarged or laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie was some hundred and almost thirtie yeres before this Athelme the first bishop that euer was of Wels, and after the bishop of Canturburie: for this bishop of Wels liued in the yeare nine hundred and six, and the other in the yeare six hundred three score and fiftéene, the one in the daies of Inas king of west Saxons, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and seuen, and the other in the reigne of Edward the elder, which began his kingdome in the yere of our saluation nine hundred. But it maie be that the first Adhelme bishop of Shireburne inlarged that house, and that the same being manie yeres after destroied by the Danes, had a new foundation thereof laid by this Athelmus archbishop of Canturburie: thus this touching that & so againe to Athelmus. This archbishop of Canturburie did crowne king Athelstane, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred twentie and foure, which king did build three coining houses at Canturburie, whereof one was for himselfe, the other for the archbishop, and the third for the abbat of S. Augustines. Besides which also he built three like houses at Rochester, two for himselfe, and one for the bishop. Of such like houses likewise he built eight at London, six at Winchester, two at Lewes, two at Hastings, one at Chichester, two at Hampton, two at Warham, two at Excester, two at Shaftsburie, and one in euerie other towne.

Tho. Spot.

Simon Dunel.

Ex archiuis.

Wolfelmus.

Wolfelmus the fourth bishop of Wels was aduanced vnto the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whom as yet I cannot find anie thing, neither when he was made or by whom, howlong he sate, when he died, or where buried, but onelie that William of Malmsburie giueth him thirteene, and the historie of Couentrie foureteene yeres of gouernment. But I find such diuersitie of the yeare amongst authors, in their accounts of the yeares of their first comming to the see, and continuing therein, that I thinke it impossible to reckon them.

Chron. Well. & Bath. W. Malms.

Odo Seuerus.

Odo, surnamed Seuerus, or the seuere person, otherwise called Odosegodus, which being Latine Saxon, signifieth in English, Odosogod, was borne in the prouince of the east Angles, of an honorable stocke of Danes, which were pagans, who did vnworthilie disherit him, because in his youth he became a christian. This man forsaking his countrie fled to the seruice of Ethelmus a duke vnder Edward the elder, by whom he was committed to tutors to learne the Greeke and Latine speeches; whereupon he became singular in verse and prose. Shortlie after his baptisme he was made subdeacon, and then within few yeres following became a priest. Before his priesthood he was a souldior, in which he continued likewise after that he was bishop, thrise seruing the king in his wars: for being aduanced to the bishoprike of Shireburne or Sarisburie, by the gift of king Athelstane, he was in the wars with him against Aulafe the Dane. After the death of Athelstane he was made bishop of Canturburie by King Edmund, brother and successor to Athelstane, and receiued his pall from Agapetus the second, then pope of Rome. He crowned Eadred or Eldred king of England in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and six: which bishop in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and fortie made such peace betweene Aulafe the Norwegian, hauing spoiled England and gotten Yorke, *Vt Aulafus totā Angliæ insulam ad borealem plagam viā regiā (quæ Watlingstreet dicitur) suæ ditioni subiectam tēneret: Eadmundus verò australis eiusdem callis parte contentus pacificè frueretur, quique superuiueret regni totius regimen obtineret.* This bishop inforced Edwin to forsake his concubines, banishing them all from the church, and one of them from the kingdome into Ireland. He made his nephue Oswald bishop of Worcester, and after translated him to Yorke. He gouerned the see of Canturburie manie yeares, and died in the reigne of Edwin king of England, being buried in that Christs church which belonged to his owne see, the forme of whose tome standing on the south side of the altar of that church, was made in maner of a pyramide. After his death, Elsinus bishop of Winchester by monie obteined of king Edgar the bishoprike of Canturburie; but this Elsine going to Rome to be consecrated, miserablie died in the waie with extreame cold on his feet, which could neuer receiue anie heat although they bowelled their horses and put his feet in their warme bellies: which some saie happened to him by the iust iudgement of God, because he had before obteined this bishoprike by simonie, & reprochfullie spurned the tome of this Odo Seuerus and greeuouslie railed vpon him. After the death of this Elsinus, Brithelmus a moonke of Glastenburie, as I haue read in the historie of Wels, and the seuenth bishop of that see of Wels, was chosen to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But (as saith

Ex archiuis.

Roff. hist. Io. Capgraue. W. Malms. Edmerus. Fabianus.

Lond. liber. W. Malms.

Mat. Paris. in vita Dunstan.

Roff. hist.

Chron. Well. & Bath.

saith Matthew Parker, *Quia rebelles correctionis verbere omnino non cohiberet.* He was by king Edgar commanded to returne to his forsaken bishoprike of Wels, in whose place of Canturburie (by the iudgement of all men) saint Dunstan was thought mæt to succéed.

Dunstan. Dunstan the three and twentith archbishop of Canturburie, after the account of Matthew Parker, this man was borne (in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred twentie and foure, being the first yere of king Athelstane, in the countrie of the west Saxons) of noble parents on both sides, whose father was called Herston, and his mother Kinedcida; he was instructed in his youth in the liberall sciences in Glascon or Glastenburie. For as saith Matthew Parker, *Nondum cœtus monasticus illã ecclesiam occupauit, abbatísque nomen penitus erat incognitum, sed artium professores regij alebantur stipendijs. Si quis autem ab hominum consuetudine ad solitariã vitam se vellet abducere, modo solus, modo paucioribus consociatus, patria relicta, capta in aliena regione oportunitate viuendi, vixit peregrinus. Qua occasione Hibernenses quidam nobiles habitandi locum a ciuili turba multitudinéque seiunctum Glasconiæ delegerunt. Ibi adolescentes nobiles ingenuis artibus mercede instruxerunt, inter quos Dunstanus in illa iuuenili institutione cæteris instructior ad eas artes, musicam & pingendi atque sculpendi scientiam adiecit.* After which he serued his vncle Adelme, or Athelme archbishop of Canturburie, from whom he came to the seruice of king Athelstane his nére kinsman, whom the king the more fauored because he could plaie and sing well of and to the harpe. After this (for that as séemeth his harpe could plaie alone) he was banished the court, who departing from thense was laid in wait for, bound and cast into a durtie puddle: but in the end comming to Elphegus his vncle also being then bishop of Winchester, by whose counsell he was made a monke, he was executor to Algiua a woman borne of kinglie bloud, who by this Dunstans persuasion made hir will in this sort: *Iesum Christum rerum mearum hæredem facio, te* (meaning Dunstan) *eiusdem hæreditatis tutorẽ constituo, vt quicquid ipsum cognoueris velle, tui arbitrij sit effectu mancipare.* After whose death Dunstan distributed hir moueables amongst the poore, and appointed hir liuings and lands to houses of religion, for of that inheritance he builded fiue monasteries. Then when king Athelstane was dead, he came to the court and grew in fauour with king Edmund: but after falling in his disgrace he was banished from him, wherewith not wholie ouerthrowne, he recobteined the kings fauour, *Deinde loca in quibus Dunstanus natus, genitus, enutritus, educatus, aut versatus sit,* king Edmund, *Dunstano ad cœnobia extruenda dedit,* whereupon (as saith Matthew Parker) *Dũstanus sui ordinis monachorum copiosa collecta multitudine, cœnobiũ quod tunc solùm in Anglia fuit, repleuit, ipse eorum dux ac magister abbatis nomine primus in Anglia appellatus est.* But here I must with reuerence saie thus much, that if Matthew Parkers writing, that this Dunstan was the first that was named an abbat in England, be not to be taken and ment that he was the first that was named abbat of the house of Glastenburie, or that was named abbat after the destruction of monasteries and religion by the Danes, it can not be true. For besides manie abbats of diuers religious houses named by Bede, manie hundred yeares before this Dunstan, the same Matthew Parker himselfe doth name diuers archbishops of Canturburie before this Dunstan to haue bæne abbats of sundrie places, as Lambert abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, Theologild or Fleogild abbat of Canturburie, & Athelmus abbat of Glastenburie, &c. This Dunstan ruled all things vnder king Eadred or Eldred, which began his reigne in the yere of Christ nine hundred fortie and six. After the death of which king, Dunstan was by his successor king Edwin the third time banished the court: whereupon he went vnto his monasterie of Glastenburie, but not setling himselfe there, was banished the realme by the king, whose anger still increased against him in the end, by meanes wherof he went into France. After the death of Edwin, Edgar his brother, made king in the yeare of Christ nine hundred fiftie and nine, did call a councell at Brankford, vndid the acts of Edwin, called home Dunstan, and whether he would or no made him first bishop of Worcester, then bishop of London, both which he held at one time, and within two yeares after, archbishop of Canturburie. To this Dunstan were almost all the bishops of England of kin, or alied in bloud by one means or other. For as saith Matthew Parker, *Erant tunc temporis plures & digniores episcopi consanguinitate tũ copulati. Odo enim Cantuariensis & Osketellus Eboracensis archiepiscopi propinqui fuerunt, his duobus Oswaldus consanguineus. Dunstani ex altera parte cognatio fuit cum Adelmo Cantuar. archiepiscopo, Elphego caluo Wintoniensi, & Elphego iuniore abbate, qui postea etiam Wintoniensis episcopus fuit: tum Wulfino Sirebornienſi episcopo, qui priùs abbas Westmonasterienſis fuerat. His cognationibus iuncti se invicẽ potiundis episcopatibus tanquam proprijs hæreditatibus iuuerunt. Itaque regem acriter hortatur Dunstanus, vt Oswaldus prædecessoris sui Odonis fratruelis, & Ethelwaldus Abindoniæ abbas, episcopi crearentur. Oswaldum ilico consecrauit Dunstanus Wigornienſem episcopum, an. Dom. 960, annóque sequenti* Simon Dunel. Roger Honed. *mortuo Brithelmo Ethelwaldum Wint. episcopum* Which Dunstan bishop of Canturburie annointed Edward king of England after the death of Edgar, in the yeare of Christ nine hundred three score and sixtéen. He assembled a councell at Kirkling in the prouince of the east Angles, in the yeare of saluation nine hundred three score and seuentéene, and after this called an other at Calne in Wiltshire, in which Simon Dunel. was concluded a full banishment of secular and maried priests, and introducing of monkes into their places, which order hath euer since continued for the space of six hundred thirtie and foure yeres in England, vntill about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, much about which all religious houses were dissolued and their order of life reiected. After this, Dunstan crowned Egelred king of England in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and eightéene, or rather nine hundred three score and seuentéene, he sate at Canturburie seuen and twentie yeares, died the foureteenth kalends of Julie, and was buried at Canturburie, as writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis in these words out of Edmerus: *Sanè via vna, quam curuatura cryptæ ipsius ad occidentem vergentem concipiebat, vsque ad locum quietis beati Dunstani tendebatur. Ipse námque sanctissimus pater ante ipsos gradus in magna profunditate terræ iacebat humatus, tumba super eum in modum pyramidis grandi sublimíque structura, habente ad caput sancti altare matutinale, &c.*

Mat. Parker. *in vita Dunstan ex vetustissima Dunstani legenda.*

Ethelgarus succéded Dunstan in the archbishoprike of Canturburie, he was first made abbat of the new monasterie of Winchester, by Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, after which he was made bishop of Seolsey in Sussex. But after that the Iland was spoiled by the Danes, he was aduanced to the metropolitike sée of Canturburie, of whose doings by reason of the iniurie of the time, for now the Danes troubled all the realme, nothing is found, but that he died and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after that he had bæne archbishop one yeare and three moneths. Ethelgarus.

Siricius, being first a monke of Glastenburie, was in succession of time by saint Dunstan made Siricius.

abbat

abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie; after which, he was vnder the same Dunstan, indued with the bishoprike of Winchester, and at length in the yeare of our redemption eight hundred fourescore and nine, or as some haue, nine hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king Ethelred, or Egelred; he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie, where (as saith William Malmesburie, and the historie of Couentrie) he continued fiue yeares: he was buried (after his death) in Christs church of Canturburie, to which place he gaue his bookes, being as Matthew Parker saith, verie good.

W. Thorne.

Stephan Brichinton.

Aluricius or Alfricus, who proceeded likewise out of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first abbat of Abindon, after bishop of Wilton, and at length created archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued the pall of pope John, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred fourescore & sixteene: who after that he had ten years as some saie, & but six yeares as Malmesburie & Couentrie writeth, godlie and valiantlie defended the church of Canturburie from the inuasion and spoile of the Danes, departed this life, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and six, in the reigne of king Ethelred, and was first buried at Abindon, and then remoued to his owne church of Canturburie.

Aluricius.

Histo. Petriburgensis.

Chro. Steph. Brichinton.

Elphegus or Alpheg, issuing forth of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first made abbat of Bath, who being borne of honorable parents, passed his youth in the monasterie of Hirst, whereof he was made a religious person: then he went to Bath, and there built him a cabin, in which he liued to himselfe; after which, he was by Dunstan consecrated bishop of Winchester, and then archbishop of Canturburie, receiuing his pall at Rome. In the end, this Elphegus being seuen moneths imprisoned, was by the Danes led to Grænewich, and there beheaded, about the yeare of Christ one thousand and twelue: during the time that Swaine had the gouernment of England. He was buried in Paules church at London: but after, by the commandement of Canutus the Dane king of England, he was remoued to Canturburie, and there his bodie liuelie honorablie interred, after that he had gouerned six yeares, as hath W. Malmesburie.

Elphegus.

Liuingus, surnamed Elfanus, being the tenth bishop of Wels, was elected to the see of Canturburie, & installed therein, who after seuen moneths imprisonment by the Danes as was Elphegus, being deliuered, did (beholding the miserie of his people) flie into banishment: but Swanus being dead, & Ethelred reigning, he returned home, & after the death of Ethelred, crowned king Edmund Ironside at London, who being slaine by treason of Edrike (as most write) this Liuingus did at London crowne Canutus, & so in the end of his life obteined some quiet. This bishop after that he had bene archbishop of Canturburie seuen yeares, and had beautified that church with manie gifts, departed the world, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand and twentie, being the second yeare of Canutus the Dane, and was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

Liuingus.

Wil. Malsm. de pont.

Geruasius de gestis regum.

Ste. Brichinton.

Agelnothus, Egelnotus, Athelnothus or Aethelnothus, diuerslie called of diuerse writers, was surnamed the Good, being the sonne of the noble earle Agelmare. This man (after that the chanons of Canturburie in the persecution of the Danes, being of greater number than the monks, had after the manner of other churches made their chiefe to be called a deane) was first made deane of Canturburie: after being chosen to that bishoprike he went to Rome, in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the father one thousand & twentie (being the second yeare of the absolute reigne of Canutus) and receiued the pall of pope Benedict.

Agelnothus.

Steph. Brichinton. de Cantu. episco.

Matth. West.

In this mans time, the same Canutus went to Rome about Easter, where he obteined of the pope, That the English schoole of Rome should be free from all tax; That all his subiects English and Danes in their pilgrimage or other trauell, should be free from toll of passage from place to place: and lastlie, That the archbishops of England should haue their pall freelie without anie monie: wherof the said Canutus writeth to this Agelnothus and others thus.

The letter of Canutus to his bishops *of England touching those things.*

Canutus rex totius Angliæ, & Denemarchiæ, Noruegiæ, & partis Swanorum, Agelnotho metropolitano, & Alfrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo, omnibúsque episcopis & primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quàm plebeis salutem, &c. Then a little after followeth: *Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, & mihi valdè displicére dixi, quòd mei archiepiscopi interim angariebantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab eis expetebantur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent: decretúmque est ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim, quæ a domino papa, & imperatore, & à rege Rodulpho, cæteríque principibus, per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meæ gentis vtilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt, & concessa etiam sacramento confirmarunt, sub testimonio quatuor archiepiscoporum, & 20 episcoporum, & innumeræ multitudinis ducum & nobilium quæ aderat, &c.*

After the returne of Agelnothus from Rome, he stored the church, which before that time laid waste since the persecution of the Danes was done. This bishop instructed Canutus in good learnings, and crowned two of his sonnes, Harold, and Hardeknute; and then after that he had bene bishop eighteene yeares, died in the fourth kalends of Nouember, being buried in Christs church in Canturburie.

Edsinus, Elsinus, or Eadsinus, a secular priest, was first chaplen to king Harold, by whome he was promoted to the bishoprike of Winchester: then after the Death of Harold the King, and of Agelnoth the bishop of Canturburie, he was elected archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued his pall of pope Alexander (as some haue, or rather of Benedictus, as others will) in the time of Hardeknute, or rather of Harold, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thirtie and eight. This man by reason of sickenesse not able to discharge the burden of his bishoprike, committed the same to one Siward abbat of Abindon, and after bishop of Rochester: which Edsinus the bishop, did with his councell helpe Edward the confessor, banished into Normandie, to the kingdome of England, with whome he was verie familiar; because he crowned that king at Winchester. After which, when with great sickenesse he had eleuen yeares ruled the see by his vnkind and vnthankfull deputie Siward (whome he labored to make his successor, notwithstanding that Siward would scarselie vouchsafe to find him things necessarie) he died the fift kalends of Nouember, rather famished by the said Siward, than of other death, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie: which Edsinus was accustomed in his writings thus to subscribe his name: *Ego Eadsinus archiepiscopus ecclesiæ Christi subscripsi.*

Edsinus.

Ste. Brichinton.

Robert, by nation a Norman of the monasterie of Gematicens came into England by the calling of king Edward the Confessor, who deerelie loued him for the friendship which he shewed to the same

W. Malsm. Robert a Norman.

Edward whilest he was brought vp in Normandie, and for the fauor that William duke of Normandie did beare to this Robert. For which cause, king Edward the first made him bishop of London, & then bishop of Canturburie, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and nine. He accused (to the king) Emma the kings mother of adulterie, and caused Godwine earle of Kent to be banished; but after that she was purged by the Ordall (a manner of triall in those daies by consecrated fier, in going bare foote ouer nine hot burning shares) and earle Godwine was restored by the labor of the nobilitie; this Robert was banished, as after shall appeare. For the king asking pardon, that he had so rashlie accused his mother of adulterie with Aldwine bishop of Winchester, was for his penance beaten with rods by the bishop, and receiued three blowes of his mother: in remembrance of which purgation, the quéene and the bishop gaue nine mannors to the monasterie of saint Swithins in Winchester, which the king confirmed, with an inlargement of a further gift of other two mannors, called Weones, and Portland to the said monasterie. Wherevpon the archbishop finding himselfe so disgraced and growne into the hatred of the people, did voluntarilie banish himselfe out of the kingdome of England, and at length dieng in Normandie, was buried in the monasterie of Gemeticum, from whense he came.

Roger. Cest. Ioronal. hist.

Stigandus.

Walt. Couen.

Stigandus chapleine to Edward the Confessor, who was aduanced to manie honors, but whether for his vertue or by his subtiltie, in abusing the gentle disposition of Edward the Confessor, I know not, but certeine it is, that he did not obteine them by reason of his learning, for he was altogither vnlearned or vnlettered. Notwithstanding which, it was no impediment vnto him to ascend the top of the archiepiscopall dignitie of Canturburie by these degrees. First he was bishop of Helmam amongst the east Angles, then bishop of Winchester and Chichester, & then lastlie, in the tenth yeare of the said K. Edward, being the third yeare of pope Leo the third, and the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiftie and three, aduanced to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, during the life of the last before exiled bishop Robert, liuing then in Normandie. Who hauing thus atteined the highest spirituall honor, did not yet leaue the bishoprike of Winchester, for which cause he was termed a simoniake, couetous, a theefe, an inuador of other mens possessions, and for that cause could neuer obteine the pall of the true pope of Rome. Wherefore in the end he got one of the schismaticall bishops of that see called Benedict, to inuest him with the pall. Which Stigandus remaining archbishop of Canturburie at the conquest, so wrought, partlie by policie, and partlie by force, as may be séene in manie chronicles, that he and Egelsinus the abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, the two chiefest lords in Kent, obteined of William Conqueror at Swainescombe in Kent, that the same prouince should for euer kéepe their accustomed lawes and liberties; which granted, they deliuered the whole shire & castle of Douer to William Conqueror: notwithstanding all which, and that William Conqueror did outwardlie seeme to honor him, yet he would not be crowned of this Stigandus.

Matth. Paris. Ioronal. hist. Wil. Malmf. Wil. Malmf. Thom. Spot.

1067, or 1068, as some haue.

After which, William Conqueror, about the second yeare of his reigne, going into Normandie, caried this Stigand with him, and would not suffer him to depart his sight, rather for feare of his subtiltie, than for anie credit he gaue to his fidelitie: whom though he neuer trusted nor loued, yet the king would alwaies call him by the name of father, and rise to méete him in all assemblies. In the end, the king dissembling the matter no longer, but laieng all the fault vpon pope Alexander, did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and nine, falling in part of the fourth yeare of William Conqueror, find meanes to haue him deposed. For the said Alexander, sending Hermanfredus bishop of Redimence, with John and Peter priests cardinals into England, in the octaues of Easter, they so handled Stigand, that inforcing him to flie hither and thither, sometime into Scotland with Alexander bishop of Lincolne, and sometime into Elie to hide himselfe; they at length in a councell holden at Winchester deposed him, and his brother Agelmar bishop of the east Angls, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and ten, being part of the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror. Wherevpon, Stigandus being spoiled of all his goods, was committed to perpetuall prison, where he was hardlie kept from anie food and other things, till he would confesse where his treasure was: but he rather chosing to be famished than to shew it, hauing before with an oth denied it, did in the end most miserablie depart the world, after that he had béene archbishop seuentéene yeares. But when he was dead, there was a keie found about his necke, which after led the king to innumerable treasure, hidden by him in diuerse places.

Walt. Couent. Wil. Malmf. Radulph. de Diceto. Rog. De Cest. Roff. hist. Wil. Thorne. Florilegus. Hist. Elienf.

Lanfranke.

Lanfranke an Italian Lombard, being from his youth brought vp in learning, came into Normandie, allured thither by the fame of Herlwine abbat of Bec: who going towards that place, was in a wood robbed and fast bound, but after being let loose he came to Bec, where he professed and taught logike to releéue his pouertie, being first made a moonke, and after prior of the same abbeie; whom, when William the bastard duke of Normandie did affect, he was made abbat of Cane, being further in following time also by the said William (when he was king of England) made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Canturburie the fourth kalends of September (in the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and ten) of these bishops, William of London, Siward of Rochester, Walkeline of Winchester, Remigius of Dorcester, Herfastus of Helmham, or Thetford, Stigerard of Seolsey, Hermon of Shireburne, and Giso of Wels. This Lanfranke thus installed, Thomas archbishop of Yorke came to Canturburie vnto him to be consecrated: but vpon some termes of contention vsed betwéene them, Thomas departed vnsacred, whereof he complained to William Conqueror. But after, Lanfranke so cunninglie handled the matter, that Thomas by the kings especiall edict sware obedience vnto him. Shortlie after this, Lanfranke of Canturburie, & Thomas of Yorke, with Remigius of Lincolne bishops, went to Rome, to receiue their pals of pope Alexander the third: where Lanfranke obteined two pals, one of loue, and another of office and honor. During whose abode at Rome, Thomas the archbishop of Yorke began afresh to complaine of his subiection to Canturburie: but the pope referred the deciding of that matter to the king & the nobilitie of the realme; which in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and twelue, being the first yeare of William Conqueror, defined the same at Windsore, the tenor of the same sentence being set downe in the life of this Lanfranke by Matth. Parker, at what time also (saith Geruasius) the pope granted him *Totius Angliæ, Walliæ, & Britaninæ (secundum morum antiquorum) primatum.*

Lanfranke. Ioronal. hist. Chron Saxo. Cant. Sigebert Gemblacenf. Wil. Gemite. Roff. hist. Ioronal. hist. Walt. Couent. Rog. de Cest. Roff. hist. Chro. Saxon. Cant.

This Lanfranke in a Councell at Winchester ordeined that no canon should haue anie wife; as

by these words appeareth set downe by Matthew Parker, *Statuit inter alia, vt nullus canonicus vxorem haberet, extra vrbem in vicis & castellis sacerdotes non compellendos vxores dimittere, prohibendos autem ne matrimonium protraherent qui iam sunt cœlibes. Tum episcopis iniunctum est, ne quos ausint presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare nisi cœlibatum professos.* He kept an other synod at London for remouing of bishops sees to greater cities. In this mans time there was without the citie of Canturburie in the east part a church of S. Martins, where was a bishops see, whereof the bishop alwaies remained at or within the shire, and was in all things deputie to the archbishop, who did continuallie frequent the court. This vnderbishop being alwaies a monke, had the charge of the monks of Canturburie, and did come to celebrate the solemnities in the metropolitane church, which done he returned home, who with the prior of Christs church (whom they called deane) did with like attire and habit obteine place in all synods. Which order of deputie bishop continued vntill the time of the Normans gouernment, at what time the last bishop of that place was called Godwin, who being dead, Lanfranke denied to make anie other bishop of the church of S. Martins, because two bishops ought not to be in one citie, when in truth he was not a bishop in the citie but out of the citie in the countrie. Wherfore Lanfranke appointed in his place a clearke of his, and created him to the title of an archdeacon, whereof the archbishop repented him before he died. This archbishop was at the councell of Rone in Normandie appointed by William conqueror, in the eighth yeare of his reigne, wherein manie things were decreed touching the state of England, and Lanfranke at that time recouered manie things against Odo bishop of Baieux and erle of Kent, which he vnjustlie withheld from the bishopрike of Canturburie. Beside which he recouered also to his see fiue and twentie manors. To this man did Scotlandus (as hath Geruas. Dorobernensis & Guido abbats of S. Augustine) sweare obedience. For which great contention was betweene the monks of that house and the bishop of Canturburie, who repared the church of Canturburie being partlie verie ruinous, and partlie burnt. Moreouer, he built two hospitals, the one at Harbaldowne and the other at saint Johns, whereof the one was for lepers, and the other for sicke & weake persons, to which he gaue of the treasure of the archbishopрike yearelie one hundred & fortie pounds. Beside which he built the church of S. Gregories, wherein he placed canons to serue such as were sicke and weake, building an other church neere to the lepers, where they might serue God and be buried. Whereunto maie be added (as saith Geruasius) that he built the bishops palace at Canturburie. He gaue yearelie fiue hundred pounds in almes to the poore, and in a famine sent to London and fed one thousand people. The old church of Rochester being downe, he built the same anew, giuing great gifts vnto it, he gaue one thousand marks to the white monks, & purchased the manor of Redburne. And though he had the dailie gouernement of the common wealth, yet he gaue himselfe mostlie to diuinitie, wherein he was procured by his father Herebald, and his mother Rosa to be instructed. He corrected the old and new testaments corrupted by the transcribers, he wrot bitterlie against Berengarius touching the sacrament, he made commentaries vpon Paules epistles, and the psalter, and euerie yeare wrot manie other works. In the third yeare of his bishopрike he consecrated Peter bishop of Lichfield or Chester at Colchester, and in the yeare following made Patrike bishop of Dublin (in Ireland) at London. In which yeare also he consecrated Hernestus monke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, & further, made Gundulph monke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester after the death of Hernestus. In the eigth yeare of his bishopрike, in a councell held at London he deposed Ailnod abbat of Glastenburie. In the eighteenth yeare of his gouernment he crowned William Rufus, consecrated Godfreie bishop of Chichester, John bishop of Welles, and Guido abbat of saint Augustines. Sometime after which he was by William Rufus banished, who as he was going to Rome, hearing of the death of the same Rufus, returned to his bishopрike, where when he had sitten nineteene, or (as saith Geruasius) twentie yeares, he died (as he had long desired) of a feuer, the fourth kalends of June, in the yere of Christ 1088, after which the see was void foure yeares (as hath M. Parker) but Per quinquennium as writeth Geruasius. Of which Lanfranke Sigebertus Gemblacensis setteth downe these verses, composed by Anselme his successor:

Archiepiscopi nec diuitias nec honores,
Sole sub vndecima geminos subeunte dieta,
Lanfrancus subijt sed curis atque labore,
Fœlicis vitæ sibi ponitur vltima meta,
Natus in Italia Papiensi de regione,
Ciuibus egregijs & honesta conditione, (sis
Monachus atq; prior Becci fuit hinc Cadomen-
Abbas, post præsul primatus Cantuariensis.
Totius Anglorum fuit ecclesiæ reparator,
Et Normanorum nihilominus auxiliator,
Cuius doctrinam pars maxima senserat orbis,
Et commune fuit viduis solamen & orbis,
Claudis, contractis, leprosis, dæmoniosis,
Surdis & cæcis nec non etiam vitiosis,
Post exhortamen non spreuit ferre leuamen,
Hic dum vixit erat spes omnibus atq; leuamen.
Regum rex æterne Deus rerúmq; creator,
Sis sibi perpetuus defensor & auxiliator,
Virgo redemptoris mundi sanctissima mater
Illum conserua ne spiritus arcteriatur,
Omnes electi precibus meritisq; iuuate,
Lanfrancum vestris & vobis consociate,
Vos quoq; qui vitam gratanter adhuc retinetis,
Et spem venturæ donec supereſtis habetis,
Hortor & admoneo, quòd eidem subueniatis,
Et quod feceritis post mortem percipiatis,
Nam qui propter eum supplex & sedulus orat,
Pro semet supplex & sedulus ipse laborat.

In reading these verses the superstition of the time is to be remembred.

Anselmus borne in Augusta a citie of Burgundie, situat at the foot of the Alps, was descended of worthie parents, his father being called Gundulphus, and his mother Heneberga. This man moued with the fame of Lanfranke, came to the abbeie of Bec in Normandie, where he was made a monke, in the twentie and seuenth yeare of his age, succeeding Lanfranke in the place of the prior of Bec, who shortlie after the decease of Helwine the abbat of Bec, was also substitute in his place, continuing abbat fiftéene yeares. After being called into England by Hugh erle of Chester (extreamlie sicke) he was in the end made archbishop of Canturburie by William Rufus, though afterwards he would haue vndone his gift to Anselme lothto lose so great reuenues as he receiued by the vacancie of the see. This Anselme thus departing with the abbeie of Bec, was consecrated archbishop by Walkeline bishop of Winchester. After which, sharplie admonishing the king for spoiling of churches, he grew in the kings displeasure, and could not obteine licence to go to Rome for his pall, sith (as he said) there ought none of his subiects to be in subiection to pope Urbanus. For which cause a councell being called at Rokingham by the king, the nobles, and the clergie,

Anselmus.

Roger de Cestria.

Matth. Paris. Roff. histor. Ioronal. histor.

Eadmerus.

Liber Wigor. Ranulphus. W. Malmsb.

Sigeb. Gembl.

Ex fragmento historiæ quod in chronic. Roff. prostat.

1065 Or rather 1075

The first archdeacon of Canturburie.

Sigeb. Gemblacens. 1074

Matth. Paris. Annales hist. Cant. *Vide placitum apud Pinendenam inter* Lanfrancum *&* Odonem *ex textu ecclesiæ Roff. per* Ernulphum *episcopum.*

Aureæ histor. 2. pars.

Chron. Saxon. Cantuar.

Anselme stood in defense of the pope, and the others resisted against his authoritie. Whervpon in the end all the bishops, except the bishop of Rochester, forsoke their obedience to Anselme, some of them onelie affirming that they denied obedience vnto him in things which he commanded on the behalfe of pope Vrban, and not otherwise. Which Anselme vnderstanding, craued leaue to depart to Rome, but could not obteine it: but notwithstanding all which, a peace was after made betweene the king and him, vntill Whitsuntide. But the bishop not finding this protection sufficient, he was spoiled of his goods and lands, and greeuouslie molested by the kings officers, wherwith not moued, he did yet receiue Vrban for pope, which king Rufus and the cleargie of England in that schisme of the popedome would neuer doo, for which cause he obteined the pall of the said Vrban, by the means of Walter bishop of Alba, who brought that pall from Rome to Canturburie. The doing whereof caused William Rufus secretlie to labor with the pope, to haue Anselme by some meanes or other to be altogither withdrawne from England, in which he preuailed not. Whervpon William Rufus returning from the wars, fell at dissention with Anselme, who now had libertie either to tarrie in England, and not to appeale from the king to the pope, or else to depart the realme, and to giue answere thereof within eleuen daies, wherof the archbishop receiued the last, and said that he would depart England. Then the archbishop departing from the king (who yet said he would not refuse his blessing) went to Canturburie, where he tarried foure teene daies: after which, as he was taking ship at Douer, he was by one William the kings clerke, & the people there, spoiled of all he had, & so sent naked ouer the seas into France. The archbishop thus departed, the king seized all he had, and vndid all his decrees. In the end, Anselme passing to the pope, was well interteined by him at Rome, whither came the same William that spoiled him, as the kings ambassador, and obteined a respect of hearing Anselme cause, vntill the feast of Michaelmas following; during which time both the pope and the king died.

Annal eccles. Augustin.

Eadmerus.

This Rufus feeling the sweet that came vnto him by spirituall liuings, whereof he reteined manie in his hands, would iest with these words, that *Panis Christi panis pinguis est*. The bread of Christ is sweet and fat bread. After the death of Rufus, Anselme was called home by king Henrie the first, and restored to his bishoprike, with all other things to him belonging; for the king did greatlie fauor him, as may appeare by this deed, which is in Saxon, the tenor whereof we haue here set downe in Saxon, and the Latin out of Matthew Parker, being both set downe in the same booke of the bishops of his see. Wherin is two things to be noted, first the simplicitie and good meaning of that age, that in so few words did conueie so great matters, not leauing contention for lawyers to wrangle vpon, contrarie to the custome of our age, who make their charters excessiue long, & yet not so strong as they were in times past. The other is the maner of sealing vsed by the kings in those daies: for the kings seale which is now hanged at the end of all patents, in this ancient grant is fastened to a little part of parchment drawen out & cut from the left side of this charter. For in times past the kings did not vse to set to their seales to anie grant, till Edward the Confessors time, which first brought that order into England (if my memorie faile not, & therefore I haue not mistaken the words of Ingulfus for this Edward his charter) for the more witnesse of the truth, to be sealed with wax, which yet it seemed the following princes did vse but at pleasure, for I haue seene an ancient deed of William Conquerors part in Saxon, and part in Latine, without date, in which the king gaue to Guiso bishop of Wels the manor of Banewell in Summersetshire, which Harold had taken from them, wherevnto was neuer any seale but the subscription of the king and the nobilitie, written in Saxon characters, the nams whereof I thinke good (though it concerne not the bishops of Canturburie, for antiquities sake, and because that some of these names haue yet a being) to set downe in this sort: *Ego Gulielmus dux, Waltheof dux, Robertus frater regis, Rotgerus princeps, Gualterus Gæfehtard, Serlo de Burci, Rotgerus Derundell, Richardus filius regis, Gualterus Flæmine, Wurstan, Baldwinus de Waranbeicge, Otheltard Aelfgardethorne, William de Waluile, Bundi Stallere, Robert Stallere, Robert de Yle, Rotgerus pincerna, Hardineg Wulfutard, Brightine, &c.* And so to the charter of Henrie the first made to Anselme.

Ioronal. histor.

Gerual. in vita Eduardi Con.

The Saxon charter of king Henrie the *first, for the restoring of Anselme* his priuileges.

Ħ. Angle-landes kynninz. zret. Nuze de Boclande ȝ ƿ. Baynapde. ȝ ealle mine picnæpes en lundune. Ic pille ȝ be beode ƿ ealle Anselmes mænn þe he hes on lundune and ealle his odre mænn, þe cumed and apedhƿ into þæpe buph. ƿ hi beon ƿa sacleare of eallen zepunen ƿa Landƿnanc Apcebiscop his mænn bedȝt hæfde on myn æs saðes tyme. ȝ hapized ƿ ze heom naht ne myr heoden. t. Nuz. Comite de Cestpia. ap. pestmonst.

The same charter in Latine.

H. rex Anglorum Hugoni de Bocland & Willihelmo Baignard, & omnibus ministris meis Londoniæ salutem. Præcipio & volo vt omnes homines Anselmi Cantuarienſis archiepiscopi, quos in Londonia habet, & omnes sui in ea villa euntes & redeuntes, ita quietè de omnibus consuetudinibus sint, sicut vnquam Lanfrancus archiepiscopus suos in ea meliùs & quietiùs habuit tempore patris mei, & videte ne eis vllam iniuriam faciatis. Teste Hugone comite de Cestria apud Westmonster.

After this, Anselme called a synod at London, in which he deposed for simonie and other euils, Guido abbat of Wimondham, and Edwine abbat of Ramseie simoniaks; and these other abbats, Gefferie of Peterborow, Heimo of * Ceruelle, Egelrike of Middleton, bicause they were not ordeined in the cleargie, with Richard of Elie, and Robert of S. Edmunds, for other defaults & excesse. In which councell also amongst manie other lawes conteining six and twentie chapters, for the cleargie were these: That clearks should weare garments of one colour, and such shoes as were appointed cap. 10. That abbats should not make anie knights that might eat or drinke in that house with the monks cap. 17. That the bodies of the dead should not be buried out of their paroch church cap. 24. And that none with rash noueltie should attribute to dead bodies, to wels, or other places (which we haue knowne to haue often happened) anie reuerence of holines without the bishops authoritie ca. 25. And that none should exercise that most lothsome busines, in which hitherto men were wont to be sold like brute beasts, cap. 26. The which constitutions of this synod of London Giraldus bishop of Yorke could not make his people to obeie, neither yet would manie other parts of the realme obeie the same, especiallie such as following the kings order had disposed of their ecclesiasticall liuing, as the king had done for the inuesting of bishops. Against which Anselme did greatlie stand, and would not consecrate such bishops, the which Girald archbishop of Yorke alwaies did, at the

Aureæ histor. pars. 2. W. Malsm.

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* Hertseie as some suppose.

Abbats did make knights

Buriall in paroch churches.

request and pleasure of the king, who appointing a place and day for them to be consecrated by him, thither came William bishop of Winchester to receiue his benediction, but he in the end not meaning to take the same consecration at Giralds hands, deliuered his staffe and ring againe to the king, of whome he had receiued it: wherevpon the king banished him, and sent William Warlwast ambassador to the pope about that matter, whereof is more spoken by Holinshed in the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Gisburensis. Rog. de Cestri. Roff. histor.

This Anselme comming from Rome, together with William Warlwast, was forbidden by the said Warlwast (from the king) to enter England, vnlesse he would without anie subiection to the pope obserue all the customes of England brought in by William Conqueror and William Rufus his predecessors: wherevnto Anselme disagreeing, remained three yeares at Lions with the archbishop Hugh. But after that he was reconciled to the king by meanes of the countesse of Adela his sister, whome Anselme came to visit in hir sicknesse, who going into Normandie to the king (then in subduing the same) did so effectuallie worke with him, that Anselme was restored, and this peace made betweene them; that all such bishops as were before inuested by the king, and excommunicated by pope Paschall should be absolued and keepe their bishoprikes, and that neither the king nor anie other laie man hereafter should doo the like againe. Wherevpon Anselme returned into England, and was restored to his bishoprike, and to all the commodities receiued by the king in the time of his banishment. After the kings returne to England, there was by the king a councell kept at London, in which the inuestiture of bishops was wholie giuen to the king. This Anselme bestowed much on the decking and reparing of the church of Canturburie, and instituting the monasterie of the monks of Chester first built by Hugh earle of that prouince, ouer which monasterie he made Richard his chapleine abbat. This archbishop was verie diligent in writing, of whose doing there are extant three hundred sixtie and seauen epistles, he compiled diuerse treatises, first: De veritate. 2 De libertate arbitrij. 3 De casu diaboli. 4 De grammatico & discipulo. 5 Monologion. He wrote also a booke called Sententiarum prologion, a booke De incarnatione verbi, and manie other bookes, as one intituled Cur Deus homo, an other De conceptu virginali, and also De orationibus contemplatiuis, and lastlie De processione spiritus sancti. Who thus spending his time to helpe other, did, two years after his last comming into England, fall sicke of an ague at saint Edmundsburie, and hastened to come to Canturburie, where keeping his bed a long time he at length departed this life the eleuenth kalends of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and nine, the seauentie and six of his age, and the sixtenth of his bishoprike, being buried at the head of Lanfranke his predecessor.

Walt. Couent. Sim. Dunel. Matth. Paris.

Will. Malsm. Roff. histor.

Aureæ histor. 2. pars.

Chron. Rober.

Edmerus.

Rodulphus borne in Normandie a Benedictine monke, was sometime the scholer of Lanfranke in the abbeie of Cane. This man being first made abbat of Sagos, was from thense by Anselme lead into England, and made bishop of Rochester, whose aduancement to the see of Canturburie was after this manner. Henrie the first holding manie spirituall liuings in his hand, and the nobilitie complaining thereof, he was in the end ouercome by their petition, to subiect them vnto pastors and gouernours, for which cause he appointed Faricius abbat of Abindon to the see of Canturburie, a man doubtlesse of great wisdome and grauitie. But manie of the nobilitie being against it, they would haue had the king to promote one of his secular clearks and chapleins to that dignitie. Against whom it was obiected that none had possessed that see, but such as were monks, except Stigandus, whose unhappie end did shew the punishment of the breach of that monkish succession, wherefore by all mens voices, & the kings changing of his mind touching Faricius, this Rodulphus was made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated by William bishop of Winchester, the fifteenth yeare of pope Paschalis, and the fourteenth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and fourteene, and the fift kalends of Julie next following receiued the pall at Canturburie sent from pope Paschall by one Anselme abbat of S. Sabina, nephue of the other Anselme archbishop of Canturburie. In which daie of receiuing the pall, he consecrated Theolfus bishop of Worcester. In this bishops time the most bishops of England were Normans. Now Rodulphus being old, sickelie, full of the palsie and of the gowt, was hard to be pleased, and somewhat became vnthankefull to the king which had preferred him. For whereas the bishop of Salisburie was readie apparelled and prepared to haue executed the solemnities of the marriage (which belonged to the bishop of Canturburie) betweene Adelicia and king Henrie the first at Windsore, this Radulph commanded him to leaue off the same, and committed the doing thereof to the bishop of Winchester. Besides which, when the king was at Berkeleie in the Easter, and came to London at Whitsuntide, and sat crowned in his throne, that daie the queene was to be crowned, this Ranulph saieng the diuine seruice that daie (leauing his masse in the middle) did come vnto the king, whome Thomas archbishop of Yorke had crowned when he came to the kingdome, because Anselme was banished and out of the realme. Against which archbishop of Canturburie the king rose vp to receiue him with curtesie: but the bishop notwithstanding boldlie asked the king who crowned him, wherevnto the king answered, that he cared not, and therefore did not remember it. Whereto Radulphus replied, Who soeuer did the same did not rightlie doo it, wherfore either leaue you off your crowne, or I will leaue off my masse. But the king nothing troubled therwith, did answer him; If as thou saiest this crowne be not well put vpon my head, doo thou that which thou thinkest is rightlie doon. With which words the bishop came neerer, and lifting vp his hand to take the crowne from the kings head. The nobilitie (as the king was about to loase the lace which tied the crowne fast vnder his chin) with one voice cried out against the bishop, and greatlie laboured him not to take off the kings crowne in this solemne coronation of the queene. With whose acclamations Radulphus being quieted he went forward with his masse, beginning at this verse *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Which fact of Radulphus done at this vnseasonable time, the cleargie and nobilitie did so hate, that they agreed (as hath Matthew Parker) neuer to haue anie monks to be bishops of Canturburie, wherevnto the king assented, and by law established it. But this decree did not long hold, for the two following bishops were monks, and the third being Becket, was the first canon after Stigand that was consecrated bishop of Canturburie.

But this was not so as may before appeare.

Matth. Paris. Radulph de Diceto.

Roger being sometime chancelor of England.

Ioronall hist.

In the time of this Rodulphus was the question of obedience moued betweene him & the archbishop of Yorke. For Thurstan bishop of Yorke at the first would not sweare obedience to this Radulphus, for which cause Radulphus in his old age went vnto Rome; but the pope giuing a doubtfull sentence, the archbishop of Canturburie shewed the same vnto king Henrie the first at his returne into England.

Matth. Paris. Ioronal. histor. Aureæ histor. 2. pars. W. Malms. Chro. Cœnob. Martini. Roger de Cestria. Roff. histor. Ex archiuis.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dunel. Ioranal. hist. Radulph. de Diceto. Gisburnensis. Roger de Chestria. Roff. hist. Ex archiuis. Edmerus. Ex archiuis. Gisburn. Matth. Paris.

Wherevpon Thurstan was forbidden to enter into England; but the pope excommunicating both the king and Rodulphus, compelled them to receiue Thurstan into Yorkshire with this condition, that he should not medle out of his diocesse of Yorke, and professe his due obedience to the sée of Canturburie. At length Rodulphus hauing the palsie three yeares departed the world (after that he had béene bishop of Canturburie eight yeares, or as others saie nine yeares) the thirteenth kalends of November, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred twentie and two, being about the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of that learned king Henrie the first (which for the same was surnamed Beauclerke, or faire, or skillfull clerke) and was buried at Canturburie. This bishop was of speech courteous, noted of no notable crime, but ouer much giuen to mirth and iesting, for which he was surnamed the iester or trifler.

William Corbell. 1121

William Corbell or Corbois, whome Matthew Parker maketh the six and thirtith bishop in succession, and some call Gulielmum de Turbine, was first a secular clerke, then a monke of the order of saint Benet, and after that, prior of saint Osith of Chich, who in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of Henrie Beauclerke, and the third of pope Calixtus, was by Henrie the first made bishop of Canturburie on Candlemas daie, and consecrated of William bishop of Winchester, the bishoprike of London being then vacant. This done, this William goeth to Rome for his pall, at what time Thurstan thinking it now time to moue Calixtus about the subiection of the sée of Yorke to Canturburie, did yet find no grace at Rome therefore, because the pope vtterlie remooued from himselfe the deciding thereof; albeit the Saxon chronicle of Peterborow doth saie that gold and siluer did end this quarell. Wherefore William of Canturburie and Thurstan of Yorke comming home togither, saluted the king then in Normandie, and so entred England. After this he consecrated John his archdeacon of Canturburie into the bishoprike of Rochester, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, as hath Rob. Montensis, at what time also he blessed Godfreie the kings chancellor to be bishop of Bath at London. In the fourth yeare of his consecration he did hold a synod in the monasterie of saint Peters at London; which synod was called Synodus Williel-mi, or Williams synod. In this bishops time Paules church and a great part of London was burnt; for the citie was consumed by fire from saint Clement of the Danes without Temple barre to London bridge, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and thirtie, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and the eight yeare of the consecration of this bishop. At what time also the church of Canturburie was consumed with the like flame and fell downe, which this William, being legat of the apostolike sée, did againe build vp, and dedicated it in the same yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirtie, being the thirtith yeare of Henry the first, the fourth nones of Maie, as hath Geruasius Dorobornensis, with great & honorable preparation in the presence of the king and quéene of England, and of Dauid king of Scots, with the nobilitie and prelats of both realmes, as hath Geruasius. Vnto which church then consecrated king Henrie the first gaue the church of saint Martins of Douer and the archbishop yearelie gaue ten pounds. This bishop William was so faint-harted, that he almost died because he was ouercome by Henrie de Blesses (bishop of Winchester and brother to king Stephan (which built the hospitall of the holie crosse néere Winchester) in the legantine power which the said William secretlie labored to obteine. For first Henrie going to Rome, this William followed to resist him; but Henrie so preuailed, that being made a cardinall, he succéeded William being dead in the office of Legat. This William declared his inconstancie in crowning king Stephan, contrarie to his oth made to Maud the empresse, who being feared by the terror of his conscience, let fall the host when he celebrated the masse at the coronation of the same Stephan. After which, this bishop for sorrow falling sicke, died the eleuenth kalends of December, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and seauen, hauing gouerned that sée fiftéene yeares and nine moneths, being buried in the church of Canturburie; after whose departure the sée was void one yeare, two moneths, and fourtéene daies.

1126 Matthew Parker ex Polycrat. Roger. de Chestria. Ioranal. histor.

Theobald. Roff. histor. Ex archiuis. Gualt. Couent. Matt. Paris. Gembl.

Theobald, whose originall is not knowen, was of a Benedictine monke made abbat of Bec, after which in the second yeare of king Stephan, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and eight, in a councell at London (assembled by Albert bishop of Hostia the popes legat in England) he was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the suffragans of that sée, and consecrated by the said Albert; after which he sent twelue monks to the new church of Douer, & offred them Asceline sacrist of the church of Canturburie. In which moneth being Januarie this Theobald with great pompe went to Rome, and receiued the pall of pope Innocent the second of that name, of whome he also obteined this title to be called Legatus natus, which was euer after attributed to his successors, whereby they were from that time forward termed Legati nati, which title they haue kept vntill our time, so long as the pope had anie authoritie in England. This Theobald was but meanlie learned, but well qualited, and of mild conditions, whereby he was both acceptable to the king and to the nobilitie, of whom thus writeth Geruasius: *Hic Theobaldus ab Augustino Cantuariensem ecclesiam adeptus, cùm esset natura simplex & aliquantulum literatus, asciuit clericos scholares quorum consilio suo impetu quolibet ducebatur. Post annos verò quinque minùs quàm deceret considerata ratione Ieremiâ priorem, qui eum elegerat, deposuit, etiam post appellationem, aliúmque substituit. Ieremias autem tàm de suæ iustitia causæ quàm de Romani pontificis æquitate confidens ad sedem apostolicam accessit, & de sua restitutione literas obtinuit. Restitutus itaque in prioratum, apostolica authoritate post modicũ cessit, ne archiepiscopus causa sua aliqua cæteris inferret grauamina. Huiusmodi depositio prioris anteà panes nos facta non est, &c. Successore autem suo Waltero ad episcopatum Cicestrensis ecclesiæ vocato, substitutus est in prioratum Cantuar. ecclesiæ Walterus Paruus archiepiscopi capellanus.*

The like matter of the deposition of Walter Paruus Geruasius pursueth in the historie, with the originall how the archbishops of Canturburie got the prerogatiue to make and depose the prior of Canturburie, being a thing which came by mére vsurpation in this sort. In the wars in the time of king Stephan, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred & fiftie, Geruasius reciteth, that Walter the prior of Canturburie, séeking helpe of this bishop Theobald to succor his house in distresse, submitted all the things & gouernment of the same to the archbishop, at the first refusing it; but in the end, accepting therof, with much importunitie he placed a monke called Dericus to haue the ouersight of all the things within doores and without, who should therefore yéeld account to the bishop, at what time first began the euill and trouble. For that which was then attempted for necessities cause for their bene-

1121 1126

Chro. Sigisb. Gemblacens.

Ex archiuis.

Gulielmus archiepiscopus (as hath Geruasius) *fundauit ecclesiam sancti Martini monachorum de Doura.*

fit,

fit, turned after to their hinderance, because the bishop vsing all things with extremitie; the prior appealed him to Rome, which Theobald despised, imprisoned the monks (whereby they could not follow the appeale) and tooke from them all their writings and priuileges. But in the end the matter was compounded with quiet in some part betweene the bishop and the prior, who at length by the flattering words of the archbishop, which the prior beleeued, did in the end surrender his priorie to the archbishop. And when the prior amongst other words of his resignation said to the bishop; I resigne my priorie, (at what time manie supposed, that the archbishop would haue replied; And I restore thee to the same) this bishop contrarie thereunto said; And I depose thee from the same, further commanding the prior, that he should follow him to London, where he should receiue full restitution. Whereupon the prior despising the aduise of his brethren, came with some of the ancients of his house to the bishop at Lambeth, who being called aside as though they should talke of the restitution of the prior, with the archbishop, the bishops seruants tooke this Walter so deposed, and led him to Glocester, commanding the abbat of that house in the archbishops name that he should not suffer him to depart thense, or to go forth. Whereupon the prior remained there in a prison during the life of this Theobald archbishop, who consecrated Walter archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, chosen by the monks of Canturburie by his appointment, from whense euer after the archbishops of Canturburie were patrons of the church of Rochester, as saith Matthew Parker: but Geruasius prooueth their authoritie in that see long before, for thus he writeth. *Obijt* (which was *an. Dom.* 1147) *Ascelinus Roffensis episcopus, anno episcopatus sui sexto, nono kalendis Februarij, cui successit Walterus archidiaconus Cantuarien sis, frater Theobaldi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui secundùm antiquam consuetudinem, in capitulo Cantuariæ electus est à monachis Roffensibus. Cuius electionis primam habuit vocem Hugo abbas sancti Augustini, eò quòd apud ecclesiam Roffensem monachicum susceperat habitum; ad præfatam verò abbathiam translatus cum monachis Roueceſtriæ coram Theobaldo Cantuariense archiepiscopo (ad quem spectat de iure antiquo episcopatus ipsius donatio) in capitulo Cantuar. in præsentia totius conuentus Cantuar. cleri & populi multitudine, vt prædictum est, ipsum elegit Walterum. Qui more anteceſſorũ suorum iurauit super quatuor euangelia, se fideliter obseruaturum dignitatem Cantuar. ecclesiæ, quam habebat in ecclesia Roffensi. Est autem ecclesiæ Cantuariens. consuetudo ab antiquis temporibus constituta, & à pijs patribus obtenta, quòd episcopus Roffensis debeat eligi in capitulo Cantuariens. ex dono archiepiscopi & electione conuentus Roffensis ecclesiæ. Facta autem electione debet electus iurare super quatuor euangelia fidelitatẽ ecclesiæ Cantuariens. & archiepiscopo. Et quod non debeat Roffens. episcopus operam dare, vel consentire vt ecclesia Cantuariens. priuetur honore vel dignitate, quã habeat in ecclesia Roffens. Et quòd debeat baculus pastoralis episcopi Roffensis defuncti à monachis Roffensibus ad altare Christi Cantuariens. deferri. Et quòd vacante Cantuarien. ecclesiæ sede vel absente archiepiscopo, debeat episcopus Roffensis in Cantuar. ecclesia episcopalia ministrare, sicut proprius & priuatus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ capellanus, si tamen a conuentu Cantuariensis fuerit vocatus. Hac igitur facta fidelitate consecratus est Walterus ab ipso fratre suo Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quo consecrato, archiepiscopus archidiaconatum Cantuar. cuidam Rogerio dedit de ponte episcopi, qui & ipse Cant. ecclesiæ fidelitatem iurauit sicut archidiaconi facere consueuerunt.* Thus much Geruasius a monke of Canturburie in defense of the honor and priuileges of the see of Canturburie. After which this Theobald receiuing an oth of obedience of the said Roger archdeacon of Canturburie, he blessed him into the bishoprike of Yorke and made Thomas Becket, commonlie called saint Thomas of Canturburie, archdeacon of Canturburie in his place, procuring him also to be the kings chancellor.

Hiſtor. eccleſ. Cantuar.

1147 Beginning the yeare at Christmas.

In the third yeare of the consecration of this archbishop, pope Eugenius held a councell at Rhemes, whereunto Theobald was called. Wherefore Henrie bishop of Winchester the popes legat (who in authoritie of superioritie of that office did often contend with the said Theobald for the archbishoprike of Canturburie, was *Legatus natus*; and the other as I maie terme him, but *Legatus datus*, the first for euer, the second but for a time) did subtillie vse the matter both with the king and the pope, that the one should call him to the councell, and that the other should forbid him to depart out of his realme; to the end that if he obeied his spirituall pastor, he might fall into the censures of the church; & if he obeied not his temporall lord, that he might fall into the ciuill punishment and be banished the realme, whereupon he was commanded to staie in England, and all the ports stopt that he might not passe forth. But he rather fearing the displesure of the pope than the king, scaped the hands of such wardens, passed the sea and went to the councell. Which councell being ended, as hath Geruasius, the bishop returning home, was honourablie receiued by the couent of Canturburie; whereof when the king had intelligence, being then at London, he grew so angrie, that he came with all speed to Canturburie, where manie words of heat passing betweene them, more than were conuenient or tending to peace, at length the bishop was by the king commanded to depart the realme: who after a few daies respite, passed the seas at Douer, and went into France, where he remained a certein time, and was called backe to saint Omers by the queene, and William de Ypre, that the kings messengers might more easily come vnto him, at what place he consecrated Gilbert elect bishop of Hereford the nones of September, by the helpe and assistance of the outlandish bishops, which were Thierrike bishop of Amiens, and Nicholas bishop of Cambraie. Now the bishop thus banished, for requitall thereof, interdicted the king: but after leauing saint Omers he came to Graueling, entred the sea, returned into England, came into Northfolke, and landed at Gosford in the lands of Hugh Bigod, whom the said earle meeting receiued with great honour: in which countrie he interdicted the land, and would not be remooued from that sentence, vntill the bishops Robert of London, Hilarie of Chichester, and William of Norwich, with diuers other noble men came vnto him to Framelingham castle in Northfolke, belonging to the earle Bigod, where at length a peace was concluded betweene the king and him, the interdict was released, and the bishop with great honor & ioie came to Canturburie. Where hearing how the monks of S. Augustines had contemned his interdict, and thereof complained to the pope, he trusting to a sure staffe of the popes fauor, did aggrauate the sentence against those monks, whom he excommunicated with Siluester their prior, & William surnamed the Deuill, kinsman to abbat Hugh of that house, after deposing the same Siluester in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and eight.

Geruaſ. Tho. Spot.

Robertus abbas S. Michaelis.

At length, such was the fauour of this Theobald in England, as he at Wallingford or rather at Winchester, as hath Geruasius, reconciled king Stephan & Henrie Fitzempresse, contending for the crowne of England in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie and three. After comming home, he required a little summe of monie of fiftie shillings and seuen pence of the monks of saint Augustines *Pro*

dotations

dotatione chrismatis, which the monks denied. Whereupon Theobald laid the censures of the church on them, whereby the matter was by appellation deferred to the pope, who wrot to Henrie bishop of Winchester and Robert bishop of Hereford, to define the cause; which they did, in giuing sentence against the monks. Things thus quieted in England, there was a councell held at Rome, whither went these bishops, Theobald of Canturburie, Walter of Rochester, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Couentrie, and Robert of Excester, with so manie abbats called thither. After this, Theobald called a synod at London, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie & two, being the seuentéenth of king Stephan, and the fouretéenth of his consecration, in which councell was present king Stephan and his sonne Eustace, whom he required to be made king, to which (being by the pope forbidden) they would not by anie meanes assent. Which was so brought to passe by the means, as saith Geruasius, of one Thomas a clearke borne at London, whose father was Gilbert, and his mother Mawd. Wherefore the king and his sonne shutting them vp close, with threats and feare obteined that which they could not do with fauour and authoritie, for manie of them were therby brought to yeld to the kings mind. But Theobald priuilie stealing from the place, got a boate wherein he was carried to the Thames mouth into the sea, where he entered a ship at Douer, and passed ouer the seas, wherevpon the king did banish him and seized on all his substance. In this councell were manie kinds of friuolous appeales to Rome forbidden, which Henrie bishop of Winchester had procured; to which Henrie, Lucius the pope, as master Lambard hath noted out of the chronicle of Rochester, did send a pall, determining to haue made him a new archbishop, assigning seuen bishops to be vnder his subiection: but as it séemeth, the same tooke no great effect. For which doing of Henrie, there was great contention betweene Theobald and him, for Canturburie would vse his ordinarie authoritie ouer his suffragan Winchester, and he would extend his legantine power ouer his metropolitan Canturburie, by which meanes were manie appeales made to Rome. After the death of king Stephan, Theobald was called out of exile, and was in greater fauour with Henrie the second, than euer he was with Stephan; and yet Thurstan, or rather his successor William archbishop of Yorke, did priuilie attempt to crowne king Henrie, which he would not suffer, admitting none thervnto but Theobald, as appeareth by these letters.

Gervas. Chronic. Robert. Walt. Couent. Chro. Petrob. Annal. eccle. August. Cant. Wil. Nubrigen. Sigisb. Gembl.

Henricus rex Angliæ & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Anb. Theobaldo Cant. archiepiscopo salutem. Super hoc quod mihi mandastis, quòd audieritis me coronandum ad natale ab archiepiscopo Eborac. apud Lincoln. in prouincia vestra, sciatis quòd nullo modo me ibi coronabit, nec alibi contra dignitatē vestram. Ibi enim me coronabit, sicut mandastis, Lincoln. episcopus, si præsentiam vestram habere non potero, quam multùm desiderarem. Sed hac vice parco labori vestro, & cùm dominus Lincoln. episcopus posit modo supplere vices vestras, nolo quòd ad me veniendo tanto labore vexemini. Et hoc pro certo sciatis, quòd nec in his nec in alijs quàm diu coronam portabo, vestram offendam gratiam nec diuinam dignitatem. Teste T. cancellario nostro, apud Notingham.

Which William attempting the matter at Rome was, after that the king had repelled him, poisoned vpon his returne into England, the king being after crowned in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie & fiue, by Theobald, in the seuentéenth yeare of the gouernment of his archbishoprike. About this time was Canturburie and Rochester almost all burnt with the church of Yorke. Theobald being now verie old died in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and one, the fouretéenth kalends of Maie, as saith Geruasius, after that he had béene bishop two and twentie yeares, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after whose death the church was void one yeare one moneth and fouretéene daies.

Thomas Becket borne in London, the sonne of Gilbert Becket, was taught and brought vp at Merton colledge, from which he went to Paris, was after a iustice of England, then in seruice with Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, after which he went into Italie to learn the ciuill law, who returning home, was made archdeacon of Canturburie by Theobald, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, master and ruler of Beuerleie, and parson of Bromfield, of whom Matthew Parker thus writeth: *Deuotus semper fuit diuo Albano à quo cepit primos redditus scilicet ecclesiā de Bramfeld.* From whense he was aduanced to the chancellorship of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, who going to the court being a deacon, left off his clerklie apparell and attired himselfe after the fashion of such as serued the prince. He was a good souldior both for the church and the kingdome, for the miter and for the crowne: he being the first Englishman after the conquest, which possessed that sée, was made archbishop of Canturburie at Westminster by the kings edict, and consent of all the clergie, except as some saie, Thomas bishop of London: but Geruas. saith, *Mentiuntur planè qui dicunt Londonien sem electioni Thomæ archiepiscopo restitisse, quia sedes illa Londonij illis diebus vacauit & postea vsque ad natiuitatē Domini*; in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and two, in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the second, and the second of pope Alexander the third, about the fortith of his age as hath Geruasius, and was made priest, (for he was before but a deacon) by Walter bishop of Rochester on Whitsun éue, and the next daie consecrated bishop of Canturburie by Henrie bishop of Winchester, of whom in this treatise I will set downe the words of Geruasius Dorobern: touching his death, leauing the rest of his life for other place. *Anno gratiæ* 1170 *Thomas in fine quidem anni martyrio coronatus est, dies enim natalis Domini erat in sexta feria, sancti Stephani in sabato, sancti Iohannis in die dominica, sanctorum innocentium feria secunda; feria verò tertia sanctus Thomas passus est dum monachi vesperas cantarent in choro, quod in anno sequenti videlicet* 1171, *esse non potuit, &c. Qui asserit sanctum Thomam martyrizatum anno* 1170, *annum incipit & terminat in Annuntiatione, qui autem dicit eum passum esse anno gratiæ* 1171, *annum præcedit alterius & anticipat trium mensium spatio.* Of which Thomas Becket, and of all other the archbishops of Canturburie, which were chancellors of England, I will here in this booke speake but little, referring the discourse of all the rest of their doings to my large booke of the liues of the chancellors, where the liues of these archbishops shall be liberallie penned, and for this man at this time refer thée to the collections of the chancellors set downe in Holinshed, pag. 1274.

Thomas Becket. Ex archiuis. Roff. hist. Houeden. Wal. Couen. Roff. histo. Ioronal. histor. Rog. de Cestr. Matt. Paris. Florileg. Herebertus. Ioronal. hist.

Richard archbishop of Canturburie was chosen to

to that see in this order. One Robert abbat of Bec, elected archbishop, being desirous to liue quietlie, and fearing troubles to follow, did willinglie refuse that place. After which the king labored Odo the prior and the monks of Canturburie, to chose a quiet man, and not such a troublesome person as Thomas Becket was counted to be. For which cause he named to them the bishop of Baion, as hath Gerualius. Whereunto the prior answered the king, that they would do according to his request, and therefore did chose this Richard a Benedictine monke prior of the monasterie of S. Martins of Douer, who by Henrie the second was admitted to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, whose consecration when all things were prepared therefore, was withstood by the yoong king Henrie, writing his letters to this effect to Odo prior of Canturburie.

The letters of yoong king Henrie *to the prior of Canturburie.*

Enricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux Normanniæ, & comes Andegauiæ, regis Hērici filius, charo & fideli suo O. priori Cantuar. ecclesiæ, & vniuerso conuentui salutem & dilectionem. Ex certa quorundam relatione reperimus, quòd in ecclesia vestra, & etiam in prouincialibus eccleſijs, personas quasdam minùs congruas pater meus instituere attemptet. Et quoniam absque assensu nostro id nequaquam fieri debet, qui ratione regiæ vnctionis regnum & totius regni curam suscepimus, super hoc Romanam sedem in multorum præsentiam appellauimus, & appellationem factam venerabilibus patribus nostris, & amicis Albert. & Theod. cardinalibus apostolicæ sedis legatis scripto & nuntio nostro denuntiauimus, qui sicut viri prudentes appellationi detulerunt. Hanc etiam ipsam appellationem fidelibus nostris London. Exonienſ. & Wigorn. episcopis scripto nostro denuntiauimus, & quemadmodum appellauimus iteratò sub testimonio vestro appellamus, &c.

Whereupon the bishops being in some doubt what to do, sith most fauored the election of this Richard, and some fauored the appeale: yet at length he was at Auinion consecrated by pope Alexander the third with these words; *Tibi Richarde tuisque successoribus Cantuarienſis ecclesiæ, primatum ita plenè concedimus, sicut à Lanfranco & Anselmo, aliisque ipsorum prædecessoribus quondam Cant. episcop. fuisse possessum constat.* A little after which, this archbishop returned into England with his pall and legantine power of the pope of Rome, swearing fealtie to the king, *Saluo ordine suo* This man would confirme the election of the bishop at the will of the prior, without lawful inquisition in the kings chamber. When he came to Glocester, in saint Oswalds church (which was subiect to the bishop of Yorke) the clerks of Roger then bishop of Yorke would not be subiect vnto him: whereby dissention arose betweene them. He kept a councell at Westminster, in which, the same Roger bishop of Yorke would not be present; but complained and renewed the quarell of bearing vp his crosse in the prouince of Canturburie: further affirming, that the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, Worcester, and Hereford, ought to be at his obedience; as manie other archbishops before that time had made chalenge.

In the fift yeare of his consecration, he ordeined three archdeaconries in his diocesse of Canturburie, where before there was but one. Hugonius a legat comming into England called a councell at Westminster, in which, about contention betweene the bishop of Yorke and this Richard, for sitting on the right side of the legat; the archbishop of Yorke was well beaten, his rochet torne, and he feigne to complaine to the king. Which being for that time turned to a iest, yet in the end, the matter was after composed and appeased betweene the two bishops for fiue yeares. Whereupon, by oth they bound themselues to stand to the arbitrement of the bishops of France and of Rone. This man, after the death of king Henrie the sonne (as saith Matthew Parker, though Geruasius maketh king Henrie liuing much after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and seuentéene, leauing the gouernement of his bishoprike to Gilbert bishop of London, did go ambassador for the king of England into Sicilie, with the kings daughter Jone, to be maried to William king of that Ile: who in returning, did in the same yeare depose William Watermill abbat of Peterborow, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred seauentie and six. After, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie and seuen, this Richard refusing to consecrate Roger before elected abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, bicause that Roger would not sweare such absolute profession of obedience to the archbishop, as the archbishop would haue inforced him vnto; this Roger went to Rome, made his church tributarie & feodarie to the pope, with whome he wrought all he could to bring the bishop of Canturburie in his disgrace. Which in the end he did so effectually, that the pope (to vse Geruasius Dorobernensis words) did in *Contumeliam archiepiscopi,* grant to the said Roger episcopall iurisdiction, with the miter, staffe, and ring, ensignes belonging to a bishoprike.

Florileg. Ex archiuis.

Geruasius. Iorolanenſ.

Much about fiue yeares after, that is in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and two, as hath Geruasius; Walter bishop of Rochester died in the moneth of Julie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his bishoprike: who being buried, this archbishop did seize vpon his townes and possessions, with the church of Rochester, as of right he might do during the vacancie of the see, and further accursed all such as did breake the ancient prerogatiue of the church of Canturburie, or diminish their dignitie. Notwithstanding which Randolph *Præfectus Angliæ,* chéefe gouernour of England (being that man as I suppose which was called Ranulph Glanuile chéefe iustice of England, and liuing at this time) did resist without the kings consent. Wherfore the archbishop sent letters to the king, being in the affaires beyond the seas, concerning the same, and receiued this answer, that he should do all things as he had béene accustomed, and at his pleasure place a bishop in the vacant see; whereupon this archbishop appointed his clearke Walerane, archdeacon of Baion to the bishoprike of Rochester. This bishop after that he had gouerned ten yéares and eight moneths, riding from Wrotham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, as hath Geruasius Dorobernensis (but he faileth in his account by the transcribers fault, for I thinke it should be one thousand one hundred eightie and foure) besides Rochester, was in the waie striken with such an extreame cold and sickneſſe of mind, that he could scarse come to Yawling, where lieng downe vpon his bed vehementlie troubled with the collicke, he died in the night of the nert daie, being the fourtéenth kalends of March, whose bodie was caried to Canturburie, and honourablie buried in the chapell or oratorie of S. Marie. In the time of this archbishop, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie and seauen, was the church of Canturburie burnt; and

Gisburnenſ. Radulphus de Diceto.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor.

Houeden.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor.

Ex archiuis. Geruas Doro.

and in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie eight, was the church of Rochester with the whole citie consumed with fire: besides which, in the said yeare 1177, were monks brought into Waltham abbeie built by king Herald, and the secular prests expelled by king Henrie the second.

Baldwine. Ex archiuis.

Baldwine, borne at Excester in Deuonshire of an vnknowne father, being brought vp at learning, did keepe a schoole himselfe. After which he was made an archleuit or archdeacon, being termed the light of the people, which office he voluntarilie forsaking, became a Charterhouse monke, from whense he became abbat of Ford in Deuonshire, then bishop of Worcester, and lastlie chosen archbishop of Canturburie. About whose election was no small stirre, as well amongst the laitie and cleargie of England, as amongst the cleargie of Rome, the pope hauing before made void the election of the abbat of Bath, sometime prior of Canturburie to that archbishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, which contention of election continued about nine moneths. After which, the matter was declared vnto the pope, who sent him the pall, and he was aduanced to the see of Canturburie, the fourteenth kalends of June, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fiue, the one and thirtith of Henrie the second. Betweene which archbishop and the monks of Canturburie was much contention for the building of saint Stephans church in Yakington beside Canturburie, wherof is large discourse in the life of the said Baldwine, written by Geruasius Dorobernensis, Matthew Parker, and by William Lambert esquier (a rare antiquarie) in his perambulation of Kent.

Geruasius.

Radul. Niger.

After the death of Honorius prior of Canturburie (which made all the said stirre, in withstanding Baldwine for the church of S. Stephans, and appeling the bishop at Gillingham to the popes audience in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and six, at what time the bishop was taking his iourneie from Gillingham to Canturburie) Roger succeeded this Honorius in the same prioric, by the authoritie and fauor of the king, and of this archbishop, in the fourth yeare of his consecration, who so hated the monks of Canturburie, that in following time he draue them out of the monasterie of the Trinitie, and by the kings authoritie placed secular clearkes therein. Of which matter Geruasius maketh so long and large a discourse, as almost halfe the first part of his historie is nothing but of the same bishop (vsing his legantine & metropolitane power ouer all the parts of Wales, which neuer anie of his predecessors did before, as appeareth by Matthew Parker.) He did in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie & eight, being about the foure and thirtith of king Henrie the second, take his iorneie into those parts, on whome attended Giraldus Cambrensis that writ the historie of that voiage of Baldwine, and dedicated it to Stephan archbishop of Canturburie, beginning his booke with this note thereof. *Anno ab incarnatione Domini* 1188 *apostolatus apicem regente Vrbano* 3. *imperante Romæ Alemmanorum rege Friderico, Constantinopolitano Isaco, regnante in Francia Philippo Lodouici filio, in Anglia Henrico* 2. *in Sicilia verò Willi. in Hungaria Bela, in Palestina Guidone, anno vz. quo Saladinus tam Aegyptiorum quàm Damascenorum princeps occulto Dei iudicio, sed nunquam iniustò, publico bello certamine potitus, Hierusalorum regnum obtinuit, vir venerabilis, & tam literatura quàm religione Cantuariorum archipræsul Baldwinus in salutiferæ crucis obsequium ab Anglia in Walliam tendens, apud Herefordiæ fines Cambriam intrauit.* In reciting of all which kings of Europe, and others, Giraldus hath forgotten the kings of Scots and Denmarke.

Ex annal. Gilb. Matth. Paris.

This Baldwine interdicted the prouinces of John earle of Dorset and Summerset, sonne to Henrie the second, for the mariage of Isabell the daughter of the earle of Glocester his kinswoman in the third degree. Wherof earle John complaining to John the cardinall, latelie as legat arriued in England, appealed him to the pope, the cardinall confirming the same appeale, and vndoing the interdict. This archbishop went with king Richard the first Anno Dom. one thousand one hundred ninetie and one to the warres of Hierusalem, where he died at Acon, after that he had bene bishop of Canturburie six yeares eleuen moneths and fiue daies. There he made his will, and gaue all he had to the soldiors, committing the same to be disposed by Hubert bishop of Salisburie, which went thither with him also at the same time. After his death and honourable burieng, and in the kings absence, the monks of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred nintie and two, expelled Osbert of Bristow (whome king Richard by the counsell and helpe of Baldwine had made prior of the monasterie of the trinitie of Canturburie a little before, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) and railed against the said archbishop Baldwine, calling him (bicause he was mild of nature) slouthfull and lukewarme, the same bishop being also by pope Urban reprehended by these words: *Vrb. pp. seruus seruorum Dei, monacho feruentissimo, abbati callido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso, ex quo monachi affirmant quòd melior monachus simplex quàm abbas, melior abbas quàm episcopus, melior episcopus quàm archiepiscopus fuerit.* Touching whome in like sort thus writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis, that his words *semper erant quasi simplicia, & ipsa pauca & ambigua*

Reginald. Reginald archbishop of Canturburie being thervnto onelie chosen, was neuer installed, nor receiued anie consecration therefore, bicause he died shortlie after his election to that place, who yet deserueth to be remembred, & that the rather bicause the monks did chose him against the kings mind. In doing whereof before his full election, there arose great and long stormes and troubles about the same. For the king, the cleargie, and the other nobilitie, were desirous to haue one William de Monte regali to be chosen & aduanced to that place. But the monks reiecting their petition, and following their owne mind, did elect this Reginald, who was the fourth bishop of Bath & Wels, after the vniting of those places into one bishoprike. This Reginald borne in Lombardie, being about the foure & twentith yeare of his age, was by king Henrie the sonne of Henrie the second made bishop of Bath (in the yeare of our redemption 1173, falling the nineteenth yeere of the same Henrie the second) by the name of Reinalt fitz Joseline: he died fiftene daies after his election to the see of Canturburie (going from thense to Bath) at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, whose bodie was on Christmas daie caried to Bath, & there buried in the third yeare of Richard the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1191. At this time Hugh bishop of Chester and Couentrie, put out the monks of Couentrie, & brought in secular clearks: but after his death the monks were restored to their old home.

Anony. M. S.

Matth. Parker.

Roff. histor.

Hubert Walter. Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert, being borne in Westerham in Northfolke, was brought vp vnder Reginald or Randulph Glandfield procurator or chefe iustice of all England. This man hauing obteined the deanrie of Yorke, then the bishoprike of Salisburie, did after that go to Jerusalem with Richard the second, and was made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ 1193, receiuing the pall from pope Celestine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie & foure, being the fift yeare

Geruasius. Houeden. Tho. Spot. Wil. Nouibur.

of the ransomed king Richard the first, beside which he was chancellor and cheefe iustice of England, and at London did consecrate Herebert archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Salisburie. This Hubert had charge, or was maister ouer the kings wards, by the kings especiall grant. Who in the end, after that he had sat seauentéene yeares, as hath the historie of Couentrie, comming to his mannor of Tenham, did there fall sicke, and shortlie died within foure daies, being buried at Canturburie in the south wall of the quier, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and three, the ides of Julie being the same yeare, falling in the seuenth yeare of king John, after whose death it séemeth that sée was void about two yeares.

Being made bishop an. 1193 and dieng an. 1203, he could then gouerne but ten years.

Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie was chosen after this maner. The monks of Canturburie did in the night choose one Reginald their subprior, and vnknowen to the king did inthronize the elect in all spéed, sending him with their letters to the pope, taking an oth of him before his departure, that he should not discouer his election to anie, or beare himselfe as elected, without the licence of the monks. But he as soone as he came into Flanders, forgetting himselfe, opened the matter. Whervpon the monks came to the king, craued pardon, and asked leaue to chuse an other; whereto the king consenting, did with manie faire spéeches moue them to chuse John Greie bishop of Norwich. Whervnto when they had agréed, the king sent for Greie their souereigne at Yorke about the kings affairs, & led him honorablie to Canturburie, where in the presence of the king & the people he was pronounced in the metropolitane church to be rightlie and lawfullie chosen archbishop of Canturburie, and the monks forthwith did place him in the archbishops sée. The knowledge of which inconstancie of the monks comming to pope Innocent, he commanded the monks vnder the power of binding and losing to chuse a third person, which was called Stephan Langton borne in England, but bred vp in foren countries, & to make void both the former elections, which the monks did accordinglie. Whervpon the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie, chalenging the election of their metropolitan, or at the least to ioine with the monks in chosing of the archbishop, opposed themselues against the monks, which comming before the pope, he presentlie gaue sentence in behalfe of the monks. With which secretlie against their willes the monks at Rome (which were there to defend their cause against their bishops) chose Stephan Langton with secret murmuring, although onelie Elias de Brankfield the monke that then defended the cause of John Greie would not by anie meanes assent thervnto, secretlie departing into England. By force of which election, Stephan Langton the fiftéenth kalends of Julie receiued his consecration of the pope at Viterbie; with whome the pope sending the monks backe againe into England wrote flattering letters vnto king John, to appease him for the reprobation of John Greie and the election of Stephan Langton, whom the pope required the king to receiue with all courtesie. But the king stomaching the maner thereof, with the matter, and the man, banished all the monks which had béene at Rome, & expelled all the other monks which remained at Canturburie out of their celles, whereof insued great trouble to king John and the kingdome, as in the English historie may more at large appeare. For the king reiecting this Langton brought vp in Paris, and chancellor of that vniuersitie familiar with the French king & cardinall of Chrysogon, wrote vnto the pope about the said Langton. Whervpon Joannes Florentinus legat of the pope came into England, onelie attended vpon with three horsses, whereof the one was lame and led by hand; which legat afterwards keeping a councell at Reding, but doing no good in the cause, did in hast depart England, when he had filled his purse with monie. Much about which time the friers minors came first into England, going barefoot, whose apparell was grisell garments girded with cords full of knots. After this, the pope séeing all things to go contrarie to that he had iudged, wrot againe to king John to receiue Langton, further directing his bulles to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Naugerius bishop of Worcester, that if they could not persuade the king therevnto, that then they should interdict the land: which they after did when the king would not agrée therevnto. Which done, they with Joseline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford fled the realme for their labor. Therewith the king more grieuouslie moued, seized all their lands and goods, and caused the monks to flie out of the relme; by which act the people rebell, the nobles forsake the king, and the kingdome is wholie in an uprore. At length the pope himselfe hearing thereof, did thunder an interdict against the king by name, and the bishops of England, committing the diuulging thereof to the said bishops of London, Elie, and Worcester, liuing then beyond the seas, who not willing to plaie that part, posted the same ouer to certeine bishops in England, which fearing the king, durst not obeie the pope. Yet the land and king being interdicted, king John subdued Wales, conquered Ireland, reduced the Scots to quiet, forbad anie causes to be caried to Rome, subdued his rebelles, lent the emperor a great summe of monie, & feared not Stephan Langton or the pope. Whereupon Philip the French king was persuaded to warre vpon king John, which he denied, till he should sée no amendment in the king of England. At length Stephan Langton (finding succor and helpe) came into England with his complices, and shewed that the king was remoued from his kingdome. For the auoiding wherof the king was by Pandulph the legat brought to vnequall conditions, and submitted his kingdome to the pope for a thousand marks (whereof the wiser sort haue made some question) and receiued the crowne againe of Pandulph, whereby the realme was quieted, the pope satisfied, the king fréed, Langton restored, and the interdict released. But after when Langton saw how these things were carried, he did greatlie lament and with déepe sorrow grieue thereat, when he beheld king John to giue vp his crowne and scepter to Pandulph. For comming to the altar, he could not withhold himselfe, but openlie shewed how greatlie he was offended therewith; and therefore euer after became a louing father to his countrie, in such sort, that the first seuen yeares was a tragedie of the kingdome, and this time which followeth will be but a comedie of his gouernement in the sée of Canturburie. For now contention falling betweene the king and his barons, the pope tooke the kings part, and Stephan Langton ioined with the barons. Whereupon the pope (when he could not at the request of the king bridle the barons) did excommunicat them as traitors to the king, which sentence he committed to be published by Stephan Langton. But he going to the generall councell answered the bishop of Winchester and Pandulph (the popes legat) that brought that excommunication, that he would first in person talke with the pope about it: whervpon they suspended Langton from his bishoprike, & excommunicated the barons from the church. For which cause Langton going to Rome, was there by the abbat of

Stephan Langton. Matth. Paris. Florilegus. Ste. Brichint. Ex archiuis.

Chro. cænobij Martini.

An. Dom. 1205 as some haue.

of Bellew, Thomas of Huntington, and Geffreie of Crawcomb knights, accused of that which he had done in England, how he had set the barons against the king, & would not execute the popes excommunication. With which Langton being ouercome, without anie excuse craued to be absolued from the former suspension. Whereunto the pope would not agree, but doubled the same, and sent vnto the suffragans of Canturburie to denounce it ouer all England; yet in the end, by the wise carriage of himselfe he was absolued with this condition, that he should stand to the popes iudgement touching the controuersies betweene the king and the barons, & that he should not returne into England before the same were ended. After this the king would againe haue remooued Langton from his see, which he could not doo, no not with the helpe of the pope, because the cardinals did resist it. During which troubles king John departed this life; and Stephan Langton after his death held a councell at Dsneie, in which one was crucified and hanged that said he was Christ, and two women were condemned, the one because she said she was the virgin Marie, and the other Marie Magdalen.

Mat. Paris. 1216

This archbishop translated the bodie of Thomas Becket from a marble tombe, to a rich shrine decked with gold and siluer, whereto was a wonderfull concourse of people, for all which this Langton found haie and horsemeat during the time of that solemnitie. At which time also in places of the citie, conduits and pipes of purpose made therefore, did abundantlie run with wine. The charge of which translation could not be againe recouered by foure of the bishops of Canturburie that followed. Before which time this Langton carried some of the relikes of this saint Thomas to Rome. This archbishop procured the customes of England called *Magna charta* to be made, to end all controuersie betweene the king and the barons. When the realme was in quiet, he held a councell at Westminster, in which he made a sermon vpon this text: *In Deo speravit cor meum, & refloruit caro mea.* When he had so begun his sermon, a certeine countrie man in the companie with a lowd voice said; By Gods death thou liest, for neither thy hart trusted in God, neither doth thy flesh flourish or spring againe: which person being apprehended by the rest of the companie, was plucked out of the church, and receiued worthie punishment therefore. A little before his death, he made his brother Simon archdeacon of Canturburie, whom the pope reiected, and would not admit to the bishopрike of Yorke, whereunto he was chosen. This Langton gouerned the see of Canturburie two and twentie yeares, and died at his manor of Slindon in Sussex the seuenth ides of Julie, being carried to Canturburie the daie before the nones of the same, and buried in saint Michaels chapell. He did write manie things learnedlie and eloquentlie, he diuided the bible into chapters as the church now vseth it, he writ the life and historie of Richard the first. In the time of this man the burrow of Southworke with the church of saint Maries was burnt, the same fire going ouer London bridge as far as the Tower and the Mintre: of whom thus writeth Nicholas Triuet; *Hic super totam bibliam fecit postillas, & eam per capitula (quibus nunc vtuntur moderni) distinxit, qui dum Parisijs in theologia regeret, factus est ecclesiæ Grisogoni presbyter cardinalis, deinde factus archiepiscopus, inter alia bona quæ fecit, pulchram aulam quæ est in palatio Cantuariæ ædificauit.*

Aurea histor. Matthew Paris.

Others saie 21 yeares, and died as hath Triuet. an. 1228. being 12 Hen. the third.

Richard the great.

Richard surnamed the great came to the bishopрike by this meanes. The monks hauing leaue of king Henrie the third to chose an archbishop, did make choise of one Walter de Hemesham or rather Euesham, the third nones of August, whom they presented to the king, which by the aduise of the clergie did ouerthrow the said Walter so by the monks elected and erected, because he was defamed for manie things; whereupon he runneth to Rome: but the kings ambassadors & the bishops messengers, comming thither first, did preuent him. But before that these ambassadors, which were the bishops of Chester and Couentrie, finding the pope and the cardinals somewhat vntoward towards the king of England, did in the end obteine of the pope (by ministring pecuniarie aid vnto him, and promising a tenth out of England, Wales, & Ireland, for the maintenance of his warres against Frederike the emperor) that he sentenced the matter against the said Walter, auoided his election, and reserued to himselfe the prouision and disposing of the church of Canturburie. Whereupon they (fearing that the pope would chose one at his owne pleasure, as Innocent his predecessor had done Stephan Langton) with all speed obteined from king Henrie letters to the pope to confirme their promise, and that he should promote Richard chancellor of Lincolne, a man famous for good life and learning, to the archbishopрike of Canturburie. Whereunto the pope agreed, and writ to haue the said Richard placed in the archbishops chaire: by reason of which precept, this Richard the great was consecrated (without anie pall) at Canturburie by Henrie bishop of Rochester, in the feast of the Trinitie, at what time the king was also present; and the said Richard did then consecrate the bishops of London and Elie. This done the pope sendeth for the performance of the promise of the tenth of England, Wales, and Ireland: whereunto the king (against his will, but in respect of his promise) seemed by silence to agree; but the barons flatlie denied the same, and the bishops by procrastination demanded three or foure daies respit to giue answer thereunto, who in the end for feare of the popes curse consented, whereby it was fullie paid by all men; except onlie Ranulph earle of Chester, who did resist & would not suffer it to be paid in his prouince, whom yet the pope did not excommunicate.

Ste. Brichin. 1229 as some haue.

This archbishop assembled a synod at Westminster, where he made good lawes, and as he was by nature gentle, so was he seuere in defending the liberties of his church. For against Hubert of Borow (constable of Douer castle, chefe iustice of England and earle of Kent, being in great fauour with Henrie the third, who also made Richard as some name him the sonne of the said Hubert knight) he thundered out excommunication, because he could not find other remedie at the kings hand for the iniurie which the said Hubert had done against him, in deteining from the said bishop the castle of Tunbridge, the towne therof with the lands therto belonging, and the other possessions of the earle of Clare; which during the minoritie of the said earle, did of right apperteine to the see of Canturburie. This was the first time, as some haue, that such reuenge by waie of excommunication was taken vp and laid vpon those which did withhold anie of the possessions of the clergie. At length the archbishop goeth to Rome, hoping thereby to right his cause, against whom the king sendeth Roger de Cantelew with other ambassadors to the pope, at what time the archbishop not onlie complained of Hubert, but also that the king had the suffragan of the said archbishop to sit in his exchequer, and to heare ciuill and criminall causes. Whereupon the pope moued with the dignitie of the archbishops calling, the reuerence of the mans personage, with his eloquence, wisedome and learning gaue sentence in behalfe of the said Richard against the other, whereupon they returned home vtterlie confused. After which the bi-

Marth. Paris in hist. maiori & minori.

Thomas Becket did excommunicate before this such as either infringed the churches liberties, or deteined anie of his possessions. Cantelupe.

1231 as hath Triuet.

shop being three daies on his iorneie towards England, and now extreme werie and full of paine, did end his daies in the towne of saint Gemma, with whom & by whose death there also died all that which was done at Rome in the former matter. This archbishop did write in his life manie most learned bookes, which were *De fide & legibus, De sacramẽtis, De vniuerso, &c.*

Steph. Brichinton.

S. Edmund.

Saint Edmund (which name I vse for antiquitie and difference sake) archbishop of Canturburie, commonlie called S. Edmund of Abington, after the place where he was borne, came to that bishoprike in this order. The monks had chosen Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, being for his fidelitie in great fauour with K. Henrie the third, and his chancellor, whom they presented vnto the king, well accepting thereof, and without delaie granting vnto him the administration of the temporalties of the archbishoprike. But the pope inquiring of Simon Langton (archdeacon of Canturburie brother vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, Stephan Langton) of the state and behauiour of this elect Rafe Neuill: this Simon either an enimie to the king or him, or else to both, being led with hope to obteine the archbishoprike for himselfe, did priuilie and subtillie persuade the pope, that he was vnlearned, light of behauiour, vnconstant, hot in speech, a courtier, following a courtlie kind of life, and further, of so subtill and craftie wit, and also well beloued of the king, that he managed all the affaires of the king and kingdome: for which cause, if he were archbishop of Canturburie, he would with the consent of the king and the people, find meanes, that England should shake off the yoke of the pope and tribute to Rome, which king John had confirmed to pope Innocent, being a thing which the pope had the more cause greatlie to feare; for that before this time, Stephan Langton (archbishop of Canturburie) had once appealed from the grant of that tribute, the forme of whose appeale he reduced into writing, being at this daie extant to be seene of all men.

Matth. Paris Chron. maiori & minori. Florilegus.

Whereupon the pope, moued by the words of Simon, did without cause shewed therefore, frustrat the election of Rafe Neuill (when the monks came to Rome to haue the same confirmed) and granted power to the monks to chose another; by reason whereof they elected John their subprior, to whome in the end the king gaue full assent. But when the letters of his election were exhibited to the pope, this John was deliuered to the cardinals to be examined of his doctrine, who three daies after informed the pope that they found not anie default in him. All which notwithstanding, he was repelled, and his election voided by reason of his age, which was not sufficient to weld so great a charge. Wherefore in respect thereof, the pope persuaded him to remoue his election, which without delaie he did, obeieng the popes will, & with obteined licence departed into England.

These two elections thus frustrat, the third time the monks chose John Blund then studieng in Oxford, whome the king also admitted, who had as good successe at the popes hand as the others before had: for the pope did also reiect this man, because that being familiar with Peter de Roches bishop of Winchester, he had receiued two thousand marks of him, which as it was suspected he corrupted the monks of Canturburie to make that election of him: and moreouer, that he kept two benefices appointed for cure of soules, against the order of the ancient councels. For which cause, the monks of Canturburie that were present at Rome, were required by the pope, that they would by his voice now the fourth time chose Edmund, canon & treasuror of the church of Salisburie, a godlie and learned man, to be their archbishop of Canturburie, which yet they would not do in hast, as after shall appeare. Which Edmund being borne at Abington in Barkeshire, had to his father one Edward, and to his mother Mabell, both of them surnamed the rich, because they had at Abington so greatlie incresed their substance by merchandize: who procured this their sonne to be trained in learning at Oxford, distant about fiue miles from Abington, where he increasing in learning, gaue himselfe to diuinitie, when he came to mans estate; and entring into the profession of a clearke or spirituall man, he did vse to preach in the adioining shires of Oxford, Glocester, and Worcester. After this, he was made a canon of Salisburie, about which time his father, with his wiues consent, became a monke in Euesham. But although this Edmund were wise, learned, vertuous, & honored; yet would not the monks at Rome vpon the popes consent chose him, vnlesse they might also haue the kings fauor therein, and the assent of the rest of their monks at home. Wherefore the pope did secretlie send the pall to this Edmund, sith those monks durst not openlie gainesaie the election. But for what cause the pope so desired it, we know not by the course of the histories: for this Edmund was sent, vnknowne, and a mere stranger vnto the pope. But be it as be maie, it is most true, that he receiued his consecration at Canturburie by Roger, surnamed the Blacke bishop of Lincolne, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and foure, falling in part of the eighteenth & nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the third; at what time he put on his pall at the masse time, which he did celebrat in the presence of the king, thirteene bishops, and a great number of other people, who being thus installed in the see of Canturburie, did first succor the common-wealth, troubled with intestine & euill councell. For he persuaded the king to remoue from him Peter bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Riuallis ambitious persons, and authors of ciuill discords; and himselfe with the bishops of Chester and Rochester went into Wales, and made peace betweene the king of England, Leolin prince of Wales, and Richard earle Marshall: whereof the two last had ioined their powers, and prepared wars against the first. Besides which, he restored the earls of the kingdome which were fallen from the crowne, to the kings new fauour, and to their old honors: vpon which, the king commanded Peter de Roches to get him home to his bishoprike of Winchester, and cast Peter de Riuallis out of the court, threatning him, that if he did not take holie orders, that he would plucke forth his eies with his owne hands: but this peace so by the bishop made was after broken.

Ex archiuis. Chron. sancti Albani. Abbreuiat. Rich. Ciceſt. Polycratic.

Ex archiuis.

Matth. Paris hist. maiori & minori.

1239 as hath Ioannes Londen, 4. no. of Aprill.

This archbishop held a synod at London, in the which were made thirtie and six prouinciall lawes. After this, there fell dissention betweene the king & this archbishop, because he withstood the mariage of Elenor (sister to the king, and widow to William Marshall earle of Penbroke, hauing as was said, vowed chastitie) to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester: for which cause the king sent secretlie to the pope to haue a legat come into England to bridle this archbishop, and such as tooke his part. Whervpon the pope sent one cardinall Otho hither into England, whome the king met at the sea side, receiued with humilitie, bowing his head to the cardinals knee, and after brought him into the inner parts of the realme: which legat making his gaine here in England, bestowed all the vacant spirituall liuings vpon that flocke which he had brought with

Matt. Par. calleth him *Willielmum Marischallum comitem Glocestr. in Hibernia mortuum*, which cannot be. For William Marshall neither died in Ireland, nor was earle of Glocester: for it was Rich. Marshall erle of Penbroke that died in Ireland.

him. Wherewith saint Edmund being moued, did reprehend the king, both for the comming of the legat, and the bering of the realme; which the legat reuenged as a great iniurie done vnto him. In the meane time, Simon Montford obteined a dispensation from the pope for the mariage, with a like dispensation for the vow that Elenor had made, and with commandement to Otho that he should pronounce sentence in behalfe of the mariage; all which he performed, and so the mariage was consummat.

This Otho remaining still in England, held a councell at London at the west end of Paules church, where the old contention for place of the right side of the legat was againe renewed by the bishops of Canturburie & Yorke, who falling to extreame chiding, the legat to appease the matter, shewing forth the popes bull, said: *Videtis hîc depictum Christum crucifixum, eique à dextris Paulum & à sinistris Petrum astare, inter quos nunquam mota est de Christi dextris aut sinistris occupandis contentio, etsi ambo sunt in gloria æquali. Verumtamen propter Petri clauigeri dignitatem & apostolatus principatum, meritò à dextris crucis eius imago collocanda videtur.* With which persuading example the archbishops being pacified, the bishop of Yorke toke the left hand.

Verb. Matth Paris in chro. maiori.

Grosted bishop of Lincolne of what descent he was.

About this time did this Edmund archbishop of Canturburie consecrat Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne, of whom an ecclesiastike writeth thus: *Sub hæc tempora Hugone Wellensi episcopo Lincoln. mortuo, electus est à capitulo Robertus cognomento Grosted, id est caput crassum, vir humili quidem stirpe satus, sed virtute, prudẽtia, doctrináque insigni.* But this opinion of that writer, that he was but meanelie borne cannot be so, if that pedegrée be true (which for manie reasons I am not lead to thinke ouer sound, I speake vnder correction of better antiquaries) which I haue séene of the said Grosted, taken out (with the armes as hath bëene most constantlie affirmed vnto me) of the old portalle of the said Grosted; who being the yonger brother of a second house, and but meanelie mainteined, might occasion others to write that he was borne of meane parentage; when in deed it appeareth by that pedegrée remaining within my custodie at the writing of this same, that his right name was Robert Copleie, and surnamed Grosted of his great head. For this Robert is there made a yonger sonne of Rafe Copleie the kings seruant, yonger sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Rafe Copleie, sonne of Hugh Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, which was slaine at the besieging of Yorke, in the time of William the Conqueror. This Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie reiected Richard of Wendouer chosen by the voices of the monks of that house to be bishop of Rochester, and would not consecrat or admit the said Richard. Wherupon the monks appealed and went to Rome, whom this archbishop followed. At what time Otho the legat (supposing that he had now opportunitie to reuenge himselfe of this Edmund, who had so much before withstood him) did forbid the archbishop to take shipping, or to enter into that iourneie: but he would not obeie the legat, because the authoritie of the legat was taken awaie by the popes countermand.

Ioh. Lond. saith 1237 *Edmundus archiepis. Cantuar. pro quibusdam negotijs ecclesiam suam contingentibus Romam adiit.*

The bishop now at Rome, not onelie complained of the monks of Rochester, but also of the legat Otho, and of Henrie the third; but the pope reiecting all his speeches, did iudiciallie confirme the election of Richard of Wendouer to the bishoprike of Rochester, which notwithstanding this archbishop Edmund had pronounced to be void: for which sentence being on their behalfe so pronounced on the feast of saint Cuthbert, that daie was made a double feast in the church of Rochester. This done, the pope not yet satisfied, did moreouer reuoke a sentence giuen by this archbishop against Hugh earle of Arundell; for recompense of both which supposed wrongs, the one to Wendouer, the other to the earle, Edmund was appointed to paie one thousand marks vnto either partie, wherupon being so impouerished, he returneth home with greefe. But a new contention did receiue him at his comming home into England by the legat aforesaid, which added further trouble vnto him. For whereas the monks of Canturburie had chosen them a prior without his knowledge, this Edmund did excommunicat them; which the legat did release, and confirmed the other election, which the said Edmund did againe vndoo, punished the stubburne monks, and interdicted their church: for which cause sith the archbishop should séeme to haue the vpper hand, Otho the legat commeth to Canturburie, thinking to haue disgraced the bishop: but hearing the cause againe, he remoued the prior, chastened the monks, bound some of them to perpetuall penance, and made some others of them to be tied to a streicter kind of life.

Hugh de Albinee.

After this, the archbishop granted eight hundred marks at the councell holden at Reading by legat Otho, to helpe the popes wars against the emperor, although he had manie times in manie councels stiflie gainesaid the same. In the time also of whose gouernement, the church of Paules in London was dedicat vnder the name of the cathedrall church of saint Paule by Roger bishop of London, in the presence of the king, the noble men, and the bishops: at the doing whereof, the bishop of London with the deane and chapter of that church, did make a solemne and sumptuous feast. This thus spoken, it resteth now to draw to some end of the doings of this archbishop, whose actions be stretched longer than at the first I meant, & than this short discourse of the archbishops doth require: but sith I cannot leaue him so, I must now go forward otherwise than I would. You heard before that he complained to the pope against the king for manie euill things done by him, whereof the chéefest was, that he ouerlong kept in his hands the void metropolitan, cathedrall, and conuentuall churches. For the reformation whereof, he obteined of the pope, that if the king did not in six weeks prouide therefore, that the archbishop should haue the presentation: which decrée of the pope obteined by Edmund through great summes of monie, the king procured of the pope to be reuoked. In which matter Polydor in the sixtenth booke of his English historie hath falslie deceiued manie, whilest he saith, that saint Edmund obteined this grant (for presentations to void spirituall liuings) of king Henrie himselfe, and that the same was some while kept, vntill that the king finding the want of the gaine which grew thereby, did reuoke that which he had before granted. And to the intent it maie be séene that this is not falslie fathered vpon Polydor, I will set downe his owne words. *Huic malo* (meaning the presentations by the king to vacant spirituall liuings) *Edmundus occurrendum iudicans; à rege impetrauit, vt huiusce rei curandæ munus solus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiret, quo per hunc modum episcopatus atque cœnobia rectoribus orbata & meliùs gubernarentur, & citiùs dignis decernerentur præpositis. Verùm cùm aliquandiu ita seruatum esset, & Henricus animaduerteret non esse in rem suam quòd paulo ante concessit, illud statim reuocauit, & sacerdotiorum vacantiũ vectigalia quout antea fecerat capere rursum cœpit.*

It maie be that here grew the first ground that if patrons did not present to spirituall liuings within six weeks, that the bishops might present by lapse.

In the end this Edmund thus crossed with so manie mishaps, and lamenting his countrie and church vexed with so manie euils, himselfe to be so much ouerreached by the deceipts of others, and his metropolitane power to be restreined by the doings of the couetous legat, he goeth to the king, rebuketh him therefore, in that he would permit these things in his owne

Chron. Roff.

owne realme, and with abundance of teares saith vnto him, that he should neuer see his face. Wherfore being wearie of his life, and not minding to see those things whereof he could not abide to heare; he voluntarilie banished himselfe from the realme & his frends, who passing the sea, came to Pontineacke in France, where dailie praieng for his countrie of England to be deliuered from subiection and thraldome, he there lead a sorrowfull life for a certeine space. At length, what by sickenesse, and what by abstinence, he fell into a consumption, and then into a sharpe feuer; after which being remoued for recouerie of his helth from Pontineacke to Soises, he surrendered his life to God the sixtenth kalends of December, after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie about the space of eight yeres, or rather seuen yeares (as hath the historie of Couentrie) whose bowels being by the physicians taken out of his bodie, were buried at Soises, and his bodie at Pontineacke, after that honorable sort that belongeth to an archbishop: after whose death the see of Canturburie was void three yeares and more. About six yeares after whose death, pope Innocent the third did canonize him a saint: and his bodie in the yeare following was translated by Lodouike king of France, being three yeares after put into a new sepulchre garnished with gold, siluer, and christall. In this bishops time was the sisterhood of saint Katharins beside the Tower of London, builded by Elenor daughter of the earle of Prouance, and wife to king Henrie the third, which house is at this daie (Anno Domini 1586) standing, and vnder the gouernment of Rafe Rokesbie esquire, maister of the requests, and maister of the said house of saint Katharins. This archbishop Edmund (as hath Gesner out of Leland) had a brother called Robert le Rich, flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fortie, which wrote a booke of the life of this bishop Edmund, and one other booke called Exegesin in canonem diui Augustini.

Matth Paris. chroni. minor.

1241 As hath Ioh. Lond. being as he also saith the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the third.

1240 And the foure and twentith of Henrie the third.

Triuet. Polydor. Matth. Paris. Florilegus. Polychro. Ioh. Lond. appointeth his canonization in the yeare 1246 And his translation to the yere of Christ 1248

Bonifface the six and fortith archbishop after Matthew Parker, but the fiue and fortith after Polydor, queene Elenors vncle, and the sonne of Peter earle of Sauoie, was chosen by the monks of Canturburie vnto that see, wholie against their minds, for they had rather haue reiected than receiued a stranger by birth, vnknowen for conditions, vnacquainted with the state of their church, & so neere to the king by mariage. But the king taking the thing to be well and lawfullie done by the monks, sent his election in parchment to the pope, vnder his seale, & the seales of the bishops and abbats, as a thing done by their generall & voluntarie consent; though manie of them did the same for feare of the kings displeasure. By meanes whereof Bonifface (being noblie borne, tall of person, and indued with a certeine comlinesse in his countenance, but in other respects far unmet for the place) was consecrated at Lions, where the pope then was; whereof some of the monks ashamed that they had chosen so vnmet a man, forsoke the church of Canturburie, and bound themselues to perpetuall penance in the streict order (as hath Matthew Parker) of the charterhouse monks. These things thus done, shortlie after Peter erle of Sauoie commeth vnto London, and built the Sauoie without Temple bar, calling it after the name of his honor, which house was afterward the dukes of Lancaster John of Gant, and in the end was by Henrie the seuenth most statelie built vp, as it now standeth, with places of releise for the poore.

Polyd Angl. hist. lib. 16.

He was consecrated (as hath Iohn of London in the yeare of Christ 1243 who comming into England was at Canturburie on all Saints daie installed in the presence of the king, of the queene, and of manie other of the nobilitie, in the yeare 1248

These things thus done, Robert Passelew (who was wholie employed in augmenting and keeping the kings treasure, and for that cause deare vnto the king) was chosen bishop of Chichester by the canons (of that cathedrall church) studieng to please the king. The which election the archbishop Bonifface tooke in euill part, who calling togither the bishops of his prouince, did seriouslie examine this Passelew by the bishop of Lincolne, vpon certeine difficult questions proponed vnto him; but he either not well answering, or the archbishop Bonifface not well liking his answer, this Robert was repelled, and one Richard Wiz or Witz substituted in his place without the kings knowledge. In which hurlie burlie Martine the popes procurator expecting the same commoditie, did by the power of his buls bestow the benefit of the vacant liuings, which this Richard had forsaken, being aduanced to Chichester. But the king not suffering so great a reproch to be vsed towards him, did forbid this Richard Witz to enter into his baronie and secular possessions. Shortlie after which, this Bonifface archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Worcester and Hereford (which were suspected and hated of the English, in that they attributed so much to the pope) did go to Rome without the kings priuitie. The cause of whose going Bonifface alledged to be the debt of fiftene thousand marks, wherewith his bishoprike was charged, the greatnesse of which debt could not be paid but by the popes helpe: but at his departure he made a great masse of monie of the Kentishmen, and especiallie of woods which he sold, with which he sailed into France, and to the people called Allobrogi, to subdue a certeine knight which had stolne awaie the daughter and heire of Reimond earle of Prouance, to the intent for to haue maried hir. For whose ouerthrow a great summe of monie was heaped togither in England by this archbishop, although he seemed to haue obteined the same vnder the pretense to free his church of Canturburie from the excessiue debts wherin it was left by his predecessors. At length this Bonifface comming to the pope, required of him that he might reteine with the bishoprike of Canturburie the bishoprike of Valentia in Prouance, with manie other such commodious and rich churches which he had gotten in that iorneie.

This man was vtterlie condemned of all the clergie for vnsatiable extortions.

1245

About this time was a generall councell holden at Lions, whereunto the king and the prelats of England were cited, in the ninth of March, with day giuen vnto them vntill the eight kalends of June. In which meane time, the king sent to the pope one Laurence of S. Martins the kings chapleine, for the absence of certeine prelats from that councell, and to complaine to the pope of the iniuries which the archbishop had done vnto him. The first the pope granted, but in the second he stood against the king with the archbishop. After this approcheth the daie of the councell at Lions, whither came the pope and the clergie; at whose first comming the popes conclaue or parlor (as some haue) or rather his whole house as others haue, was burnt: in the same, & as manie affirmed, was with fire consumed that charter in which king John did by force of the legat Pandulph subiect and make tributarie the kingdome of England to pope Innocent. This councell of Lions now ended, Bonifacius obteined the popes buls to all the clergie of his prouince to this effect: *Vt ex illius prouinciæ beneficiorum vacantium vectigalibus septennio proximo ad illud ex alienum dissoluendum, quod in translatione Thomæ quam Stephanus fecerat, Cantuariensis ecclesia contraxerat, 10000 marcarum colligere posset, præter duo milia marcarum annuatim ei ab ecclesia Cantuariensi soluendarum.* Which when the king knew, he said: What maruell is it if Bonifface bishop of Canturburie, whome I haue aduanced to so great dignitie, do now procure from the court of Rome such discommodities to my kingdome? But although the king did at the first a little resist the grant, yet in the end he would neither trou-

1246

ble the pope nor the archbishop, but being ouercome with intreatie, yeelded vnto the same.

1252 Boniface being now returned out of Prouance, visited his dioceses and suffragans, in which there were great troubles betweene him & Fulco bishop of London, and betweene him and the prior of great saint Bartholomews, manie blowes passing from one to another. Wherby the prior was sore hurt, resisting the visitation of the archbishop. Which doings of those his suffragans, occasioned him to excommunicat all those whomsoeuer, or by what name soeuer they were called, that attempted to hinder his enterprise; from which onelie the king, the queene, erle Richard, the countesse and their children were exempted. But Ethelmer the elect of Winchester, the kings brother by the mothers side, did appeale from that sentence, and in his dioceese declared the same to be void. With which Boniface being nothing dismaied, did againe pronounce the same excommunication at Oxford, and began afresh another visitation, which was called the tumultuous visitation; for

1253 comming to Lincolne, he would after the death of the bishop, of his owne authoritie bestow the vacant prebends & churches, and excommunicat all such as withstood him. Against which Lupus archdeacon of Lincolne repined, and resisted him with an appellation vnto the pope, at what time this Boniface did not onelie excommunicat him, but did also pursue and afflict him in all that he might. Whereupon this William not knowing in what place to hide himselfe, went to Rome to the pope, who absolued and defended him from Boniface, with hope of restitution of the right of his church. But he being ouerwone with three yeres trauell in the same, in the end died in his iornie returning into England. The monks of Canturburie seeing the warlike & priestlie demeanor of this Boniface in his visitation, obteined a bull from the pope, that he should not visit, suspend, nor trouble their church. Which letters being brought to Boniface then being in the monasterie of saint Albans, he hurled the same into the fire, burned them, and excommunicated the bringers thereof; who needed not (as it seemeth) to feare anie thing whatsoeuer he did. For when complaints were made against him to the king and the pope, the first would doo nothing, because he was his wiues vncle; and the other did beare with him, for the nobilitie of his birth, being in a countrie neere adioining vnto him.

Annal eccles August. Cant. 1255

After this, being againe troubled in England by his visitations and other meanes, he goeth into Prouance, by wars and force to deliuer his brother Thomas sometime earle of Sauoie, imprisoned by the citizens of Terwine: where neither profiting by his owne or the popes excommunication, he returned home foulie disgraced, after the prodigall expense of all his riches in that iornie. Much about this time king Henrie borrowed monie of the pope, & laid his kingdome to pledge: which rash deed withdrew the harts of the people from the king, because that the same bond was with trouble and charge after redeemed out of the popes hand. During these things, Boniface did dedicat the cathedrall church of

1256 Salisburie on the feast of saint Michaell, and Hugh Balsham sometime prior of Elie, and founder of saint Peters college in Cambridge, was consecrated bishop of Elie; and Magna Charta was established for the liberties of England, the breach whereof caused the barons to rebell. Whereupon Boniface departed the realme to his countrie of Sauoie, leauing Hugh Mortimer in his place, a man skilfull to gather monie. At this time pope Urban did void the two elections of the couent of Winchester, and did at Rome consecrat John of Oxford chancellor of Yorke to the bishoprike of that see, who had before paid 6000 marks to the pope, & as much to Iordan the popes chancellor before he was sacred; all which notwithstanding he by oth promised his subiection to Boniface bishop of Canturburie. Boniface, after he had beene foure yeers beyond the sea, returned to Canturburie; but before his comming thither obteined licence with condition of the barons, that he should not raise any new turmoiles, or procure anie troubles in England. Who in his absence out of the realme, commanded Walter Gifford chosen bishop of Bath to be consecrated by the bishop of Paris, and Walter de Lauilla chosen bishop of Salisburie to be consecrated by the bishop next to that place being the bishop of Winchester. Annal. eccles. Cantuar. Ste. Brichint. de archiepisc. Cantuar.

Now when the troublesome estate of the common-wealth was passed, the king gaue his mind to compound the controuersies which Bonifacius had sowed in the church: wherefore those braules which he had with the bishop of Rochester, with the bishop and church of London, with the prior of great saint Bartholomews in London, with the churches of Lincolne, Salisburie, and Canturburie, were extinguished by the kings meanes. For by law the bishop recouered the fees and seruices of the church of Rochester, in place of which seruices the said church should yearelie paie twelue marks; and moreouer, obteined all the right in the church of Lincolne during the vacancie of the see, except in eight churches in the citie of Lincolne, which were exempted and reserued to the disposition of the chapter. Which being done, the archbishop agreed with Richard earle of Glocester for his knights seruices belonging to the church of Canturburie for the manors of Tunbridge, Brasted, Merlstone, Horsmond, and Meleston; and also for the earles order, place, and stipend at the inthronization of the archbishop. Besides all which, being great matters to compasse, this Boniface deliuered his church from the full debt of 22000 marks laid vpon the same, by the immoderat expenses of his predecessors, Stephan, Richard the great, and Edmund; and at length finished the noble hall of the archbishops palace of Canturburie, begun by his predecessor Hubert, or (as Nicholas Triuet hath noted) by Stephan Langton. Geruas. Dorob. in mappa mundi. Ste. Brichint.

After the dispatch of these things, he celebrated a prouinciall synod at London by the commandement of pope Urban; and becomming more holie towards his end, he went with the other bishops to the king, requesting him that being mindfull of the decaie of his kingdome, by ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed vpon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godlie men of his owne nation: to whom the king answered that he would willinglie doo it. Wherefore I thinke it meet that you which are a stranger and vnlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onlie for kindreds sake, should first giue example to others, and forsake your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answer of the king so persed this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherfore perceiuing himselfe to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to returne into his countrie. And thereupon first selling and felling the woods, letting out the archbishoprike, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of monie of the clergie of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauoie, where, in the castle of S. Helens, after that he had gouerned the see six and twentie yeares, six moneths and sixteene daies from his consecration, being 29 yeares from his first election, he died,

the

1270 The 54 yeare of Henrie the 3 which Iohn London referreth to the yere of Christ 1267.

the fiftéenth kalends of August. Before which he founded & indued with lands an hospitall at Maidstone in the honor of saint Peter and Paule, being commonlie called the hospitall of the new worke, which William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie did after change into a college of secular priests. In the time of this bishop, the palace of Westminster was almost consumed with fire. The citizens of Norwich in hatred of the monks burnt their cathedrall church with the palace. There was so great dearth of vittels, that the parents in manie places were compelled to eat their children, and a bushell of wheat was sold for twelue and sometime for sixtéene shillings. The prouision for the vniuersitie of Oxford was about this time confirmed, of whom further in these words writeth Mat. Parker.

*Hic Bonifacius vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione reliquis omnibus tam prioribus quàm eum sequentibus archiepiscopis dissimilis fuit. Id quod Radulphus de Diceto ecclesiæ quondam Paulinæ London. decanus, vir in Anglicana historia peritissimus, qui ad Hubertum archiepiscopum scribens, ex illa tam longa archiepiscoporum Cantuariens. tot annis ducta serie, mirari se ait, ne duos vnquam vno eodémque nomine appellari. Quod quidem vsque ad Huberti tempora, vt ipse annotauit verum fuit. Nos verò qui 70 archiepiscoporum vitas in hoc opere descripsimus, multo magis mirari debemus, & animaduertendum esse duximus, præterquam quòd & hic Bonifacius, & quatuor post eum archiepiscopi nominibus à cæteris distincti & discriminati fuerunt, ex illo toto 70 numero, ne mediam partem coniunctam archiepiscopalem sedē tot annis occupasse, quot hic noster * septuagesimus solus ad hunc annum 1572 tenuit.*

Matth. Parker.

Robert de Kilwarbie.

Robert de Kilwarbie was made archbishop of Canturburie: for a little before the death of king Henrie the third, the king licenced the monks of Canturburie to chose William de Chillenden their subprior to be their archbishop. Who went to Rome to be sacred by pope Gregorie the tenth: but at his cōming thither the pope compelled him to renounce his election, whereupon the pope of his owne authoritie, without consent of the monks, pronounced Robert Kilwarbie to be bishop of Canturburie through the fulnesse of his authoritie. Which Robert being borne in England was brought vp at Paris,

1272 And the 56 of Henrie the third.

Ex archiuis.

where receiuing the degrées belonging to the sciences, came into England and was made a frior Minor, whereof in the end he became the prouinciall head, which office (as the popes collector) he possessed eleuen yeares. After the pope had thus made Kilwarbie archbishop, the monks of Canturburie (least they should séeme to loose their right in election because the pope had appointed one against their wils) did also chose the said Robert Kilwarbie, and sent the said William their subprior (renouncing his election) with the prior of Douer and the officiall of Canturburie, in the name of the whole couent of Canturburie, to salute the new elected bishop. This Kilwarbie was consecrated at Canturburie on a sundaie in Lent, being the fourth kalends of March by William or rather Walter Gifford bishop of Bath, because the bishop of London was sicke. In the daie of whose consecration the prior of Canturburie required of this Robert thrée thousand marks; which the couent had spent in the election of William de Chillenden, sith the pope promised to the said William, that the next archbishop should paie the same vnto the couent. The archbishop Robert moued herewith, began to enquire of the conditions of the man, to the end to haue cause to remoue him: which the prior vnderstanding, found meanes that the couent remitted thirtéene hundred marks of the said summe: which moued the archbishop to cease anie further to trouble him. His consecration being ended he came to London, and with the nobilitie (at the new Temple) made Edward the first (then in Syria) king of England, appointing treasurors and officers of the exchéker to kéepe the reuenues of the realme to the kings vse. In the time of this Kilwarbie there was on saint Nicholas éue an earthquake, thunder, lightning, a fierie dragon, a comet, and an extreame tempest, which feared all the English people. In which tempest the kings iustices, whilest they went to their tribunall seats, at Westminster were so feared, that they were inforced to staie and sit at the new crosse, now called Charing crosse; or rather in that place where now standeth that ancient crosse which was made manie yeares after this third yeare of king Edward the first. For the crosse now standing was made by the same Edward, as a remembrance of the death of his wife quéene Elenor the daughter of Alphonse king of Spaine (as were also the crosses of Cheape, Waltham, Dunstable, Stamford and Granthame) vnlesse that there stood a stone crosse, the which was after plucked downe by Edward the first, in whose place anew he built the now standing crosse. This archbishop did renew & shortlie conclude in fiue articles, all the old statutes made by his predecessors, and now almost out of vse, concerning the court of Canturburie kept in the Bow church of London. He compounded the contention betwéene the monks and citizens of Canturburie, he visited all his prouince, in which visitation by his metropolitan authoritie he visited both the vniuersities, and did subtilie at Oxford dispute of diuinitie, philosophie and logike: in which arts he did reprehend and refell manie opinions and sentences of the Oxford men as not probable. Whose opinions John Peckham that followed him in the bishoprike, did (in a synod of the clergie) condemne as vaine and foolish dotings of sophisters, being hereticall and varieng from the christian faith. In this yeare by gathering a great sum of the prouincials of the frier Minors, he built the faire monasterie of the frier Minors, of an old tower of London set in the west part of the citie, the relikes of which west tower were before this granted by William the Norman to the bishop of London, to build the chancell (of Paules church) destroied by fire. After which he was called to Rome by pope Nicholas the third, made cardinall of Hostia, & bishop Portua, and procured by the pope to grant that another frier Minor of his order might succéed him at Canturburie. But shortlie after that he was come to Rome, and had receiued these dignities, he tooke a grieuous disease, whereof he died at Viterbo, where he was honorablie buried.

1275 In the third yeare of Edward the first.

1278 In the 6th yeare of Edward the first.

John Peckham in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred three score and eightéene (when Kilwarbie left Canturburie, was consecrated by the pope in the court of Rome, against the will of the monks and consent of the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie) whereof neither were called to that consecration: for the monks had chosen Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and the kings chancellor, whome the pope reiected. This Peckham being thus made archbishop, would be called by none other name than frier John, who was borne in Sussex of obscure parents, being of a child brought vp in the monasterie of Lewes; after which, he studied at Oxford, where he was made a frier Minor, atteining at length to be made prouinciall of the same order. Then he went to Paris to studie diuinitie, from whense he went to Lions, where he was made a chanon: which place and dignitie, as a thing of right belonging to the church of Canturburie, the archbishop of that sée did long inioie, and kéepe in their hands, till the time of Henrie the fift. When this Peckham was at Lions, he studied the ciuill

John Peckham. 1279 In the seuenth yeare of Edward the first.

Pet. de Ickham. Walt. Gisborn. Steph. Brichin. Ex archiuis.

law, and greatlie increasing therein, went to the vniuersities of Italie, where he remained sometime. At length he went to the court of Rome, in which he handled and pleaded the causes with such skill, that he by the pope was preferred to be the hearer & iudge of the causes of the popes palace. This Peckham writing to the bishop of Lincolne, doth in his letters saie, that he publikelie read in Paris, in England, and in the court of Rome. He held a councell at Lambeth, during which councell, the archbishop of Yorke as he went to the king, would haue caried vp his crosse in the prouince of Canturburie; but by the policie of Peckham, who had in all his prouince vnder paine of excommunication, commanded that none should minister food to the archbishop of Yorke and his people, the crosse was laid downe, or else they must haue starued.

Vide in suo regist. fol. 217.

1280 In the ninth yeare of Edward the first. Florilegus.

In this councell, he did excommunicat all such as would be exempted from his visitation, amongst whom (as ringleaders) were the abbats of Westminster, saint Albons, saint Edmunds, and Waltham appealing long to the pope, with whom the rest ioined; but not able to abide the archbishops authoritie and power, they left their appeale and submitted themselues vnto him: which councell being ended, he visited all his prouince. He went into Wales, and at Snowden sought to appease the warres betweene Edward the first, and Leoline the prince of Wales: but when he could doo no good therein (sith they were determined to die, rather than to be so hardlie dealt withall by the kings iustices and bailiffes, as they complained that they were) he returned into England, and did excommunicat them, as breakers of the kings peace. But before he went into Wales, fearing that he should be there staied by force, and not returne when he would, he appointed Robert Burnell bishop of Bath, before repelled from the see of Canturburie, to be his vicar generall and disposer of his prouince in his absence: but in the end, the king subdued the Welsh, and the barons of that countrie came to his parlement at Northampton, where they sware homage vnto him.

Florilegus. 1281 In the tenth yeare of Edward the first. Florilegus. 1282 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the first. Ex archiuis. Hist. Camb. Or the welsh historie. fo. 338. 339, and so to fol. 371. Tho. Walsing. Walt. Gesb. Petr. de Ickh. 1283

This parlement being doone, the archbishop did againe more diligentlie than before visit his prouince; in which visitation, determining for euer to banish all Iews: he wrot to the bishop of Lincolne that he should ouerthrow all their synagogs, which decrée by the kings meanes was somewhat mitigated, & the Iewes were permitted to haue one temple in the publike place of the citie, in which they might celebrat their ceremonies: whereof a great number were taken from them. At this time, the archbishop reiected and would not confirme Richard Wore professor of diuinitie, and chosen bishoop of Winchester, and John Kirkbie the kings chapleine, chosen to be bishop of Lichfield, because they had manie benefices. Wherupon they appealing to the pope, after the vaine spense of much monie, and long time thereabouts, were faine to leaue the matter, and against their wils to stand to the sentence pronounced against them, in the behalfe of the archbishop Peckham. So that they being reiected from these bishoprikes, one John Pontisar was in place of the one by the pope made bishop of Winchester, which greuouslie infested the monks of that citie, and increased the liuings and rites of that bishoprike with the spoiles of the same, as appeareth by the monuments of that church.

Ex archiuis. fo. 242.

This Peckham was (as is proued by this which followeth) a seuere punisher of euils; for being no lesse bitter to those which were not resident on their cures, than to such as had manie cures; he by publike edict admonished and compelled the bishop of Lichfield (a stranger, and ignorant in the English tong, and therefore remaining out of his diocesse) that he should (vnder paine of being displaced) returne to his bishoprike there to be resident: who comming to the archbishop to excuse himselfe, was sharpelie rebuked, because he might through his residence vpon his bishoprike, feed the bodies of the poore with almes and liberalitie, although he could not feed the soules of his sheepe with preaching and literature. When this Peckham came to the college of Woluerhampton in the diocesse of Lichfield, (whose patronage belonged to the church of Canturburie) to visit the same, he was excluded and forbidden it by the chanons vpon their priuilege of exemption: but the archbishop depriued Iohn Theodosius de Camilla (who prosecuted this cause at Rome) of two parsonages or rectories (which he had in England) for non residence: during the time that the said John was in these affaires at Rome. Ex archiuis. At this time, this archbishop did confesse in his letters written to the quéene, that he had spent more than two thousand marks on the reparing of the buildings in his manors, saieng besides, expresslie in the register, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and foure, he did expend about three thousand marks in necessarie buildings: who as he sharpelie punished the non residents, so he did with no lesse seueritie punish adulterie.

1284 In the twelfe yeare of Edward the first. In regist. fo. 45. fol. 114.

For whilest he visited the diocesse of Chichester, he there punished Roger Yam a priest by one years penance to be performed vpon his oth, who spent that time in pilgrimages to Rome, to Cullen, & to Compostella, being depriued of all his spirituall reuenues, which the bishop caused to be giuen to the vse of the poore. In his visitation also of his diocesse of Salisburie it was found, that Osborne Gifford knight had taken two nuns out of the monasterie of Wilton, whome the archbishop did first excommunicat, and then released vnder hard conditions. First that he should not all his life after enter into anie monasterie of nuns, or vse the companie of anie nun: then, that he being naked, should be beaten with rods in the parish church of Wilton, & receiue the like publike punishment, both in the market, and the parish church of Shaftsburie, whereto were added the fast of manie moneths: besides this, that he should be disgraded from the order of knighthood, and neuer after weare gilt spurs, sword, armour, saddle, or gilt trapings: & moreouer, that he should not weare anie coloured garments but onelie of russet, furred with lambe or sheepe skins, that he should not weare anie shirt three yéers after his punishment, that he should not returne to the order before he had passed three yeares in the Holieland; and especiallie, that he should procure the nuns to be sent to the monasterie to receiue the like punishment: all which, this Osborne Gifford bound himselfe by oth to performe, the bishop of Salisburie appointing him a forme of fast therefore.

1285 In the thirteenth yeare of Edward the first. Ex archiuis.

1286 In the fourteenth yeare of Edward the first. Ex archiuis fo. 142.

About this time there was a certeine contention betweene the bishop of Lincolne and the vniuersitie of Oxenford, touching the iurisdiction of the bishop ouer the scholers of the same vniuersitie. Concerning which, thus writeth Matthew Parker: *De qua* (meaning that controuersie) Iohannes Cantuar. *cùm scholarũ tum causam vacillare, nec iure stare posse intellexerat, scholaribus rescripsit: Si in iure contenderent, vinci eos ac superari necesse est, præsertim cum his quibus niterentur priuilegijs, à iurisdictione episcopali iure communi stabilita eximi nequaquam potuissent.* Wherupon in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fourescore and eight, the said John Peckham hauing ouersæne Oxfordshire, did in that visitation also come vnto

Drenford, and visited the same by his metropolitane power: *In qua visitatione quasdam philosophicas opiniones, quas errores & à Roberto Kilwarby* (his predecessor in the bishoprike of Canturb.) *antea reprehensos docuit, & tanquam hæreses & a fide christiana abhorrentes e suggestu Latinè refellit. Inter has vna erat, in homine esse tantummodo formam vnam, &c.* Of which matter Matthew Parker maketh a great discourse, declaring a contention betweene one Richard Knapwell doctor and frier preacher, one Hugh de Manchester prouinciall of that order, and this John Peckham archbishop, about those questions, which being but frierlie wranglings, I let passe as needles to spend time, labor, and paper therevpon. This archbishop Peckham kept a councell of the bishops, in which he made fiue seuerall lawes. In whose gouernement of the see of Canturburie hapned such a cheape of corne, that wheat was sold for three pence the bushell: but shortlie after, by the space of fortie yeares following, there was contrarilie such a dearth, as a bushell of wheat was sold for two shillings. Now after that this man had béene archbishop thirteene yeares, perceiuing his end to draw neere, he made his will, and appointed Nicholas of Knouile or Knowle, person of Maidstone, and Simon de Greile, to be his executors. These men after the death of Walter Reinolds, in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, being called to account for the goods of the testator, by the prior of Canturburie, the same was at that time *Ex inuentario præter legata in specie relicta*, to haue exceeded fiue thousand three hundred and fiue pounds, seuentéene shillings, and two pence, quad: of English monie, notwithstanding his great gifts vnto the cardinals, and seuen hundred threescore and ten marks to be distributed to the poore inhabiting in his manors, and the liberall aduancement of manie of his kinred, some being knights, and some being gentlemen, wherof their posterities at this daie remaine in my sweet countrie of Kent, and in other shires of England. This archbishop, after that he had possessed the see of Canturburie (as before I said) thirteene yeares, foure and twentie weeks, and two daies, departed this life in Januarie, and was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

1290 In the nineteenth yeare of Edward the first.

Sapientia eius ante obitum suum fuit totaliter deuorata & sine planctu mónachorum moritur. Verba Chro. Roff.

Robert Winchelsei. Steph. Brichinton.

Robert Winchelseie, when he was yet a child, was brought vp at Canturburie in the rudiments of grammar, being of so faire complexion, of so good wit, and of so mild disposition, that in his childhood it was a common prophesie, to saie that he should be bishop of Canturburie. After his childish yeares thus spent at schoole, he went to Paris, where he was made maister of arts, and then applied himselfe to diuinitie eight yeares, after which, by vniuersall consent he was made ruler of the vniuersitie of Paris. Then comming into England, vpon proofe of his learning at Oxford, he receiued the degree of a doctor, and at length by generall voice was aduanced to be chancellor of that vniuersitie; to which offices in following time, was also added the archdeaconrie of Essex, and a prebendarishipp in Paules church of London. This Winchelsie not yet satisfied, he was in the end by the assent of all men, made archbishop of Canturburie (as some haue) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and twelue, who going to Rome to be consecrated, was there had in such great admiration for his learning and vertuous conditions, as the pope would then haue made him a cardinall, and still reteined him vnder his protection. But he alleging necessarie causes to remaine in England, had leaue to depart after his consecration. In the meane time, king Edward the first demanded of the cleargie of Westminster a great masse of monie towards the charges of the war; the bishops demand a daie for answere, which was giuen vnto them, being but a verie short time. During which time William Montfort, deane of Paules, being in perfect health, and comming to the king to intreat for mitigation of so great a summe as he demanded of the clergie; and beginning his tale before the king, did there suddenlie fall downe dead. But the king nothing troubled therwith, at the daie appointed, sent John de Hauering knight to the prelats assembled at Westminster, who with a lowd voice said; If any man will gainsaie the kings demand, let him come forth, that being knowne he maie be iudged guiltie, as a disturber of the kings peace. Wherewith the prelats being astonied, did in the end condescend to the kings request, the same grant being after great cause of dissention betweene the king and the clergie. About which time Winchelsie returning from Rome into England, went to the king into Wales, then occupied in the wars of those countries; where, after his fealtie made to the king for his temporalties, he did excommunicat Madocke Leoline that raised this war against the king: which sentence he commanded to be declared throughout all the parts of Wales. At length the same tumult being pacified, the archbishop returned home, and held a synod at London. The synod ended (in the fift of November, in the presence of this archbishop, sitting in Bow church) he causing the lawes to be read openlie, which he had made for the iudges and officers of the court of the arches: which done, he came to Canturburie, and there was inthronized, consecrating on the same daie John of Monmouth professor of diuinitie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. These things thus passing, Edward the first being in the wars of the low countrie, did (when Roger bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was dead) procure one Walter of Langton to be chosen bishop, who was consecrated at the kings request beyond the seas, by the cardinall of Alba, sauing all rights belonging to the bishoprike of Canturburie. The king after the subduing of his enimies, demanded reliefe of the clergie, but they denied it, for that they could not grant anie thing to the king without the popes consent. For which this bishop with the rest, standing in contention with the king, he put him and them wholie out of his protection: whereupon the clergie well considering of the same, submitted themselues, and chose the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Durham, Elie, and Sarisburie, with others, to deale in those affaires, to whome they committed power to seeke remedie, both to satisfie the pope, and the king: who thereupon consulting together, agreed to laie downe in the church the fift part of the ecclesiasticall goods, for the vrgent & necessarie defense of the church of England. But this archbishop vtterlie misliking the same, would not anie waie change his mind; for which cause being turned out of his house, no man would scarse giue him lodging: but he not esteeming thereof, vsed this protestation, that he would doo nothing the more for that; further affirming that all they were excommunicat which gaue anie thing against the popes will and authoritie. For which cause the bishops vncerteine what to doo in this extremitie, for doubt of both swords, brake off their councell, and that the rather, because that this archbishop Robert departing from the same councell, admonished euerie man to looke to his owne soule.

1295 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the first. Walsingh. Florileg.

Florileg. Ex archiuis. Florileg. Chron. sancti Albani. W. Thorne.

Walsingh.

Floril. Walsingh.

1294 In the two & twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Steph. Brich.

At length yet in the end, the clergie going to the king, offered him sometime the fourth part, and sometime the fift part of their goods, thereby hoping to receiue their temporalties, and to be againe vnder his protection. At what time the king (for that present, by reason of hast of warres in France, thinking it good to dissemble the dealing of the archbishop

Walter Gisb. 1296 In the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

bishop) did in a parlement at Westminster receiue the archbishop into fauor, and restored to him all that he had taken from him. Wherevpon the king taking with him this Robert Winchelseie, his sonne prince Edward, & the erle of Warwike, came into Westminster hall, where he commanded the people to assemble, to the end to make a full pacification with them before his departure into France. Before whome the king made a lamentable speech, and excused himselfe of the taxes laid on his people, as a thing wherevnto he was inforced by the necessitie of the warres; promising to repaie all such summes, if he returned in safetie from the present warres: and if he did not see England againe, he ernestlie desired them, that they would then crowne his sonne Edward in his fathers seat. With which words the archbishop pitifullie weeping did so pacifie the minds of the people, that they with one voice both held vp their hands, and promised their faith vnto the king to performe all his demands. But the earles and barons which were to go with him into Flanders, refused the same, vnlesse the king would confirme Magna Charta, & Charta de forresta, both which the king vnwillinglie granted to performe. Shortlie after this archbishop was accused by the king of treason, in aiding & counselling such as rebelled against him, whilest he was in the warres of Scotland, amongst whome was the earle Marshall, who for satisfaction thereof made the king his heire. This treason did the bishop confesse, and on his knees craued pardon therfore; but the king remitting the matter to the pope, the archbishop was by the pope suspended from his office, and then banished England: but after by Edward the second, comming to his crowne, restored, in the first yeare of his reigne, with all the commodities which were withheld from him during the time of his banishment, being so great a summe to him, that his calamitie was by that meanes vnto him great commoditie. For thereby he became the richest archbishop of all his predecessors, for which cause he would with this saieng comfort himselfe in his banishment, accompanied with other griefes:

Nihil nocebit aduersitas vbi nulla iniquitas dominatur.

But as he at this time seemeth to be in all prosperitie by reason of this exceeding wealth: so yet now and not before came the cause of this archbishops greefe and mourning, in that king Edward the second, against the minds of all men, did recall into England Piers de Gaueston the Gascoine, which hated all the cleargie and nobilitie, and was banished into Ireland by king Edward the first. For this Piers at his comming to the king, imprisoned Walter the bishop of Couentrie by the kings commandement. Wherevpon the archbishop would not in the parlement suffer anie thing to be done by the cleargie of his prouince, vntill the bishop of Couentrie were deliuered out of prison. After this (the king being offended with the archbishop) he kept a prouinciall councell in London, in which the order of the knights of the Temple were destroied. In which yeare also Henrie king of Almaine being created emperor, receiued three crownes in this order: one of siluer at Aquisgrane, an other of iron at Millane, and the third of gold at Rome. Besides which in the same yeare this archbishop required of the king to haue sir John Yeron knight (prisoner in the Tower of London, for the murther of Robert Grace) to be iudged in the spirituall court as a clearke, wherevnto the king did giue consent. After which the said knight being receiued by the deputie of the bishop of London, to purge the suspicion of the said murther, was quitted thereof by the sentence of that bishop: but vpon further examination, that act was reuoked by this archbishop, the sentence made void, he found guiltie of the murther, and inioined to doo penance therefore.

1305 1306 In the one & twentith and foure & twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Walsing. Florilegus.

1307 1308

1309 Adam. Merim. Walsing.

1310 The fourth of Edward the second.

Memoriale historiarum.

Adam. Meri.

About the yeare following, there was contention betweene the couent and prior of Lewes, and the bishop of Norwich in the kings court (concerning the right of a patronage) by the space of seuen yeares, which at length obteined this end. The prior and the couent did present one Reginald Bedaling to the parish church of Feurell, whome the bishop did pronounce to be vnmeet therefore, and would not admit him. Wherevpon grew a suite at the common law, and the bishop pleaded that he could not admit a man vnmeet for that place: which answer caused the kings iudges to write vnto this archbishop, to certifie them of the validitie or vnworthinesse of the clearke. Wherevpon the archbishop approued the bishop of Norwichs fact, in writing thus to the iudges:

Inuenimus quòd R. B. in breui mentionatus, est inhabilis ad omne beneficium ecclesiasticum.

Which returne caused the iudges to giue sentence against the prior. This archbishop was so seuere in executing his archiepiscopall iurisdiction, that he would not spare anie of the nobilitie, for he banished John earle Warren (vpon his oth) from the companie and presence of an harlot (which he kept openlie in his house) after that he had rashlie turned awaie his wife: and when he perceiued that the same would not helpe, he by publike edict cited the earle and the children gotten in that adulterie to a synod, where the earle was againe interdicted, as well for periurie and for adulterie, as for ouermuch vnlawfull familiaritie with that strumpet. And as he was to some seuere in respect of vice, so to his prince he bare as faithfull dutie: for he dearelie in the beginning loued Edward the second, from whome by parlement he remoued the Spensers, and such other euill flatterers as were about him, procuring them to be banished; being moreouer a rare man, & of great almes. Wherfore I will set downe the words of that reuerend father and worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker touching him, for the example of the cleargie proportionablie as their liuings now will beare, to be so great almesmen as he was. Thus therefore archbishop Parker writeth of this Robert Winchelseie.

1311 The xiii of Edward the second.

Walsingham. Merimouth.

Memorial. hist. Step. Brichin.

Vitia, quæ in hoc archiepiscopo deprehensa sunt, non tam hominis quàm temporis propria fuerunt. Nam pro ecclesiæ libertatibus cum papa, & pro regni iuribus cum baronibus aduersus regē fuit, in quarū vtraque causa Salamonis dictum verum expertus est; Indignationem principis morti comparandam esse. Beneficia ecclesiastica nunquam nisi doctis contulit, precibus atque gratia nobilium fretos & ambientes semper repulit, iuuenibus literarum studiosis ad academias missis annua alimēta decreuit, in eleemosynis & largitione quotidiana omnes ante se & sequentes archiepiscopos anteire dicendus est, pauperibus ostiatim mendicantibus præter quotidianas ex fragmentis largitiones, quolibet die dominico & feria quinta pro eleemosyna habēda ad loca vbi degebat venientibus panes frumentarios quadrante valentes dari præcepit. Horum panum numerus tempore caritatis annonæ quatuor, tempore copiæ trium millium fuit, his in illis festis solennioribus 150 denarios, totidem pauperibus in pecunijs numerandos addidit. Infirmis præterea seniōue confectis, puerperis, & eiusmodi egenis prodire ad eleemosynas petendas non valentibus, mitti singulos panes cum modica carnium aut piscium iuxta diei varietatem quantitate iussit. Subleuabat insuper eos qui à secunda fortuna casu ad inopiam detrusi, quosque pudor a mēdicitate prohibebat, quibus & vestes & pecunias misit.

misit. In mensa fuit inter cōuiuas, lætus, affabilis, iucundus. Detrectatores, adulatores, & scurras à sua hilaritate & epulis seiunxit; à quibus & à cōsortio cīi in secretiora & interiora loca se abduxisset, precibus primùm deinde studijs incubuit.

After that this bishop was (as is before said) returned out of exile, he liued by the space of six yeares in great fauor with king Edward the second, who (when he perceiued that the king had againe admitted the Spensers hated of all men, and that he reiected the companie of good men) fell into a great sickenesse, and ended his daies at Otford (after that he had béene bishop much about ninetéene yeares) the fift ides of Maie, from whense he was conueied to Canturburie, and buried néere vnto the altar of S. Gregorie at the south wall, whose tombe was cast downe because the people did frequent thereunto, and worship him as a saint: who at his death gaue the librarie with the vestments and other few goods of his (which were left) to the church of Canturburie.

1313 In the first yeare of Edward the second. Steph. Brichin.

Archiui.

Walter Reinolds.

Walter Reinolds, chapleine to Edward the first, parson of Wimberton, treasuror and chancellor of England, was made archbishop of Canturburie by the popes appointment, and that worthie person Thomas Cobham prebendarie of Yorke, and deane of Salisburie, elected by the monks of Canturburie was reiected; of the time of whose death finding no mention in Matthew Parker, I will set downe what is to be seene in his epitaph, written in the wall of the north side of the quier of the church of Canturburie, where he is buried, being couered with the image of a bishop carued out of marble stone, which writing is this: *Hic iacet Walterus Reinold priùs episcopus Wigornienſis & Angliæ cancellarius, tandem archiepiscopus istius ecclesiæ, qui obijt 16 die mensis Nouembris, anno Gratiæ 1317, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

1313 In the first yeare of Edward the second. Ex archiuis: Walsingh. m. Adam Merim.

Simon Mepham.

Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canturburie, touching whose election we must saie thus much. After the death of Walter Reinold, the archiepiscopall authoritie and chéefe gouernment of ecclesiasticall things remained with the prior and couent of Canturburie, who committed all the iurisdiction ouer the prouince of Canturburie, to their fellowmonke Gefferie de Eton. About the doing whereof there was much contention betwéene them and the bishop of London; but in the end, as I gather by the processe thereof, the monks obteined the better hand or at the least lost nothing in the cause. At which time one Henrie, prior of Canturburie, *Vir* (as saith Matthew Parker) *vt existimari conuenit, minùs rerū vsu quàm suo iure prudens,* did in the vacancie of the bishoprike administer all the iurisdiction whatsoeuer belonging to the said church, except the consecration of bishops. Which when he could not doo with his authoritie, he sent to the bishop of London, and inioined him, that he with the suffragans assembled at a certeine daie at Canturburie, should consecrate the elect bishops of Menenia and Bangor, whome he had confirmed by his authoritie, and to whom he had giuen his letter sealed with the couent seale, in witnesse and truth of that their consecration.

Archiui ex processu elect. Sim. Mepham.

The authoritie of the couent thus acknowledged in the vacancie of the church of Canturburie, they writ letters to the king to demand licence to chose a new bishop; which obteined, they elected to their father, and to the honor of a patriarch, Simon Mepham borne in Kent, professor of diuinitie, chanon of Chichester, prebendarie of the church of Landaffe, and parson of Tunstall, a man in that age knowen to be singularlie learned, according to the doctrine then professed: whose election being by the king approued, Henrie the prior of Canturburie sent messengers vnto Auinion, where the pope remained, to haue the same confirmed, at what time the pope consecrated the said Simon at Auinion; which being obteined, he presentlie returned home: and first of all by his charter (which I haue séene, and Matthew Parker hath set downe) appointed Richard de Solburie his procurator to receiue the commodities of his prebend in the church of Lions, and to beare all needfull charges vpon his manor of Quincracke in the dioces of Lions in France. After this he crowned Philip wife to Edward the third, then he kept a councell at London: *In quo iura quædam vt à seruilibus operibus in diebus parasceues animarum, & conceptionis cessaretur, & de iurisdictione & bannorum matrimonialium editione condidit. Inter quæ Oxoniense illud de appellationibus à definitiuis tantùm sententijs interponendis decretum tanquam iniquum sustulit.* Besides which, in this councell, by the consent of the clergie, all they were excommunicated which killed Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester and tresuror of England, or but once consented to his Death. Which Polydor doth most vnskilfullie attribute to John Stratford the next archbishop, whilest also forgetting himselfe, he maketh this Simon Mepham to be a person ouermerie and plesant, as hath Matthew Parker. These things thus done, Roger bishop of Salisburie, and John bishop of Bath died. Whereupon the pope created John de Wimble, a man both vnlearned and vncomlie, bishop of Sarum, by pretext of his power of prouision for bishopriks. But Simon the archbishop had confirmed & consecrated Rafe de Scrobsburie or Shrewsburie chosen bishop of Bath, before the pope had intelligence of the vacancie of that church, which Rafe being cited to Rome, and vexed with long delaies, at length returned home with full confirmation from the holie father. At length contention falling betwéene this archbishop and the monks of Canturburie about a visitation, the monks appealed to the pope, who sending Letherius de Concreto by the name of a nuncio or messenger (for before all legats were vtterlie forbidden to come into England) to determine this cause, he gaue sentence against the bishop, & condemned him in seauen hundred pounds. Whereupon the archbishop being conuicted, did more foolishlie attempt greater things, & being foiled by the weaker, would néeds contend with the stronger. For determining to visit the prouince of Canturburie after the manner of his predecessors, there was a parlement called by the king; in the beginning of which, his visitation being begun, there was a councell of the clergie celebrated at London vnder the archbishop, from which councell they departed, despising the archbishop, and yéelding to nothing the king required. The councell ended, the bishop did afresh begin his metropolitan visitation, from which John Grandison, then bishop of Excester did appeale to the pope at the least, by that meanes to delaie the visitation, which Grandison was borne in Kent and familiar with this archbishop Simon Mepham, whose iurisdiction he either feared or despised, and therefore resisted him, although not by right, yet by such power as he could, in appealing him to the pope. Wherefore, when Simon Mepham in that visitation had quietlie passed ouer the dioceſſe of Rochester, Chichester, Salisburie, Bath and Wels, he would also haue entred into the dioceſſe of Excester: but John the bishop of that citie did with strong heart resist him; & when the archbishop determined to cope with him also by strength, the matter was brought vnto the king; the bishop was called backe by the kings letters, & shamefullie departed out of that countrie, without setting end to his visitation. By which and other repulses, as he returned home he fell into a deadlie ague at Magfield, and yéelded his life the twelfe of October, after that he had sitten fiue yéers, six

Murimuth. Walsing.

Polydor erreth.

Murimuth. Walsing.

1324 In the third yeare of Edward the third. Murimuth.

1331 In the fift of Edward the third.

1332 In the first of Edward the third. Contention betwéene the bishop of Canturburie and Excester, that the first would visit the dioceſſe of the second.

Ste. Brichint.

1333 In the 7 of Edward the third.

1320 In the 14 of Edward the second.

six moneths, and twelue daies in the chaire of the sée of Canturburie. In setting end to which archbishop I must not forget (for the honor of my sweet countrie of Kent) a thing so rare, and perhaps neuer like to be séene againe; that this archbishop being himselfe a Kentishman, had at one time vnder him six of his suffragans to be of the same shire: so that Kent did at one time bring forth seauen bishops, whereof the one was this archbishop Simon, the other six were the foresaid John Grandison bishop of Excester, Stephan Grauesend bishop of London, Henrie Borwash or de Burgesse bishop of Lincolne, chancellor and tresuror of England, Thomas Cobham bishop of Worcester, Richard Swinefield bishop of Hereford, & Haimon bishop of Rochester. The bodie of this Simon Mepham was on the 7 kalends of Nouember caried to Canturburie, & buried in a marble tome, on the north part of the chapell of S. Anselme somtime bishop of Canturburie.

Matth Parker.

John Stratford.

John Stratford, when he was yet but yong, gaue himselfe to the canon and ciuill law, after which he was made archdeacon of Lincolne, then deane of the arches, by Walter Reinolds archbishop of Canturburie, next of the priuie councell, and secretarie to Edward the second, and in following time made bishop of Winchester. He was chancellor to Edward the third, and then made bishop of the arch sée of Canturburie, and protector of the realme in the absence of Edward the third. This John after that he had bin bishop 15 yeares, fell into a deadlie disease at Mayfield and there died, being buried at Canturburie at the high altar in the south part, with an honorable tome of alabaster at the steps of the altar of saint Dunstan.

Ex epistola Rich. Dunel.

1348 In the 22 of Edward the third.

John Offord. 1350 as some haue, but rather 1349 being the 23 of Edward the first, as others haue.

John Offord sonne of the earle of Suffolke, did studie the ciuill and canon law at Cambridge, who being after made deane of Lincolne was admitted to the kings councell, and inuested with the honor of chancellor of England, from whense in following time he was aduanced to the sée of Canturburie, who waiting for the pall six moneths & six daies, died in the great pestilence in the moneth of Maie, or (as hath Matthew Parker) the seuenth of June one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. The bodie of which archbishop was the next morning secretlie brought to Canturburie, and buried without anie archiepiscopall maiestie in the north wall of the wall of Thomas Becket.

Thomas Bradwardine.

Thomas Bradwardine (chosen by the monks of Canturburie to succéed John Stratford, and being repelled to bring in the foresaid John Offord or Offord) was borne at Hatfield in Sussex, who studieng diuinitie, was by John Stratford bishop of Canturburie brought to be the kings confessor, in which office without anie reward or honor he remained with the king in all his warres. Which Bradwardine being of a zelous mind, would not feare to rebuke the king if he at anie time saw him depart from equitie: which the king did not take in euill part, but alwaies loued the man, who although he might obteine anie thing of the king, yet would hardlie be brought to this euill, that he would at one time kéepe both his canonrie in Lincolne, and his chancellorship of London. Wherby it appeareth, that he was not onelie vertuouslie giuen from couetousnesse, but also so mild conditioned, that he was neuer offended because he was reiected at his first election from the sée of Canturburie, & Offord placed in the same: for which cause after the death of Offord, the monks did rechose him to be their archbishop of Canturburie; whereunto the king did with much intretie agrée, being loth to lose the companie of so good a man. After which, this Bradwardine cōming to Auinion to be consecrated, the same was celebrated by Bertrand the cardinall, in the companie of all the other cardinals. At the time of which feast of consecration, Hugo the cardinall of Tull: the popes kinsman, a person puffed vp with vaine pride, beholding the simple and mild countenance of this new archbishop, did in mockerie of him bring into the place an abiect & base wretch sitting on an asse, requiring to be made an archbishop. For which his foolish act being bitterlie rebuked & tawnted, he did with shame depart as a person noted of extreme follie. The solemnities of this consecration ended, & the pope & cardinals saluted, this Bradwardine returneth into England, first receiuing his temporaltie of the king: which being had, he goeth forthwith to Lambeth to rest himselfe after his long iornie, where remaining in the bishop of Rochesters house called the place, some certeine wéeks, he fell into an ague, whereof he shortlie after died, fiue wéeks and foure daies after his consecration, being before that he was inthronized at Canturburie. After which he was buried at Canturburie in the chapell of Anselme, by whose death the church of Canturburie was thrise vacant in one yéere. This man, amongst manie other works which he wrot, made one great and learned booke intituled, De causa Dei contra Pelagium, which booke is at this daie extant, and (as maister Lambert noteth in his perambulation of Kent) among the names of the archbishops of Canturburie; he built the Blacke friers in London.

Simon Islep.

Simon Islep was first made a canon of Paules, iudge of the arches vnder John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie, then chancellor, secretarie and kéeper of the priuie seale to king Edward the third, and lastlie by the monks of Canturburie chosen to the archbishoprike of that citie. But the pope admitted him as a person rather placed in that sée by his owne collation, than by the monks election: whereof the buls were published in Bow church of London the fourth daie of October. After which, in December next, he was consecrated in Paules church by Rafe Stratford bishop of London, in the presence of William Edinton bishop of Winchester treasuror, and John Thorsbie bishop of saint Dauies chancellor of England. This done, he sent Michaell Northburge a doctor of the law to Rome to bring his pall, and appointed Roger Dorking to be his procurator to receiue the commodities of his canonrie at Lions, which the archbishops of Canturburie held. The pall being brought into England, he receiued the same from the hands of the bishop of Winchester in the manor house of Esther, being (for auoiding of further charge) inthronized at Canturburie with a small feast. But as he was a verie sparing man in all things, so therewithall he was ouer seuere in most things; for he visited his diocesse of Canturburie with great animaduersion. Contrarie whereunto he slenderlie passed ouer the diocesse of Rochester and Chicester, which was ascribed to his moderation and lenitie. But after comming home to his seat, calling the offendors before him, they found no lenitie but all seueritie in him: which caused John Buckingham bishop of Lincolne to defend his diocesse from the visitation of this archbishop, by the bulles of pope Clement obteined at Auinion; but the same priuilege was after reuoked at Rome, by the instigation of this archbishop. For the scholers of the vniuersitie of Oxford chosing one William de Palmorine to be their chancellor, sent him to the bishop of Lincolne (in whose diocesse Oxford then was) to be confirmed. But he by manie delaies was by the bishop turned ouer to an other time: for which, this William complained to the archbishop, which appointed a daie to

1349 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the third

Aiher.

1350 In the 24 yeare of Edward the third

Palmorine.

Steph. Birch.

the bishop of Lincolne to confirme the chancellor or to appeare before him. During which time the archbishop committed the hearing of the cause to his chancellor John Caulton and to the deane of Wels; at which daie the elect chancellor of Oxford with the scholers appearing, and the bishop of Lincolne making default, the chancellor of Canturburie lawfullie proceeding in that matter, pronounced him to be lawfullie elected; vpon which sentence the archbishop confirmed him and sent him to Oxford, writing to the vniuersitie to obeie him. Which greeuing the bishop of Lincolne, he forthwith appealed to the pope, but the archbishop reiecting his appeale, called him to his owne iudgement seat, as a contemner of the archiepiscopall authoritie: but the bishop of Lincolne not appearing, the archbishop interdicted all his churches and lands. In the end, manie things being in this controuersie alleaged before the pope, the priuilege of the bishop of Lincolne was reuoked, and he

Adam Murimuth.

1351 In the fiue & twentith yeare of Edward the third.

inforced to giue place to the archbishop. After which, this Simon called Andrew Offord archdeacon of Middlesex, administrator of the goods of John Offord the archbishop of Canturburie, into law for the buildings which the said John Offord had left ruinous in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and recouered of him eleuen hundred pounds fiue & thirtie shillings two pence halfepenie farthing, which he bestowed in reparing of the palace of Canturburie: *Idémque* (as saith that worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker) *totum manerium de Wrotham demolitus, ædificia (quæ Iohannes Vfford Maidenstoniæ inchoauit) ex demolitis tignis, lapidibus, & cæmento tráductis absoluit.*

In this fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, there was a new contention betweene the two archbishops of Yorke and of Canturburie, for the bearing of their crosses, whereof we will speake more in another worke of the bishops of Yorke. These things thus passed, a heauie discord fell betweene the scholers and townesmen of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which of them should beare the chiefest rule in the towne, in which after that it was come to weapons and diuers slaine on both parts, the scholers were driuen to forsake the towne. The bishop of Lincolne, vnder whose iurisdiction Oxford was, determining to punish the townesmen, did both interdict them and the towne: but after somewhat abating the same, he onlie gaue commandement to all the priests of the parishes, that if anie of the townesmen did come in whilest they were at diuine seruice, or were present at the diuine seruice, they should cease from the same, so long as anie of the townesmen were in the church. Whereunto this archbishop added a further paine of excommunication. But the scholers being dispersed hither and thither, and the king sorrowing to heare of the death that happened therby, called the controuersie into his owne hands. Which being heard, and the townesmen punished, he released the offense to the scholers, with this condition, that they should returne to the vniuersitie, and there fall againe to their studie: the whole substance whereof, the king would haue this archbishop to declare vnto them. And to the end that the scholers might hereafter be free from all violence to be offered vnto them by the townesmen, he condemned them to paie two hundred & fiftie pounds for damages vnto the scholers: and further bound them vnder a great paine, neuer after to hurt anie of the same scholers. Whereupon the whole gouernment of the towne was committed by the king to the chancellor of the vniuersitie (vtterlie excluding anie of the townesmen therein) to whose determination the iudgement and knowledge of the assise and measure of bread, wine, drinke, & of all other measures & weights were granted. Besides which generall

Dissention betweene the scholers and townesmen of Oxford.

1354 In the eight and twentith of Edward the third.

Robert Aucsb. Walsingh.

amends, euerie particular scholer was left to his priuate reuenge by action, for anie iniurie done vnto him by anie of the townesmen.

About this time, Edward prince of Wales, after the death of the bishop of saint Assaph, did chalenge to himselfe the liuings of the bishoprike during the vacancie of the said see: but this archbishop contending with the prince, & prouing by ancient custome and by the witnesse of the clergie, that the same of right belonged to Canturburie, in the end obteined the same. Much about which time Elisabeth a noble woman, after the death of John earle of Kent hir husband, became a nun, in which profession when she had remained certeine yeares she fell in loue with one Eustace Abricourts, a Henower, which earnest affection of hirs inforced hir to depart out of the monasterie, and to be married vnto him against hir vow, in the morning before daie light without anie banes asking. Whereof when this archbishop had knowledge, he punished and bound them yearelie to assigne a liuing vnto two chaplains: and besides, that they should a long time be inioined the penance of fasting & praier without dissoluing the bands of matrimonie. This archbishop did build a famous college in Oxford called Canturburie college, to which he appropriated the rectories of Magfeld and Pagham; further granting the churches of Monktowne and Estreie to the monks of Canturburie, and for two hundred and fortie markes did release to the earle of Arundell six and twentie bucks and does, which the same earle of Arundell should yearelie paie to the church of Canturburie, for which act he was euillie thought of by diuers of the couent. In his iorneie as he went to Magfeld, he fell with his horse into a poole, in which whilst his horse and he did strugle togither to get forth, and that the archbishop would haue recouered himselfe, he was all to tumbled and wet in the mire, and so came throughlie wet to Magfeld, where he fell into a heauie sléepe before that he had put off his apparell, whereby falling into a palsie, he died there at Magfeld, in the seuentéenth yeare of his bishoprike, after that he had sitten at Canturburie sixtéene yeares, foure moneths, and twelue daies, and was buried at Canturburie in the middle of the bodie of the church, with a toome wheron is a faire marble stone yet standing, hauing this epitaph in brasse ingrauen about a mitred bishop of plate, placed in the same hard marble stone:

1362 In the six and thirtith yere of Edward the third.

Archiui.

John sonne of Edmund of Woodstoke erle of Kent, who after the said Edmund was earle of Kent, and died without issue, and the earledome came to Jane his sister.

Hospes sanctorum, decus & pie Christe tuorum,
Cœtibus ipsorū prece iungas hunc precor horum,
Simon Isleppe oriens, vir bina lege probatus,
Vt nascens moriens, sic nunc iacet ante locatus,
Arcem qui tenuit, hîc quondam pontificatus,
Clero quique fuit, regno toti quoque gratus,
Mil. tricenteno sexageno quoque seno,
Eius septeno pastoratus quoque deno,
Hic kal. Maÿ seno rupto carnis nece fræno,
Flos cadit e feno, cœlo peto qui sit ameno,
Princeps pastorum fac Simon apostolorum,
Simon vt iste chorum per eos vt attingat eorūm.

At his death he bequeathed one thousand shéepe to the monasterie of Canturburie, his golden garment with a rich cope and siluer vessell, which was six dozzen of siluer dishes, so manie salts, twelue siluer basons with his armes: commanding further that he should be buried without anie assemblie of the people, auoiding in all things much magnificence or great cost. Of whom there be onlie extant two prouinciall constitutions to be holden in his time.

1366 In the fortith yeare of Edward the third

Simon Langham was archbishop of Canturburie, and chosen after this maner. When Simon Islep was dead, the monks of Canturburie requi-

Simon Langham.

red

red to haue William Edinton bishop of Winchester chancellor and treasuror of England to be their archbishop; but he denied their election. Whereupon at the kings request, pope Urban the fift did translate Simon Langham sometime abbat of Westminster, chancellor and treasuror of England, to the see of Canturburie by the waie and title of prouision. After which, he was made a cardinall also, who as he sat at his collation at after dinner, was suddenlie stricken with a palseie and lost his speach: and liuing foure or fiue daies after, died on the daie of Marie Magdalen: whose bodie was buried at Donezere nere Auinion amongst the Carthusians in a new church, which he builded from the foundation. After which, in processe of time as he had before ordeined, his bones were brought into England to Westminster, where is a statelie tombe made ouer him; he sat archbishop two yeares and somewhat more.

Steph. Brichinton. Catalo. episco. Elienſ.

Io. Maluerne. Monach. Wigorn. in continu. Randulph. 1376, or rather 1368.

William Witleseie, the kinsman of Simon Islep archbishop of Canturburie, by whome he was not onelie liberallie brought vp in learning, but also promoted to diuerse honors; who in his yoong yeares followed the studie of the lawes by the persuasion of his vncle therein; proceeding doctor of both lawes, and being procurator for all his vncles affaires at Rome. After which, he was aduanced to be vicar generall, and officiall to the said Simon Islep, then likewise was he made deane of the arches, hauing thereunto also adioined the archdeaconrie of Huntington, & the rectories of Croidon & Cliffe. From these degrees he was raised to the bishoprike of Rochester, then to Worcester, next to London, and lastlie was translated by Urban the fift to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, the fift ides of October (when Simon Langham was made cardinall and went to the popes court) hauing in the Hilarie terme next following his temporalties restored to him at Westminster. At this time there were certeine Englishmen in Rome well seene in the ciuill and canon lawes, amongst which there were foure especiallie noted therefore, which were Thomas Parton, Robert Stratton, John Shepdam, and Simon Sudburie, being afterward bishop of Canturburie: to these men which were of great authoritie in the church of Rome, did this archbishop giue authoritie procuratiue, to require of the pope and to send vnto him the pall, which was giuen him at Lambethin the kalends of Aprill by William Wickham bishop of Winchester.

Steph. Brich. Ex archiuis.

1368 In the two & fortith yeare of Edward the third.

The sixteenth daie of June following, he was inthronised at Canturburie without anie shew or pompe, therein following the example of his predecessor Simon Islep. The next yeare he held a synod in Paules church of London the one and twentith of Januarie, in which he made an eloquent, learned, and Latine sermon. In which this synod, Robert Thorpe, John Knuet, & Thomas Ludlo the kings iustices, did in the kings name demand a tenth for three yeares of the cleargie, towards his charges in warres. But after much talke thereabouts, they hardlie granted the tenth for two yeares. After which, the king not contented therewith, John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the kings son, the earle of Arundell, the erle of Warwike, and the lord Guy Brian entring into the synod, required instantlie that three yeares tenth might be granted, to answer the charge whereat the king had bene in his continuall warres for the glorie of his countrie. Which tenth the cleargie might well paie, and ought not to denie, because they were free and not troubled with anie personall labor of those warres: vpon the which (without contradiction of anie) the whole tenth was granted. In which yeare also, pope Urban the fift did sharplie command this William the archbishop, that he should dissolue all vnions of ecclesiasticall benefices, with their impropriations made to monasteries, and not permit anie to be made hereafter. But this precept was soone forgotten by the popes death, and neuer after renewed.

1369 In the three and fortith yeare of Edward the third Steph. Brich.

1370 In the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

In the time of this archbishop, the monasterie of the Carthusians began in London, at the charges of Michaell Northburge bishop of that citie, and Walter Mannie or Mennie knight, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the third; and was in the yeare one thousand three hundred threescore and ten, being the foure and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, finished by the said Walter Mennie. This done, the king remoueth all spirituall officers, placing temporall men in their roomes: but their gouernment being found far worse than that of the spiritualtie (as was by some, fauoring and following the cleargie, put into the kings mind) they were restored to their former offices. The king held a parlement, during which there was a synod of the cleargie kept at London in Pauls church the foure and twentith daie of Aprill, to which were sent by the king, Robert Thorp chancellor (perhaps the same Robert Thorp, which before is called the kings iustice) and sir Richard Scrope treasuror (whome a learned man somewhat miscalling, doth name Thomas Scrope) both succeeding after the cleargie was remoued. These men required a subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, to be granted by the cleargie, to such the kings excessiue charges of the warres. But the cleargie shewed that the church was drawne drie by the infinit charge of those warres, and that therefore they were not able to giue anie more, for which cause the kings messenger went awaie that daie, who a few daies following, returned with a more prepared tale, but profited not anie whit the better thereby.

Charterhouse built in London.

1371 In the fiue & fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Polychro. continuat. Ex archiuis.

Whereupon this archbishop William, following the minds of the king and the nobilitie, did prorogue the synod from Paules church to the chapell of the Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house, commanding euerie one to be there present. And although manie were absent at the time appointed, yet by the labouring of the duke of Lancaster and of the nobilitie, but especiallie by the speeches of Edward the kings sonne called the Blacke prince (who promised to procure of his father manie liberties to the cleargie) they which were present condescended to the paiment of fiftie thousand pounds. This done, the archbishop William increasing in yeares, was so weake and sickelie of bodie, that he did nothing for the space of two yeares, but rested sicke at home. But in the first yeare of his translation by the kings procurement, he called a synod in the church of Pauls in London, where going vp into the pulpit he made a Latine sermon vpon this theame: *Veritas liberauit nos*. Which when he had ended, he was through infirmitie inforced to depart the synod, and in his place to substitute the bishop of London. In which synod there was a subsidie required of the cleargie for the king: but they complained that they were so impouerished and weakened but few yeares past, by their charges to the king, and that the more also, because they were no lesse euerie yeare called vpon by the king than by the pope, that they were not able to succor them, vnlesse his intollerable yoke might be taken from their necks; and that they might with more ease relieue the kings necessitie: with which condition, a yearelie tenth was granted to the king. But William Courtneie then bishop of Hereford, being afterward archbishop of Canturburie, vsing the nobilitie of his kinred, for he was

1374 In the eight and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, did stoutlie offer himselfe in the middest of the senat, and said with a lowd voice, that neither he nor the cleargie of his diocesse would giue anie thing, before the king had remedied those calamities, which the cleargie had so long suffered. The synod thus passed ouer, there were ambassadors sent from the king to the pope, to deale with him, that he should not hereafter make anie prouision or reseruation of the void benefices, that such as were bishops, should fullie inioie the cathedrall and conuentuall churches after the old maner and custome, be confirmed of their metropolitan: and besides, that they should further open to the pope the greeses wherewith the church of England was ouercharged. To whome the pope gaue answer inclosed in writing; whereunto the king would haue written againe by the opinion of the cleargie and of the nobilitie, intreating the pope that he would determine of his requests, but they did not. Whereupon this answer receiued from the pope, it was decreed in parlement, that the cathedrall churches should freelie enioie their elections, and that the king should not by anie meanes hinder the same with his power or praier vnto the pope: but that he should to the vttermost further them with his helpe and authoritie. Which necessarie statute did after but little profit, nor was long kept, although at the first beginning it was receiued in the example of Thomas Arundell chosen bishop of Elie: whose election this William the archbishop did confirme the first kalends of Aprill in his chapell at Otford, consecrating him on the same daie. In which yeare, the fift ides of October, the archbishop being of great yeares and fallen into great sicknes died at Lambeth, when he had gouerned six yeares, eight moneths, and fourteene daies, and was buried in the bodie of the church of Canturburie betweene two pillers, against the tome of Simon Islep, whereof at this daie I cannot perceiue anie monument of him. In whose life, and at whose request, the vniuersitie of Oxford was by pope Urban the fourth exempted from the iurisdiction of the bishop of Lincolne, and such free power giuen to the scholers to chose their chancellor, that the chancellor forthwith vpon his election, might & did execute his office, without the further admission or confirmation of anie other.

1375 Matth. Parker.

1374 Hist. Elien. episco.

Oxford exempted from power of the bishop of Lincolne.

Simon Sudburie was made archbishop in this sort. After the death of William Witesleie the archbishop, the monks chose a certeine English cardinall at Rome, that had forsaken his countrie; which the king receiued with such displeasure, that he tooke aduise for the banishment of them, aswell out of the kingdome, as out of the monasterie. But pope Gregorie the 11, to reconcile the king and the monks, reiected that election; and by the kings consent gaue the archbishoprike to Simon Sudburie then bishop of London, who by proper name was called Tibold, receiuing that surname of his parents, and the other name of Sudburie from the place of his birth; his fathers name being Nigellus Tibold, of Sudburie in Suffolke, borne of gentlemanlie familie in the parish of saint George. This Simon Sudburie from his youth was brought vp in learning, by means whereof he receiued the degree to be doctor of the lawes, which he studied in France and Italie, being sometime domesticall chapleine to pope Innocent the first, and (as saith Matthew Parker) *Causarum in Romana rota auditor*. By which Innocent he was made chancellor of Salisburie by waie of prouision, but after the death of Michaell Norburgh, by like prouision of the pope, made bishop of London, and in the end atteined to be bishop of Canturburie, receiuing (for that last translation to Canturburie) his bulls at London the first of June. This archbishop a worthie and liberall person, and a man of great fame, was most wickedlie vpon Tower hill, with manie other great estates, beheaded by those execrable Kentish rebels, Wat Tiler, and his wicked followers. This bishop doing manie good deeds, repared the wals (fallen downe for age) about Canturburie, and first built the west gate thereof, with a college of secular clearks at Sudburie, inriching the same with inheritances when he was bishop of London, and before that he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie.

Simon Sudburie.

Steph. Brichin. Archiui.

1375 In the nine and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second.

Archiui. Ste. Brichinton.

William Courtneie, borne of a noble house of the Courtneies, being the sonne of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, did in his youth aplie the ciuill & canon law, and so became a clerke, obteining three prebends in the three churches, of Bath, Excester, and Yorke. After this, in the reigne of Edward the third, and the rule of Simon Islep bishop of Canturburie, he was made bishop of Hereford, from whense he was translated to London, after that Simon Sudburie was remoued from that see to Canturburie, and from London, following the said Simon, he was after the death of that Simon Sudburie aduanced to the see of Canturburie, being translated thither by Urban the first, through the authoritie of his prouision, not knowing that the monks of Canturburie had chosen him thereunto: who being thus translated, the pope by like prouision gaue the bishoprike of London vnto Robert Braibrooke, the bull of translation of which Courtneie to Canturburie, being publikelie read the ninth of Januarie in Christs church of Canturburie. After which, receiuing his temporalties of the king, and doing his homage therefore, he went to Lambeth, whither came a monke vnto him, sent from the prior and couent of Canturburie, with the archbishops crosse, who the twelft of Januarie deliuered it vnto the archbishop, sitting in his chapell, with these words: *Pater reuerende, nuntius sum summi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, & præcipit, vt ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eámque diligas & protegas. In cuius signum nuntij, summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum.* Which when the archbishop had receiued of the prior, he cast this doubt, whether it were lawfull for him to beare his crosse, before that he had receiued the pall from the pope or no: and vpon that question arose another doubt, which was about the coronation of the queene, belonging to the archbishop, whether he might also do it before he had the pall: of which wonderfull doubt he desired not to be resolued of the lawyers, but of the monks of Canturburie, who easilie dissolued the same, alleging custome therefore, and bringing forth example of others which had vsed the same. And although the archbishop thus persuaded, went with his crosse borne before him; yet he did it not but subtilie, with this caution, that the same was not borne in contempt of the church of Rome: and so on twelft daie after, he crowned the queene at Westminster. The next spring following, he dispatched Thomas Cheineie a worthie knight vnto the pope, to whom and to John Trefnault an Englishman, and maister of the popes palace, he gaue power as his procurators to demand the pall of pope Urban: which obteined, Thomas Cheineie returned, brought the pall, and first gaue it to the bishop of London; who the first of Maie in a great assemblie of people, did with accustomed pompe and solemnitie deliuer the same to the archbishop, sitting in the chapell of his manor of Croidon. These things thus solemnelie done, he first in the administration of his bishoprike did by ecclesiasticall censure appease the bailiffes of Canturburie by laie power, chalenging the punishment of adulterie, and such like crimes belonging to the clergie;

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second.

William Courtneie.

Verba archiui.

1382 In the fift yeare of Richard the second.

he held a synod in the Frier preachers of London, in which he damned manie of the assertions of John Wickliffe as hereticall and full of errors; whose opinions had not onelie entered into the learneder sort, but also into manie of the common people, and compelled Robert Rig chancellor of Oxford, and Thomas Brigwell professor of diuinitie, being suspected of Wickliffes doctrine, to recant and abiure the same. At what time also by publike sentence, he condemned of heresie, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, professors of diuinitie, and John Ashton maister of arts, because they would not be remoued from Wickliffes opinions: but they appealed to the pope from that sentence, all which notwithstanding, the archbishop (reiecting their appeale) did then excommunicat them. At what time the doctrine of Wickliffe began here to be commanded to be denounced heretical, and the followers thereof to be called heretikes, by the appointment of this bishop at Oxford and at London: for the king ioining himselfe to this spirituall seueritie, gaue authoritie by his letters written to the archbishop, to his suffragans, and to the chancellor of Oxford, to apprehend and imprison all such as were suspected for those opinions: by which means there was great crueltie shewed to such as professed the euangelicall doctrine, and were followers of Wickliffe. Besides which there was also another synod of the cleargie held at Oxford, in which a subsidie was granted to the king by the demand of the lord Hugh Segraue the kings treasuror: at what time the said Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, and John Ashton by oth renounced the opinions of Wickliffe, and were absolued from the excommunication. But John Wickliffe (as hath Matthew Parker, deseruing well for his great skill and trauell in furthering the renewing of antiquities for the benefit of his countrie) hiding himselfe here and there, and auoiding the persecutions, was at length on saint Thomas daie taken with the palsie; who continuing some long time in sickenesse, vntill the feast of saint Siluester, constantlie died in those opinions, which he had dispersed abroad. This archbishop did excommunicat one Richard Ismonger of Ailesford in Kent, because he brake the liberties of the church (as they were then termed) in that he punished such offenses, as were of right to be corrected by the prelats. But he humblie requiring to be absolued, by oth promised neuer to breake the iurisdiction of the church, and to receiue what punishment so euer the archbishop would laie vpon him for his rashnesse. Whereupon he had penance inioined, first that he should at Westmalling on three market daies be beaten with cudgels in the assemblie of the people, & that done, receiue the like punishment at Maidstone, and at Canturburie, in which last punishment he should go barefoot into the church, and offer a taper of wax of fiue pounds weight to the tombe of S. Thomas, all which if he did not performe, that then he should run into the danger of his former excommunication. The archbishop which before had molested the Wickliffeans fell now at variance with the erle of Arundell, whose seruants had emptied a poole of the archbishops in his manor of Southmalling, in the diocesse of Chichester, taking awaie the fish thereof. With which the archbishop greatlie moued, commanded the bishop of Chichester to excommunicat the theeues, whom he termed sacrilegers and spoilers of the church of Canturburie, whereupon the earle went to the king, & required that he would take the matter into his hands, whereby he might auoid the execution of that excommunication. For which cause the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Chichester to reuoke the same sentence, when he vnderstood that the king had taken the matter to himselfe. Not long after there was a parlement held at Cambridge in the Carmelit friers, at what time also in the church of saint Maries, there was a synod celebrat by the procurement of the king, who had a tenth granted vnto him on this condition, that himselfe before the kalends of October next should passe with an armie into France. In this yeare sir John Triuet the kings chiefe iustice fell from his horse, and brake his intrals. After this the archbishop determined to make a metropolitane visitation in his prouince: wherefore without contradiction he visited the diocesse of Rochester, Chichester, Bath and Wels. But when he came to Excester, and had begun his visitation, he proroged the same from daie to daie, from place to place, suspending and hindering the iurisdiction aswell of the bishops as of all other prelats of the diocesse, by his metropolitane iurisdiction, as Simon Mepham his predecessor would haue done before. The bishop of Excester offended therewith, gaue commandement through all his diocesse, that they should not obeie the archbishop in his visitation, and that they should not demand anie ordinarie law or right in anie cause belonging to the clergie, to be ministred vnto them of him or his inferior prelats; further excommunicating all others that did the contrarie: which prohibition and excommunication the archbishop did vndo by contrarie edict. Whereupon the bishop of Excester did foure times appeale vnto Rome, and fixed his appellations in writing vpon the church doores of Excester. But the archbishop after one sort reiecting them all, went forth in his visitation, citing the bishop by certeine edicts to answer to certeine articles laid against him. Whereupon one of the bishop of Excester his seruants did in the towne of Topsham, or Torsham, take Peter Hill the archbishops messenger, made him eat and swallow downe the parchment and sealed wax, wherein was comprehended the archbishops mandat to cite the bishop of Excester. For the apprehension of whom and punishment whereof (as though they had beene rebels) the king wrote to Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and others, that they should serch them out, and forthwith lead them to the archbishop. Which being so done, they were in this sort punished by the archbishops appointment; first, that they should in the churches of Canturburie, S. Paules of London, and of Excester (on certeine appointed festiuall daies therefore) go in their shirts before the crosse, in the time of procession, with burning tapers in their hands; then that they should susteine and nourish a preest dailie to saie masse at the tombe of the earle of Deuonshire; and lastlie, that euerie one of them should paie twentie shillings to repare the wals of Excester; of the execution whereof the deans of Canturburie London, and Excester, should certifie the archbishop vnder their seales.

This done, the archbishop proceeded in the affairs of his bishoprike, and remoued both from his place and order William Bid doctor of law, aduocat of the arches: because he had counselled the bishop of Excester against the dignitie of the church of Canturburie. During which, the bishop of Excester did still pursue his appeale to the pope against the archbishop; but when he saw his cause both inferior and weaker, and that the king fauoured the archbishop, he left his appeale and submitted himselfe to his metropolitane; and acknowledging his rashnes against the archbishops, craued pardon and obteined it. At which time also the bishop of Salisburie did take the like courage vpon him, when he was to be visited, determining to resist the archbishop: but he as a man more temperat, thought to proceed more warilie

1383 In the first yeare of Richard the second.

1388 In the twelft yeare of Richard the second.

Matt. Parker.

Of these articles and for all the proces, see Registr. Courtneie. fol. 25. Tho. Walsing. Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester.

Registr. Courtneie. fol 86.

The bishop of Excester disobeieth the archbishops visitation.

Ex archiuis.

Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell.

Archbishop of Canturburie visiteth the diocesse of Salisburie.

warelie therein according to law, than the bishop of Excester did. For when he supposed that the archbishop was onelie supported (for his strength of visitation) by the power of pope Urban: this bishop of Salisburie after the death of Urban, procured from his successor pope Boniface a priuilege for himselfe and his dioceses, that they should not be visited by the authoritie of Urban, supposing that the archiepiscopall and metropolitane dignitie had not beene of value, vnlesse it had beene vnderpropped by the buls of pope Urban. But the archbishop being more skilfull in the law, more grounded by vse and experience and more fauoured both in the English and Romane court, did (when the bishop of Salisburie came to him vnto Croidon, thinking to be exempted by the popes priuilege from visitation, by shewing pope Boniface his buls) by a decree gaue forth that he would visit the bishop of Salisburie by his metropolitane authoritie: further by edict commanding the bishop of Salisburie to obeie his visitation, and at a certeine daie to appeare in the church of his bishoprike of Salisburie. At which daie the bishop of Salisburie so trusting to the hornes of his weake bull, was absent, often appealing from the archbishop, and complaining of the iniurie that he did vnto him, and to his dioceSians. But the archbishop neither fearing nor forbearing the contumacie of this man (with such like moderation as he did the resistance of the bishop of Excester) forthwith excommunicated the bishop of Salisburie, and further accused him of periurie and contempt, bicause that he had departed by appellation and buls of priuileges, from that subiection which he sware to the see of Canturburie at the time of his consecration. Wherupon the bishop of Salisburie (feared with this continuall seueritie, and the example of his brother in function the bishop of Excester) was receiued againe into fauour, as appeareth by these words of Matthew Parker: *Cùm iure succumbendum sibi fuit* (which was the bishop of Salisburie) *appellationibus renunciauit, & clarissimo viro comite Sarisburiensi alijsque nonnullis exhortatibus cùm se subiecisset, archiepiscopi in gratiam receptus est.* Which doone, the archbishop did quietlie performe the remnant of his visitation. This yeare after that the archbishop had kept the place fiftéene yeares eleuen moneths & two daies, he died at Maidstone the daie before the kalends of August. In which towne (plucking downe the old worke) he founded and built a college of secular prests: besides which he renewed the church of Depham (fallen downe) to the vse of the sicke brethren, next vnto which he built foure new houses, bequeathing to the reparations of the church of Canturburie, with the cloister and wals thereof one thousand marks, and further gaue to that church an image of the Trinitie of siluer and guilt, and six apostles standing about it of the weight of an hundred and sixtie pounds, beside manie books which he left to the same house: he was buried in the church of Canturburie next to the shrine of Thomas Becket on the south side,

Contention betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the bishop of Salisburie, about the visitation of the archbishop.

Regest. Court. fol. 146.

1395

A college of prests founded in Maidstone.

Thomas Arundell.

1396

Thom. Gascoi. in dictionario theologico.

Thomas Arundell (the sonne of the earle of Arundell) when he was a yong man applied himselfe to diuinitie, became a spirituall man, and was made archdeacon of Tanton. Who being then but a subdeacon, was made bishop of Elie, from thense remoued to Yorke, and at length by the popes prouision aduanced to Canturburie, hauing beene also chancellor of England, of whom it is written that he died for hunger: for being striken with death, he laie long and could neither speake nor swallow, whereby in the end he perished with famine. This man being bishop seauentéene yeares and one moneth, was buried in the north part of the church of Canturburie, who at his entring into the bishoprike, did build the steeple of Canturburie, and placed in the same fiue bels, consecrated *More pontificio*, with these names; the first was called the holie and vndiuided Trinitie; the second, the virgine Marie, the third the angell Gabriell, the fourth S. Blase, and the fift saint John the euangelist.

Bels consecrated.

Henrie Chicheleie bishop of saint Dauids, being chosen of the monks of Canturburie (by the kings licence) to the see of Canturburie, would not yet accept the same, nor yet disagrée thereunto; but referred the whole matter to the popes determination. Wherevpon pope John the three and twentith, by waie of prouision made the said Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, vnder which title he entered into the bishoprike. This man was borne in Higham Feris in Northamptonshire, and was instructed in the ciuill and canon law in the new college of Oxenford built by William Wickham bishop of Winchester: after which being made doctor of both lawes, he was accepted into the archdeaconrie of Salisburie by the bishop of that see. Which Henrie in processe of time wiselie dispatching manie affairs for the king, and performing manie ambassages, was by the kings precept aduanced to the bishoprikes first of saint Dauids, and then of Canturburie, receiuing the pall the nine and twentith of Julie by the hands of Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester, which doone, he redéemed the halfe yeares reuenues of the see of Canturburie due to the king during the vacancie of the bishoprike, for the summe of six hundred markes, and held a synod, in which the daie dedicated to S. John of Beuerleie was instituted to be holie or festiuall. After the synod he consecrated bishops, John Wakering to Norwich, Edmund Lacie to Hereford, and John Chandler to Salisburie.

Henrie Chicheleie.

1415

1416

S. John of Beuerleie his daie appointed holie daie.

This bishop shortlie following called another synod at London, in which there was order taken for the prouision and necessarie sustentation of scholers, as writeth the graue man Matthew Parker in these words: *In hac synodo Robertus Gilbert sacræ theologiæ professor Mertonensis collegij Oxonienſ. præses, longa & diserta oratione egit, vt scholaribus, quorum in literarum studijs industria viguit, attribuantur, & ad victum interim necessaria & proponantur maturis præmia: hunc sequutus Thomas Kingston legum doctor, & aduocatus curiæ de arcubus pari facundia pro Cantabrigiensibus interceßit. Quibus suadentibus decretum est, vt ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum patroni, ea vacantia, his qui graduum dignitatibus ab academicis donata sunt, deinceps conferant, gradus & possessionis ratione iuxta beneficiorum census & valores habita. Hoc saluberrimum decretum ab artium magistris atque professoribus, qui sua multitudine reliquos in vniuersitatibus regentes superabant, cùm in scholarium congregatione de eo approbando ageretur, temerè tanquam iuuenili multitudine reiectum & repudiatum est, non alia sanè ratione quàm quòd doctoribus, aliisque, quibus ordine & loco essent inferiores, in adipiscendis beneficijs pares esse non poterant.* Thus much Matthew Parker, after which in the first yéere of his consecration, this Chicheleie did hold an other synod at London, wherein amongst other things Richard Walker a priest of Worcester being giltie of witchcraft, did publikelie at Paules crosse in London doo penance therefore, and abiure the same, openlie burning his books and instruments of such arts. Then in the eight yeare of his consecration he assembled another synod at Paules in London; in which the clergie granted to the king a tenth, in consideration whereof the king bestowed on them this priuilege, that no purueior of his house should touch the goods, or enter the possessions of the clergie, with manie other things set downe by Matthew Parker, which were: *Vt clerici in foro regio capitalium criminum postulati datis fideiussoribus iudicio sisti carceribus liberentur: tertiò ut*

1417

Prouision for the scholers of Oxford and Cambridge.

1419

1421

presbyteri castrati felonum id est homicidarum pœna afficerentur. Tum in eadem synodo Gulielmus Tailor liberalium artium professor, qui in Wigornienſi diocœſi neque ſanctos neque Christum Iesum ratione humanitatis esse pro salute christiana inuocandos docuit, quoniam eadem & similia dogmata ante coram Thoma Arundel Cantuarienſ. archiepisc. confessus & detestatus est, tanquam in hæresim relapsus, clericali ordine atque gradu priuatus, & laicali potestati traditus est. Ad hanc autem synodum Iohannes Rikinghal Cantabrigienſis vniuersitatis cancellarius quoniam abfuit, ab archiepiſcopo citatus venit, qui se cum Iohanne Castel Oxonienſi cancellario coniunxit, illúdque de conferendis beneficijs Cantabrigiæ vel Oxonij studentibus decretum, quod ab artium (vt diximus) professoribus ante receptum & admissum non fuit, renouari impetrauerunt. Hinc autem doctis viris concesſo à synodo præmio, impuri indoctíque fratres diu restiterunt. Sed Henricus quintus rex literárum studio ductus, contra petulantem fratrum instantiam, ad synodum de eo interponendo decreto scripsit, idque in parlamento postea confirmauit. So farre Matthew Parker in the life of this Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie. Another synod was holden by this archbishop, wherein it was decreed, that none should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, vnlesse he had taken some degree of the ciuill or canon law in the vniuersities of Oxford or Cambridge. Beside which, in a synod after holden, it was enacted, that the feast of S. Frideswid should be kept holie daie. Wherevnto we will adde another like synod held at London by this archbishop, being the last except one which he kept. In this synod was question touching bearing of the charge of the bishops going to the councell of Basill by all the clergie; but the inferior prelats would not impart anie thing thervnto, for it was no charge to be laid vpon them, because that bishops and abbats had onelie places in generall councels; wherefore there was foure pence of the pound onelie leuied of all bishops and abbats to defraie the expense of such as went vnto that generall councell. To which synod thus held at London did Eugenius the pope direct his letters, wherein he declared, that he had giuen the bishoprike of Elie by waie of prouision to Lodouike archbishop of Rone. For (as saith a writer) *Fuit tum Philippus Morgan senex egregiè cordatus Elienſis ordine 23, qui vitam in senectute tam diuturnam produxit, vt papæ commendationem, quam tota tunc synodus execrata est, morte Lodouici qui ante eum obijt irritam frustraret.* But trulie sauing correction (which I speake in reuerence to that learned booke) I suppose it was not so: for in the catalog of the bishops of Elie, Lodouike Lisburne archbishop of Rone succeeded Philip Morgan in the said bishoprike, and held the same after the death of Morgan six yeares, and so manie moneths, if the records be true which I haue seene of that sée. To this archbishop did William Lindwood dedicat the archiepiscopall constitutions which he did gather togither, digest in good order, and expound with learned comments; this William Lindwood being first officiall of the court of the arches, after lord keeper of the priuie seale, and at length aduanced to the bishoprike of saint Dauids.

1430 1434 1438

William Lindwood made the archiepiscopall constitutions.

Chicheleie built a colledge and hospitall where he was borne.

This archbishop Chicheleie, desirous to leaue some memories of charitable works, did in Higham ferries, where (as is before said) he was borne, build a statelie college, in which he placed secular clerks and prebends, indued with benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities. Beside which also in the same towne, he erected an hospitall for poore men, and procured much land and reléefe to be giuen thervnto, which after was augmented by his brethren Robert and William Chicheleie citizens of London. With the finishing of which building, the bishop did not yet rest as one satisfied therewith, for he did also in Oxford erect a famous college for learning called Allsoules college, and an other college there also called saint Barnard, which was afterward increased and augmented with liuings and lands by sir Thomas White knight citizen and maior of London, and S. Johns college. Moreouer, he repared the librarie at Canturburie, and furnished the same with books of all sorts, who during his life builded his owne tome wherein he would be buried in the church of Canturburie by the consent of the monks; and first commanded the procurators of the court of the arches to be apparelled (whilest the iudge did sit) in that attire which the bachellors of art do vse in the vniuersitie. This worthie archbishop died the twelfe daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, after that he gouerned the same sée nine and twentie yeares and one moneth, being buried in the north part of the presbyterie or chaire of Canturburie in that tome which he had made in his life time, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene:

Chicheleie builded Allsoules college and saint Barnard college, now saint Johns college in Oxford.

Chicheleie repared the librarie of Canturburie, and builded his tome.

Hic iacet Henricus Chichelee legum doctor, quondam cancellarius Sarum, qui anno octauo Henrici quarti regis Anglorum ambassiator transmissus, in ciuitate Senense per manus eiusdem papæ in Meneuensem episcopum consecratus est: hic etiam Henricus anno secundo Henrici quinti in hac sancta ecclesia in archiepiscopum pastoraliter à Iohanne papa 23 ad eandem translatus est, qui obijt An. Dom. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio, mensis Aprilis die 12.

Cœtus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur,
Vt Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitietur.

John Stafford, sonne of the earle Stafford, was borne at Abbatsburie in Dorsetshire, did follow the studie of the lawes, who being in the end made doctor thereof, did vse the office of an aduocat in the court of the arches, whom Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie did substitute to be his vicar generall in spirituall causes, and hearer of matters perteining to the ecclesiasticall court: adding further to these publike functions, the deanrie of saint Martins in London, and the prebend of Merton belonging to the church of Lincolne. Whereupon this Stafford being knowne vnto king Henrie the fift, was called to the priuie councell, and had the kéeping of the priuie seale. Then was he made treasuror of England, deane of Wels, and canon of the church of Salisburie, being after the death of king Henrie the fift aduanced to the bishoprike of Bath (by waie of prouision) by Martine the pope. Which done, he was chancellor of England, and by Eugenius the pope translated from Bath to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. Who receiuing the buls of his translation in the bishops house of Bath, went the next daie to the king at Eltham, where he did his homage for his temporalties, and receiued the pall the thrée and twentith of August sent from the said Eugenius, and deliuered vnto him by the bishop of Rochester. But because I will speake more of this man in another large booke of the liues of the chancellors of England, as I will also all other archbishops of Canturburie, which haue possessed that place, I will saie no more of him in this discourse; but that being taken with an ague in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and two, at Lambeth, he went to Maidstone, where (after that he had bene bishop eight yeares, ten moneths, and fiftéene daies) he departed the world. Two daies after whose death his bodie was caried to Canturburie by the monks clothed in white, being after laid in the ground, nére to the place on which happened the martyrdome of Thomas Becket before the new chapell of the virgine Marie, about whose image and vnder whose féete are written these verses in manie

John Stafford.

1443

places

places defaced, the braſſe being ſtollen awaie, as is yet to be ſéene in the church of Canturburie: which epitaph although it be vnperfect, yet I will not refuſe to ſet it downe to perpetuate the ſame, leaſt in following time it might be all ſpoiled, as ſome part thereof alredie is. About the toome are theſe verſes:

Aurea lux modico præſul iam conditur iſto,
Eccleſiæ ſplendor, gloria, lumen, apex,
Stafford vt ſidus Anglos ſua lumina ſparſit,
Regni dum celſis fungitur officijs,
Nam cancellarius fuit ac theſaurarius æquus,
Heu nequeo———————

Linea ductæ indicant nonulla deſiderari.

———————dolet,
M. quingenteno quater hunc dempto duodeno,
Hic anno Domini morte rait celeri,
Vrbani feſto, ſibi Chriſte quies precor eſto,
Defunctus mundo viuit & ille polo.
Noſce te ipſum.

Under whose feet also are these following verses placed, being a dialog betweene the grauestone and the passenger, expressing his person and honor:

Cuias fuit nunties, quem celas ſaxea moles?
Stafford antiſtes fuerat dictúſque Iohannes,
Qua ſedit ſede marmor quæſo ſimul ede,
Pridem Bathoniæ regni totius, & inde
Primas egregius, pro præſule funde precatus,
Aureolam gratus hunc det de virgine natus.

John Kempe. John Kempe borne at Wie in Kent, being doctor of the law, was made archdeacon of Durham, after which, in the second yeare of Henrie Chichleie archbishop of Canturburie, he was made deane of the arches: then, as saith Matthew Parker in the life of this Kempe, *Normaniæ ducatus præfectus prætorio fuit.* From thense he was chosen bishop of Rochester, who sitting there three yeares, was translated to Chichester; which he casting behind also, was in the yeare following remooued to London, where when he had remained foure yeares, he was made archbishop of Yorke; and laſtlie by the popes prouision and the monks election aduanced to the sée of Canturburie; being also made cardinall first of the 1452 title of saint Balbine, and then of the title of saint Rufine, by which he had as manie ecclesiasticall honors and promotions as might be, vnlesse that he had béene pope. He died at Lambeth, after that he had béene bishop of Canturburie one yeare and fiue and twentie weeks, the eleuenth kalends of Aprill. 1453 After which in the kalends of Aprill his bodie was caried to Canturburie, where his funerals were performed by the bishops of London and Rochester and the monks of Canturburie, and was buried betweene the archbishops seat and the toome of John Stratford, at the south doore of the chaire. In whose funerall almes, euerie one of the church of Canturburie that was in holie orders, had thirteene shillings & foure pence giuen vnto him, and the others but six shillings and eight pence. Which his benignitie and liberalitie is recorded to none other end, but to shew that he did in these manie yeres and manie remooues to so manie honors, gather great riches, wherewith he aduanced his kinred, preferring some in Kent to the order of knighthood, and others to other dignities. Of this man shall be more spoken in my large booke of the chancellors of England, at this time concluding this discourse of him with this epitaph, being yet extant on his toome in Canturburie: *Hic iacet reuerendiſsimus in Chriſto pater & dominus Iohannes Kemp, tituli ſancti Rufini ſacroſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ presbyter cardinalis, qui obijt* 20 *die menſis Martij anno Domini* 1453, *cuius animæ, &c.*

1454 as saith Onuphrius. See the cardinals, pag. 1167.

Thomas Bourchier. Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie, vpon licence for that cause obteined of the king, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the monks the ninth kalends of Maie in the feast of saint George; the same being knowne to the pope in the kalends of June, 1454 who forthwith by his buls confirmed him in the same: of whom I haue spoken in my treatise of the cardinals, pag. 1167, who died in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, after that he had béene bishop of Canturburie two and thirtie yeres, and was buried in a sumptuous toome of marble and alabaster, situat on the north side of the high altar of the church of Canturburie, with this epitaph: *Hîc iacet reuerendus in Chriſto pater Thomas Bourchier ſacroſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ, tituli ſancti Ciriaci in Thermis, presbyter cardinalis, archiepiſcopus huius eccleſiæ, qui obijt* 30 *die menſis Martij, anno Dom.* 1486, *cuius animæ, &c.* He gaue to the vniuersitie of Cambridge one hundred and twentie pounds.

John Wexton. John Wexton borne at Bére in Dorsetshire, did applie his studie at Oxford, who increasing in the ciuill and canon law, was after an aduocat in the arches: then he was by Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie endowed with manie spirituall liuings, and commended to king Henrie the first, who made him of his councell. After the death of which king, he was also in like sort preferred to the councell of Edward the fourth, who made him bishop of Elie, and one of his executors. But after, being committed to the tower by Richard the third, and then deliuered to the custodie of the duke of Buckingham, from whom he fled beyond the sea, he returned to England in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and was made chancellor of England, & then archbishop of Canturburie, being translated thither from Elie by pope Innocent, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & six. In whose first yeare of the archbishoprike he held a synod at London. Then 1486 (after that he had ruled the same archsée of Canturburie thirtéene years) he died, and was buried in the place which he had builded therefore in his life time. 1499 After the death of this Wexton the monks of Canturburie (by licence therefore obteined of the king) required Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, to be their archbishop of Canturburie: but he was consumed with the pestilence (which in one yere deuoured thirtie thousand in England, amongst which 1500 was Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke) before he had receiued his confirmation from the pope. After whose death, Richard Fox was aduanced to Winchester, Thomas Sauage bishop of London was translated to Yorke, and William Warham obteined the sée of London.

Henrie Deane. Henrie Deane, being a monke and ruler of the monasterie of Langton, was (when Perkin Warbecke the counterfet king & rebell, supported by the Irishmen, did séeke to inuade England, & to displace Henrie the seuenth) by especial choise therefore sent into Ireland by the said Henrie the seuenth, and made chancellor of that Iland. Who going thither with sir Edward Poinings then lord duputie, did driue Perkin Warbecke into the boggie & inaccessible parts of Ireland amongst the wild Irish, and spédilie brought the other part of the Iland to obedience. During the time of which his office in that realme, he was in his absence created bishop of Bangor for the néerenesse of that place vnto Ireland: which bishoprike he did almost restore to his full perfection, and to all such lands as manie by force and other waies had taken from it, which sée being by such meanes but poore & maimed of hir liuings, caused the kings of England alwaies to endow the bishops thereof with some wealthie abbeie for the better

The decaie of the bishoprike of Bangor.

better maintenance of his estate. Whereupon when the bishops of that see for more profit were absent from the bishoprike, and remained alwaies at such abbeie, neglecting the bishoprike, the gentlemen neere vnto it did by little and little chalenge & hold part of those lands to themselues, whereby in time this bishoprike became verie small, and so continued when this Henrie Deane came vnto it. But this bishop being verie wise and carefull, and one that looked further into matters than his negligent predecessors were accustomed, did find out what lands were so deteined, who held them, by what right, and how long they had so done. Whereupon in conclusion he got almost all the same lands to the see againe, by the helpe of the common people which supported him therein, for the declaration whereof I thinke it not vnfit to set downe the maner thereof, somewhat after this sort.

He restoreth the bishoprike of Bangor to the lands lost.

There is on the north part of the Ile of Mona or Mon (now called Angleseie, but falslie in Polydor made to be the Ile of Man) an Iland placed betweene the promontories of Cornеti, and that head which is called *Caput sanctum*, or Holie head: this Iland is in the old Brittish toong termed ynys i. Moyls Honnicit, that is, The Iland of porpasses or other beasts and sea foules, and obteining that name because of the great plentie of sea beasts and birds that were taken there. Now this Iland being sometime, and that ancientlie belonging to the bishoprike of Bangor, this Henrie Deane found possessed with vnrightfull owners. Whereupon, when the inhabitants would not restore the same, but did with force resist him: he setting vpon them by sea and land, did with strength recouer the same, and redeliuer it to the bishoprike of Bangor. Besides which, he bestowed great charge in that place, in reparing the church and bishops palace there: both which long before in the time of Henrie the fourth were destroied with fire by the rebell Owen Glendor. After which, this Henrie Deane was remoued from Bangor to Salisburie, who departing from that bishoprike of Bangor, did yet leaue there the miter, and the pastorall crosier to his successor Peneus, with this condition, that he should proceed in the reparing and restitution of the church of Bangor as he had alreadie begun, which was accordinglie performed by the successor.

Matt. Parker *in vita Henrici Denei. pag.* 346.

After that this Henrie was translated to Salisburie, he remained not long there, but was after the death of Morton aduanced to the see of Canturburie, in which yeare, pope Alexander did at Rome celebrat the yeare of iubile; which iubile and the yeare ended, the same pope sent the pall to the archbishop of Canturburie by Adrian of Castilia his secretarie, which the bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie (hauing power therefore from the pope) did deliuer vnto the bishop at Lambeth. Besides these things, there happened nothing worthie the remembrance in the time of this archbishop: who after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie two yeares, died at Lambeth the fiftеenth daie of Februarie, from whense his bodie was brought along by the riuer of Thames (with three and thirtie mariners all clothed in blacke) vnto Feuersham in a barge, adorned after the morning fashion, with burning torches and wax lights: which bodie was from Feuersham also by the same men with like funerall manner caried in a coffin to Canturburie, where he was buried by the same place on which Thomas Becket was killed, as the said Henrie had before appointed by his testament; in which he bequeathed a siluer image of saint John the euangelist, of one hundred fiftie and one ounces, which at this daie after fiue shillings the ounce amounteth to the summe of two and thirtie pounds fiftеene shillings: further bequeathing fiue hundred pounds towards the charges of his funerall. In the performance whereof, Thomas Wolseie (who was then his chaplen) with Richard Gardiner (another of his chaplens) both were by his executors appointed ouersеers for his said buriall, which they executed verie sumptuouslie, setting this epitaph vpon him.

1500 1501 1502

Sub hoc marmore iacet corpus reuerendissimi in Christo patris & domini, domini Henrici Deane, quondam prior prioratus de Langhtona, deinde Banchorensis, ac successiuè Sarum episcopi, postremò verò huius almæ ecclesiæ metropolitanus archiepiscopalis, qui diem suum clausit extremum apud Lambith, 15 die mensis Februarij, anno 1502, & suæ translationis ad hanc sedem anno secundo, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

William Warham borne of a gentlemanlie familie in Hampshire, was brought vp in Winchester schoole, who being after sent to Oxford to a colledge of Wickhams foundation, did there in his adolescencie applie the ciuill law, and atteining to the degree of doctor therein, was after maister of the rolles, chancellor to Henrie the seauenth, and ambassador into Burgundie to Margaret duchesse of that countrie, about the remouing of hir from the defense of Parkine Warbecke. Next he was made bishop of London, chosen to that place (as saith a record of that see) in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three, and after remoued to Canturburie in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and fiue, as a booke belonging to that bishoprike of London doth affirme. But Matthew Parker saith, that after the death of Deane he was remoued to Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three, who receiuing his pall of the pope, was the ninth of March, which fell in Lent, inthronised in Canturburie, after the most statelie and pompious maner that might be, the whole order whereof was in a roll set out and printed by Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie. william warham.

1503 1504 1532

This bishop going to Canturburie, tooke vp his lodging in the personage house of S. Stephans, belonging to Warham archdeacon of Canturburie, and brother to this archbishop: vpon which the archdeacon Warham had before bestowed great cost, which house comming afterward to sir Christopher Hales knight, who added somewhat thervnto, is now in the yere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore & six, in the possession of sir Roger Manwod knight, chiefe baron of the exchеker, who hath not onelie there built certeine almeshouses, but also greatlie augmented the said house with statelie buildings, aswell of places of necessarie offices, as also of state and interteinement of strangers. At this house (I saie) did this archbishop rest himselfe, where he was taken with a deadlie disease, and being now verie old, did there (after he had gouerned the church of Canturburie eight and twentie years) depart this life, leauing his bodie to be caried to Canturburie, and there to be buried in a small chapell which he had built in his life time, besides that place where Thomas Becket was slaine in the church of Canturburie.

Thomas Cranmer borne in Nottinghamshire, of an ancient & worshipfull familie of the Cranmers, was by licence obteined from king Henrie the eight (whose chaplen he was) chosen archbishop of Canturburie. But Clement the seuenth then pope of Rome (who much doubted the kings mind and fauor towards that see) was vncerteine what to doo, either to receiue or reiect Cranmer for archbishop of Canturburie. At length, writing more mildlie to the king than he was accustomed, he besought him to defend Cranmer chosen to the see of Canturburie: but this labor succeeded with no good effect. For the Thomas Cranmer.

Regist. Cranm. fol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

the king minding to abolish the authoritie of the pope, did determine to nobilitat the church of Canturburie, and to restore the rights of the English prouinces without anie subiection to Rome. But yet the pope carefull of Cranmers obedience, and of the kings fidelitie to that see, easilie granted vnto Cranmer, that he should be consecrated of what three bishops he would; in which grant he inserted the old oth that the bishops made to the pope: which if he did not performe, he both excommunicated Cranmer then to be consecrated, and the bishop which should consecrat him. But he in his consecration before faithfull witnesses (as saith Matthew Parker) and publike notaries, did protest that the same oth onelie grew by a custome of Rome, and not of christian necessitie, and that he would not fall from the faith of a subiect due to his king by force of that oth; for which cause the oth being slightlie read ouer, he receiued his pall and consecration of the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, & Assaph; which done, taking an oth of due obedience to the king, he receiued his temporalities, paieng nine hundred duckets for his buls.

1533

This Cranmer thus made archbishop, did (beyond the opinion of manie) men by his authoritie enter the synod begun in the time of his predecessor Warham, and continued after his death by the monks of Canturburie, which had appointed Stokeslie bishop of London to be president thereof, during the vacancie of the bishoprike of Canturburie. At whose comming thither, the kings mariage with the ladie Katharine was againe called in question, which was, whether it be a prohibition of the diuine law vndispensable by the pope, that the brother shall not marie the wife of his brother carnallie knowne, he dieng without issue. Which matter was caried to the lower assemblie of the synod to debat: in the which, fourtéene did affirme, and seuen did denie the same conclusion. One doubted of it, and another said it was not a thing ordeined by the diuine law, yet dispensable by the pope. Amongst the superior part of the synod (in which the iudgements of the vniuersities of Bononia, Pauia, and Paris, touching that matter were recited) that controuersie moued (betwéene the bishops Stokeslie of London and Fisher of Rochester) touching the same, did win all the fathers (which were two hundred and sixtéene, either personallie, or else by their procurator) ninetéene onelie excepted, to agrée to the iudgement of the vniuersities, as hath Matthew Parker.

But to the end this matter might be void of all controuersie, aswell of right as of fact: an other question did arise, whether the carnall copulation betwéene prince Arthur and quéene Katharine were sufficiently proued: but that was referred to such as were skilfull in the lawes and the canons: who all (except fiue or six) did allow the copulation, being after embraced by all the synod, except by the bishop of Bath and Wels: which done, both the parlement and the synod were for a time prorogued. After which, the king sent messengers to the ladie Katharine, to perswade hir willinglie to depart from the king, considering the determination of the vniuersities, and the opinions of the diuines and lawiers of England, and to be contented with the dower of prince Arthur. But she continuing stedfast in hir determination, answered that she would not be dissolued from that band, which was knit by the pope through the procurement of hir father Ferdinand. Which message inforced the king, considering the league betwéene the pope & the emperor, more spéedilie and vehementlie to abrogat the popes authoritie out of England; least they two ioining against him, the one in taking the part of his aunt, and the other in defending the dispensation granted from the see of Rome, might take occasion to molest the king of England therefore. Whereupon king Henrie the eight, to ioine in strength with some one great estat, that they two might equall the pope and the emperor, made a new league with the French king; and that the rather, because he heard that the pope and the king would méete the next summer at Marselles.

For which cause more fullie to vnderstand the mind of the French king, it was concluded betwéene the legats of both nations, that the kings shuld talke togither on the borders of both their realms, betwéene Calis & Bullongne, for so a stronger amitie might be ioined betwéene them. Which done accordinglie, K. Henrie after that he had declared some detracting dooings, & the popes delaies, would haue persuaded the French king to haue abolished the popes authoritie out of the dominions of France; and that if he could not safelie doo it (being hindred by the iniurie of the time) that then he would faithfullie obserue this begun and continued league betwéene them, and not ioine with the pope and emperor against him. Whereunto the French agreed, in respect of the obseruation of the league, shewing also a desire in himselfe to banish the popes authoritie, which he would performe as soone as he might, considering that the power of the confederat pope and emperor was not to be feared, so long as they two continued in this amitie. For if the pope (said he) be banished England, France, and Germanie, we shall driue him to that streict, that he must of necessitie serue as the chapleine of the emperor; which spéech ended, they went to Bullongne, where they were banketted; from whense the French king brought the king of England to Calis, where the next daie the league was againe confirmed, and the French returned to Paris, and the English to London. At whose returne the parlement and synod did againe begin, in which quéene Katharine was by the law of the land separated from the king, and after by the bishops of Canturburie, London, Winchester, and Lincolne diuorsed from him at Dunstable. Whereupon the king maried the ladie Anne Bullen, mother to the most worthie quéene Elisabeth. In which yeare also, both by decrée of parlement & synod, the popes authoritie was wholie banished out of England, and a question moued in the same synod, whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England giuen to him in the scripture than anie other strange bishop hath. At what time it was agreed vpon by all the fathers in the higher synod, that the pope had not by the word of God anie authoritie in England: whereunto all the inferior synod consented in like maner, except one which doubted thereof, and foure which did attribute to the pope vniuersall power in the ecclesiasticall administration. After which, it was by the same synod decréed, that the archbishop of Canturburie should not be called the legat of the apostolike see, but in place therof should be named the primat and metropolitan of all England: of all which doings the archbishop did certifie the king by publike instrument, written by a notarie. Whereupon it was decréed in the parlement, that no appellations should be from thenseforth made to Rome: after which, the parlement and synod were prorogued vntill the next yeare.

Whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England than any other strange bishop.

And because manie bookes were by the pontificall authoritie (being banished) printed and dispersed abroad, the synod first censured them, and determined to request the king that the bible might be turned into English, whereby it might easilie be discerned what was consonant to the word of God. Against

1535

The bible turned into English.

gainst which Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, being of the kings priuie councell, did secretlie labor as much as in him did lie. But by the fauor and intreatie of quæne Anne, it was obteined that the English bible should be printed, and placed in euerie church in some conuenient roome, whither the people might come to read it at their pleasure: which bible was the first time printed in Paris, at what time Edmund Boner bishop of London was then in France for the king: to which Boner the charge and ouersight thereof was committed. But these procædings of the king tooke not such effect then, as they did in the following time of king Edward, because that the ladie Anne Bullen, who mightilie fauored these causes, was shortlie after beheaded. Upon which putting the bible in English, the higher synod of England decreed (to the end that all strife and contention might be auoided which should rise in disputation vpon diuine matters) that none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith, the like whereof was by parlement established with these lawes, that the king ought to be supreame head of the church of England, that the clergie of England should be subiect to the king, that nothing hereafter vnder anie pretense should be paied out of England to the pope or to the court of Rome, that bishops should be consecrated within the realme, that all other things should be done here which were vsed to be done at Rome, and that the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiasticall benefices should for euer after be paied to the prince. At which time the popes authoritie, which had before continued in England nine hundred yeares and more, being thought inuincible, was easilie reiected and ouerthrowne. But yet all the relikes of the Romane lawes were not fullie taken awaie, vntill the time of king Edward the sixt, who being borne about this time, had to his godfathers, and godmother, this Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Northfolke, and the princesse Marie his sister the kings daughter. Now vpon these things thus by parlement established, there arose a great iar amongst the members of the Romane church, and the professors of the kings supremasie touching the same. Wherfore was assigned Thomas Cromwell, a man of great wit through much experience, to be his vicar generall, who with Thomas Cranmer, gouerned the church of England, then tossed with so doubtfull doctrine, that the Romane power could not in his time take hold thereof. At what time Cromwell was placed by the king, to sit in the conuocation house, because he suspected the fidelitie of the bishops, least they would call backe their minds, concerning the supremasie, whereto they were so hardlie drawen to consent. But afterwards, some willing to cleare themselues of that slacknesse in admitting the kings supreame power, there stepped forth Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, which set forth a booke of true obedience, wherein he was most far from the pope; and attributed the chiefest power to the prince, to gouerne the church of England next vnder God. Also Tunstall, Stokesleie, and Longland, bishops of Durham, London, and Lincolne did stronglie defend the same in their publike sermons before the king. And Edmund Boner after bishop of London, but then archdeacon of Leicester, that made the preface to that booke of Gardiner, was sent to Rome as the kings ambassador, to renounce the popes authoritie, for which cause he was deare vnto the lord Cromwell, vntill that he was after made bishop of London.

That none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith.

1536

Thomas Cromwell vicar generall of the king.

Boner sent to Rome to renounce the popes authoritie.

The chiefe disposing of all ecclesiasticall causes thus committed to these two, the archbishop Cranmer, and the lord Cromwell, there was one other synod called in the nones of June, in which the lord Cromwell as the kings vicar generall required to haue a place assigned vnto him, to whome the archbishop gaue the roome next vnto himselfe. In which synod also there was a booke composed by the cleargie, assigning manie causes wherefore the king should not be present in generall councels of the cleargie, which booke subscribed by all them, the lord Cromwell did approue by the sentence of the king. And because the abolishing of the popes authoritie grew in the time of this archbishop, it shall not be vnfit in this place to shew where this Cranmer (before he entered into the gouernement of the church, and of the common wealth) was borne, and how he was bred vp. This Thomas Cranmer therefore was borne at Arslecton, a towne in Nottinghamshire in the prouince of Yorke, of a gentlemanlie familie, for there is yet in Lincolneshire a place called at this daie of his name, Cranmer hall, which belonged to his ancestors, the ensigne and armes of which familie dow shew (as saith Matthew Parker) that he came out of Normandie with the conqueror, which was prowed in the reigne of king Henrie the eight by a certeine noble man of France, called also Cranmer, being with others sent ambassador hither into England, bearing the same armes, whom Thomas Cranmer the archbishop of Canturburie did inuite to a statelie banket, to the end that he might of him inquire out the originall of his gentilitie and armes: and vpon inquisition made by the heralds, it was found that they both had one root and originall of gentilitie, and that their armes were not different in anie point.

The king not to be present in the generall councels of the cleargie.

The birth of Cranmer.

The armes, antiquitie, and pedegree of Cranmer.

This Thomas Cranmer the archbishop, being the sonne of Thomas Cranmer of Arslecton, and of Agnes his wife, daughter to Laurence Hatfield of Willoughbie esquier (this second Thomas being son of John Cranmer of Arslecton, and of Jane his wife, the daughter of John Marshall of Mulleham esquier; that John being the sonne of one other John Cranmer, which maried Isabell the daughter and heire of William Allenton or Aslecton, the sonne of Simon the sonne of Reginold Allenton knight) was by the especiall care of his father diligentlie brought vp in his yong yeares in learning. Whose schole maister (by his ouer much seueritie) did in his childish age so feare and daunt his flexible and gentle mind, that all his life after he felt his memorie and readinesse of wit to be much weakened. But his father, to the end that he should not vtterlie cast awaie studie (as one that lothed not learning) did permit him to mingle hunting, hawking, shooting, riding, and other exercises of pastimes with his learning. With which when he being archbishop would recreat his mind from grauer matters, he so vsed the same, that none of his familie could manage his horsse, or hunt or hawke more cunninglie, who (although he were weake eied) would yet in bending his bow artificiallie strike a wild beast. From this his information in his yong yeares, he came to Cambridge to Jesus college, where he was made master of arts. Now bicause he had maried a wife, he was inforced to leaue the college, in respect that the statutes of the house did alow none to be maried. But he not yet forsaking his studie, did frequent the publick schooles, disputations and lectures in an other house of Cambridge called Buckingham college, and for that cause considering his learning and life, he had the salarie of a reader appointed him, whereby he taught for publike reward, and releeued his wiues necessitie. All which notwithstanding, bicause wealth did not sufficientlie abound, he was constreined to prouide food and lodging for his wife in an inne there in Cambridge called the Dolphine, for

Cranmer maried his first wife.

Cranmer hath the salarie of a reader in the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

for the mistresse of that house was of kindred vnto him, to which place he did often resort for his wiues sake, which was the cause whie his enimies reported that he was vnlearned, and brought vp in an inne and not in the schooles. But the next yeare after the mariage, his wife died in childbed, after whose death he was restored to his old place in Iesus college, being then accounted so learned, as writeth Matthew Parker, that when cardinall Woolsey began to build that goodlie college at Oxford called Christes church, and determined to furnish the same with lerned men gathered out of all the realme, he required Cranmer to make one of the societie of his college. But Cranmer when he was now vpon his iourneie towards Oxford, was admonished by some of his frends that met him, that sith he had giuen ouer all other sciences, and onelie bent himselfe to diuinitie, that he ought in the same rather to follow humilitie than magnificence, and for that cause should not depart from Iesus college, as a more commodious place for his purpose. Wherefore turning backe, he was shortlie after made diuinitie lecturer, then doctor of diuinitie, and appointed one of the three, which had the examination of all such as were to take degree in the studie of diuinitie.

Cranmer made diuinitie lecturer in Cambridge.

These things thus passing forward, he was brought to king Henrie the eight, about the matter of the kings marriage (before spoken of) with queene Katharine. And being the kings ambassador to pope Clement the seauenth, and to the emperour Charles the fift, he was made by the pope generall penitentiarie of England, & by the king archdeacon of Canton. But when (as we said before) the affaires about the validitie of the said marriage of the king was laid vpon him, he taried at Norimberg (where he fell in companie with Osiander; and where he maried his second wife) so long as the emperour was in the warres against the Turke besieging Vienna. After which, when the emperour had put the Turke to flight, and that Cranmer was to follow Cesar into Spaine, he left his wife with hir kindred in Germanie, vntill he returned into England. When he was come into England, he was vpon the death of Warham (as is before said) made archbishop of Canturburie. Then Cromwell, who was the kings vicegerent, wrote to Cranmer to call a synod, into which when Cromwell had entred, he declared that it was the kings pleasure, that all matters should be reduced to the rule of the scripture, and that all things should be taken out of the church, which were not supported by the authoritie of the word of God. Whereupon they began with the sacraments, touching which Cromwell demanded of Alexander Alesius a Scot, whome he had brought into the councell to speake his mind, what his opinion was: who concluded, that by the appointment of God there were but two sacraments, baptisme and the supper, against whome Stokesleie bishop of London did earnestlie contend, auowing seauen sacraments. Whervpon the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Lincolne, Bath, Chester, and Norwich did follow the opinion of Stokesleie. To answer whom Cranmer had a speech of the sacraments of humane traditions, of sole life, and other things, affirming that nothing ought to be determined in synods, but things proued by scriptures, and that such hunting after words and mens opinions, was to be left to sophisters in the schooles. To whome For bishop of Hereford, who was late come out of Germanie (being sent thither ambassador by the king) did ioine himselfe with the bishops of Salisburie, Elie, and Worcester. By which discourse of this synod, Cranmer and Cromwell found out who were bent to the Roman religion, & who would imbrace the contrarie.

Cranmer sent ambassador to the pope and to the emperour.

Cranmer marieth his second wife at Norimberg.

1537

Controuersie in the synod about the sacraments.

Whereupon the king by the councell of this prelat Cranmer, tooke awaie all pilgrimages, and ouerthrew their chapels. And bicause authoritie was giuen to him both by synod of the cleargie, and parlement of the temporaltie for visitation and correction of the church of England, he appointed visitors through the realme, which should search out the state, condition, and maner of the monks and monasteries, who in the next yeare certified the effect of their inquisition. In the meane time the pope appointed a generall councell at Mantua, which occasioned the king to set forth a booke, that not the pope but the emperor and kings had authoritie to summon generall councels, and that the place was not conuenient for such as would obiect anie thing to the pope, and lastlie that it was verie dangerous for the king of England to come thither, especiallie sith the emperor and the French king were in wars, into one of whose hands he must needs fall by the popes deceits, who being cast out of England had excommunicated the king, and for reuenge had stirred vp other kings against him.

Visitors appointed through England.

The king setteth out a booke, that not the pope but princes ought to summon councells.

The next yeare Reginald Pole, a little before by pope Paulus the third made cardinall, was (bicause that he being ambassadour to the emperour, the French king, and other princes had persuaded them against king Henrie the eight) condemned of treason, and for euer banished England. After which, in the yeare following, the whole companie of professed votaries, monks, nuns, and friers, were vtterlie ouerthrowne; which so long as it indured, the pope did not despaire of recouering himselfe in England, and yet was not wholie hopeles thereof, bicause that he perceiued certeine of his ceremonies to be yet obserued. For although in the next parlement Cromwell was created earle of Essex for ouerthrowing the pope and the monks; yet was the masse and ceremonies thereof, with sole life, confession, and such things made treason and banishment, the same law being called the six Articles. Against which though Cranmer and Cromwell did resist all they could, whilest the matter was handled in the parlement, yet Gardiner bishop of Winchester (of late returned from the dispatch of two weightie ambassages, the one to the emperor, the other to the French king) by fauour, policie, and power, obteined of the king to grant vnto it, against the kings mind, as saith Matthew Parker. Which might appeare by this, that when the law was made touching preests mariages, he called Cranmer vnto him, then sorrowful for himselfe, his wife, and his children; who praising his doctrine and grauitie, and declaring the causes of his consent to that law, he willed him to go home and liberallie to receiue such gesse as he would send vnto him. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie departing, the king called vnto him the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the earle of Essex and other councellors, and spake to them verie honourablie of Cranmer. Who though he yelded to that law, yet he seemed in learning and in the thing it selfe to go beyond them all. Wherefore the king would that they should go to that reuerend father and his metropolitan, to comfort him, and bid him be of good cheere. But in the meane time Cranmer fearing this law, had sent his wife into Germanie.

1538

1539

Monasteries dissolued.

The law of the six articles established.

Cranmer sendeth his wife into Germanie.

These noble men comming accordinglie to the bishop, and being by him interteined with great bankets, did according to the kings mind (to the end that they might deliuer him from all feare and care) laie before him the fauor which the king bare vnto him, the eloquence, grauitie, and learning that were in him: all which they commended, with all such words and deeds as he vsed in the parlement, shewing vnto him, that there was no cause whie he

should

should feare those that were against his opinion, so godlie, learnedlie, and eloquentlie vttered, though it did not preuaile, sith by that dissention and contrarietie in opinion he had woone them to him. For although cardinall Woolseie by his obstinat mind did withdraw the minds of his frends; yet he in diuine matters did with his pietie, clemencie, and gentlenesse ioine his verie aduersaries vnto him. And further, that he should not mislike the king, the nobilitie, or anie other of that law, or for his owne opinion, although it were contrarie. This message being thus appointed for the comfort of Cranmer, was in the end turned to the reproch of Cromwell. For when Cromwell had said, that Cranmer was a happie man in this, that the king would neuer admit anie complaint against Cranmer were it iust or vniust; but if anie matter were against himselfe, or anie other councellor, the king would then diligentlie inquire out the matter: one of the two dukes said; No man knew better what difference was betweene Woolseie & Cranmer than Cromwell did, sith he knew them both, & was the seruant of Woolseie. With which Cromwell being touched as if it had beene some disgrace to him, answered, he neuer alowed or fauored Woolseies conditions, although he sometime were one of his familie. For when Woolseie sought the popedome, and had determined to make Cromwell his admerall, if he were chosen, he did refuse the same, and would not forsake his countrie. Which answer of Cromwell the duke affirmed by oth to be false, obiecting other reproofes against Cromwell. So that this speech, which at the first began for comforts cause, did at length end in braules and deadlie enmities. But this iarring being for the present wiselie pacified by Cranmer, they arose from the table with outward faire words, but with inward fierie and greeued harts. Upon which beginnings of these small euils greater did after follow; sith those things fell out (to the destruction of Cromwell) which he onelie did by sound aduise, which was, that he procured Bonner, whome he falslie beleeued to haue abhorred the Romane ceremonies, to be promoted to the see of London. Wherfore, when by that law of the six articles manie that went vnder suerties were committed to prison and burned; the kings councell was diuided into factions, not vnknowne to the king. The chiefe of the gospellers were Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, and Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, which did as much as in them laie to mitigat the seueritie of that law. On the other side, the duke of Norffolke and Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester did vehementlie incense the king against all the gospellers. Wherevpon Bonner (when he saw the cause of the euangelicals begin to stagger) both by the said law, the kings favor, Gardiners frendship, and the dukes power, he (thinking to take the surer side) fell from Cranmer and Cromwell, and ioined himselfe with the other part euen vntill his last gaspe. Now by force of this law of the six articles, manie were touched in the dioceses of the bishops, yea in the kings court, where the nobilitie was not spared; all which the pontificals or catholikes (as they termed themselues) turned against Cranmer and Cromwell, by whose death the monks which were norished with pensions allowed to them, did hope to returne to their cloisters. Wherevpon Cromwel was shortlie accused of treson by the other side, and was the first (sith there was no other president thereof) that was condemned without anie answer, and that iustlie, according to the saieng of Dauid, speaking, that he falleth into the pit which he made. For this Cromwell had before procured a law, that a noble man, vpon the euidence of the kings learned councell and some others, might be condemned without comming to his answer.

For the death of which Cromwell, Cranmer being in great griefe, did not thinke himselfe anie time free from his aduersaries; notwithstanding which he neuer changed countenance, or was the more abashed, because with his constancie and grauitie he alwaies conteined the king (almost caried awaie by the Romanists) in the defense of the gospell; in such sort, that the king would not consent to anie euill against him, but would preserue him safe when his life seemed in most danger. For when as Gardiner vrged Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie, in which he affirmed by certeine paralogisms, that the constitutions of the apostles were of equall authoritie with the scripture, Cranmer disproued the same before the king (as hath Matthew Parker) that the king said in the presence of manie, that Cranmer being a beaten soldior therein was not to be wearied by nouices. Yet Gardiner the bishop of Winchester not so leauing, stirred euerie one that he could against Cranmer; because the Romane religion might be restored, if he were taken awaie. Wherfore at Canturburie in Kent manie were appointed by Gardiners procurement which should accuse Cranmer of other quarels than of heresie. At what time also in the parlement sir John Gostwike a knight of Bedfordshire affirmed, that all the seed of hereticall sedition came from Cranmer.

The constancie of Cranmer.

Gardiner prouoketh Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie.

Cranmer accused of other things than of heresie.

Wherevpon some of the nobilitie and councell dealt with the king, that Cranmer might be excluded from the councell, and committed vnto the Tower, vntill further inquisition of the truth might be made of such things as were obiected against him. For so long as he sat present in the councell, euerie one there would be afraid to speake what they knew against him. Wherevpon rumors were spread, that Cranmer by the secret iudgement of the king should be condemned, & lose his hed, as Cromwell had done: which was so thought by all men as well frends as enimies, wherfore Cranmer secretlie with tears bewailed the times, though outwardlie he shewed a merie countenance. The king perceiuing whereunto tended this drift of the pontificals, (which fauored the Roman religion) after supper, for recreations cause toke barge to row vp and downe the Thames, and so commanded the stiersman to bend his course to Lambeth. Which being perceiued by some of the archbishops men which stood on the bridge, they hastened and told the archbishop thereof; who spedilie came to the bridge to salute the king either passing by, or else to receiue him on shore, and to lead him to his house. But the king commanded him to come into his bote and to sit downe by him, with whome he had long and secret talke, the watermen still houering with the bote on the riuer; amongest which talke the king complained that England was greatlie troubled with hereticall factions and diuisions since the death of Cromwell: and that it was greatlie to be feared, that if these contentions were long fostered vnder the pretense of religion, there would more inward euils grow, and ciuill warres arise. Wherfore the dissentions in religion were spedilie to be apeased. For performance wherof the nobilitie and the councell had aduised to search him out, who was the cheefe heretike and author of all these euils, who being found, should be punished and burned for the example of the residue of the multitude. At the length the king asked of Cranmer what he thought of this aduise, and of the principall heretike. Whereunto Cranmer (although he was in great feare) answered with a good counte-

The king secretlie talketh with Cranmer in his barge.

nance

1540 Woolseie seeketh the popedome.

The councell diuided into factions for religion.

nance, that the same councell pleased him well, being verie glad to heare thereof, because by the punishment of that archheretike the rest of the flocke of heretikes would be bridled. But with this speech he did yet with a certein fatherlie reuerence toward the king modestlie admonish the king, that he shuld not iudge them to be heretikes, who with the word of God striued against mens traditions. Whereunto the king said; It is rightlie spoken by you, for you are declared to vs by manie to be that archheretike of all our kingdome, who in Kent and in all your prouince do so withstand vs, that the beleefe of the six articles established in parlement be not receiued of the common people; wherefore openlie declare vnto vs what you thinke, and what you haue done of and in the same. Cranmer replied, that he was still of the same mind which he openlie professed himselfe to be at the making of that law, and that yet he had not offended anie thing since the same was made. Then the king somewhat leauing this graue talke, merilie asked of him, whether his inner and priuie bed were free from those articles. To which Cranmer (although he knew it dangerous by that law for priests to haue wiues, and that he certeinlie vnderstood that the king knew that he was maried) answered, that he contracted that marriage before he was archbishop, when he was ambassador to the emperor & the pope in Germanie: but now because he would not offend so rigorous a law, he had not touched his wife since the making thereof, because he had presentlie sent hir vnto hir frends in Germanie. By which plaine answer he wan such fauor with the king, that the king incoraged him to be of good comfort, & that the same articles were made for his cause, & so declared to him who were his cheefe accusors. Which when Cranmer knew to be false, & deuised by the *pontificals enuie, he required that there might be inquisitors & iudges for the matter, sith he feared not the danger of the law. Whereupon the king appointed himselfe to be inquisitor for the searching out of his owne cause. But Cranmer said the same would séeme verie vniust vnto his aduersaries, that he should be appointed the censuror and examiner of his owne actions, & so required an other iudge. All which not withstanding, the king carieng that mind of Cranmer, that he would speake the truth, were it good or euill, he would appoint no other to haue the examination and determination thereof but himselfe, and so suffered him to depart home.

The king openeth vnto Cranmer who were his accusors.

* Papists.

Cranmer appointed by the king to be inquisitor in his owne cause.

Whereupon Cranmer sent doctor Cooke his vicar generall in spirituall matters, and Anthonie Husseie notarie his publike scribe and messenger, to inquire out these things at Canturburie; who detracting time in the same (about some two moneths, after that they had begun) were suspected to fauor the *pontificalles. In the meane time the enimies of Cranmer requested that he might be committed to the Tower, to answer those matters of heresie laid against him. To which importunitie the king in the end granted, if it should plainlie appeare that he had offended the church or the common wealth; for now the duke of Norffolke (Cromwell being dead) and all the others being the followers of Gardener, did seeke to haue him committed to the Tower. Whereupon they determined to send him to prison the next daie. All which the king suffered, meaning yet in the end to protect him: for much about midnight the king sent from the court sir Anthonie Denie (one of the priuie chamber, an enimie to the *pontificals, & a frend to Cranmer) to Lambeth, to will Cranmer to come to the king; at what time Cranmer came accordinglie, to whome the king declared his mind in these words; All the councell are earnest with me, that sith the prouince of Canturburie and almost all England is defiled with hereticall sects, the originall whereof was come from him, and certeine learned strangers which he reteined amongst his familie, that he might be committed to publike prison during the time of the inquisition therof; which if it be not done, they cannot enter into the ground thereof with sufficient witnesses and proofes; which their desire we haue granted, but whether well or no do you iudge, and to morrow is the daie appointed therefore. Whereupon Cranmer first gaue the king thanks, because he would giue him warning of that seuere decrée; affirming further, that he did not refuse the prison, or flée the iudgment; for hauing a cléere conscience he had rather to trie the effect of iudgement than the euent of vniust suspicions: onlie he required this, that sith his doctrine and faith in matters were brought in question, that he might haue vpright & learned iudges in diuinitie appointed vnto him. Which said, the king called him fole, that he would so easilie enter prison, and giue himselfe to the iniurie of his enimies. For (said the k.) if you shall not onelie be taken from your dignitie, but also from the sight of men, and clapt in prison, manie false and periured persons may be brought forth, which will not shew themselues in your presence, or dare to speake one euill word against you. Wherefore, sith you neither prouide for your safetie or dignitie, I will prouide you shall not be ouercome by your enimies. To morrow they will call you before them, and obiect certeine heresies vnto you, and meane to send you to prison; but then you shall require, that sith you be one of the councell, that they deale with you in that sort as they themselues would be dealt withall if they were in the like danger; that is, that they would bring forth your accusors; and if you can not disprooue them, that you will willinglie suffer imprisonment. And if they will not grant you this, but proceed to the execution of their determination, you shall appeale to me to haue the hearing of the matter; and then deliuer to them this token, to surcease to deale anie further with you. Wherwithall the king tooke a well knowen ring from his finger, gaue it to Cranmer, and sent him awaie.

The kings speeches to Cranmer.

The next daie in the morning messengers were sent from the councell to bring the archbishop, who brought him, but could not be admitted as then to come into the councell chamber, but staied without doores amongst the pages and others. Which being declared to doctor Buts the kings physician, he moued therewith, came to the archbishop to keepe him companie, whereby his disgrace might séeme the lesse. After which, Buts being called vnto the king, he left the bishop, and told all the order thereof to the king. What (quoth the king) is it so? Do they so contemptuouslie handle the cheefe person of the councell? Wherewithall the king being moued, sent a messenger, to will them to let Cranmer into the councell chamber. Which being done, the councell declared vnto him, that the king and councell vnderstood by fame, that all England was infected with heresie, and drawne from the catholike faith, which euill came from him and his familie; wherefore they would commit him to the Tower, & without delaie make inquisition of the report and truth thereof. Whereunto the archbishop answering, he required the witnesses and accusors to be produced openlie, to defend himselfe: because it was sounding to iniustice, that the primat of England, and one of the councell, whose credit was neuer doubted or called in question, should be slandered by reprochfull reports, and committed to prison, to the preiudice of his cause; adding further manie reasons where-

Cranmer waiteth at the doore of the councell chamber.

The words of the councell to Cranmer.

Cranmers answer to the councell.

* Papists.

The king protecteth Cranmer from going vnto the Tower.

* Papists.

Cranmer appealeth to the king.

wherefore they should deale more fauorablie with him. But when they could neither be woone by intretie, nor persuaded by reason, Cranmer said that he greatlie sorrowed, because he was inforced to appeale to the king from them, with whome he had so long liued in fellowship and societie of the councell, and whose equitie he alwaies hoped to find in anie danger. Wherevpon deliuering to them the kings ring, he brought the matter to be determined before the king. Which doone, the lord Russel, which was after created earle of Bedford, said: Did I not tell you before, that the king would neuer suffer Cranmer to be committed to prison, vnlesse that he were grieuouslie accused of treason against his maiestie? In the end, they with Cranmer do come before the king, at what time the king did sharplie rebuke the councell, desiring greater wisedome and grauitie amongst them, in that they would permit Cranmer to be excluded from his place of the councell, and that he stood at the dore amongst a companie of seruingmen; asking moreouer, if anie of them would haue permitted such an iniurie: and therevpon striking his hand vpon his breast, he affirmed with an oth, that he was so much bound to Cranmer as he was not to anie other; & had made such triall of his truth and integritie, as more could not be in anie prelat towards his king; adding further, that whosoeuer loued him, should estéeme & loue Cranmer. Which being said, all his aduersaries were for feare silent, except the duke of Northfolke, which answered; It was not our purpose anie waie to hurt the archbishop, but that hanging the same inquisition, he should be kept in publike prison, to the end that his innocencie and the falsenesse of his accusations being knowne, he might come forth with greater credit. To which the king said; I will not haue Cranmer or anie such as be deare vnto me, to be handled with this danger, or with such kind of credit: but I perceiue there is certeine priuie and old hatred amongst you, stirring these tragedies, which vnlesse they be well suppressed, I will be an vmpier betweene you, and appease the same my selfe: and with those spéeches the king departed angerlie. Wherevpon the councell sought fauour at Cranmers hands, and so to returne vnto his friendship, whereof he was neuer squeimish, but remitted all displeasures.

Cranmer commeth for the triall of his cause before the king.

The councell seeke the fauor of Cranmer.

Now, as is before touched, when doctor Cox the vicar generall in spirituall causes for Cranmer, with Anthonie Hussie his register, remained long at Canturburie about the inquirie of the archbishops behauiour; the king did priuilie send a doctor of the law, to know what they had found either for or against Cranmer. Which doctor spédilie coming to Canturburie, inquired of certeine reformed men (which Cox and Husseie did not call before them) from what fountaine all this infamie grew to Cranmer. At what time they laid all the matter vpon the priests, whose houses he caused to be searched at midnight, where were found certeine letters written by one Gardiner, as hath Matthew Parker, secretarie to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, which secretarie was after hanged for treason: in which letters was conteined all the conspiracie against Cranmer. Which when the king saw, he began more and more to leaue the companie of the * pontificals, warning Cranmer of their intent, and commanded those letters of Gardiners to be read in the parlement house, but Cranmer persuaded the king to the contrarie. These things doone, the * euangelicals (for so I terme them after Matthew Parker, which professed the reformed religion) began now more and more liberallie to shew themselues, being before oppressed by the Romanists or pontificals, for so in like sort after the same author I name them that defended the Roman religion and the popes doctrine. For in the parlement latlie called, Cranmer did persuade, that the law of the six articles should either be vtterlie taken awaie or mitigated. In which matter although he was promised to haue bin supported by the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Rochester; yet by the importunat labor of Stephan Gardiner, he was forsaken & left alone, whereby his intent did not sort to his desired effect, to haue it wholie taken awaie. But yet he alone standing in the matter, was for his fastnesse therin both commended and furthered by the king and the nobilitie, whereby he obteined some moderation thereof, and therewith notwithstanding anie thing the pontificals could do, the archbishop grew daily more & more into the kings fauour. Whereby Cranmer gathering stomach, did (as he had often before) persuade that the bible might be turned into English, and distributed vnto euerie church, which Gardiner and the other catholike bishops did withstand a long time. But when the king had granted to Cranmer all moderation and determination of ecclesiasticall matters in that synod, which (as before said) began with the parlement, Cranmer afresh did vse persuasions for translating of the bible, the Lords praier, the apostles créed, and the ten commandements, into the vulgar tong or English: and further, to haue portasses of the Romane vse to be abolished, that mariage should be permitted to the vicars generall of bishops, that lawes should be made for the state of the church of England, and for the granting of a subsidie to the king: whereunto the pontificals knowing the kings mind, durst not openlie resist, but secretlie laboured what they could against it: in such sort that it was a long time doubted who should haue the translating of the bible. For some would haue it committed to the vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge, and others would haue certeine lerned men chosen out of the synod to take the same vpon them. Then it was disputed about the maner of translating and signification of certeine words: as *Dominus*, whether it should be Englished the Lord or our Lord: *Ecclesia*, whether church or congregation: and *Charitas*, whether it were to be called charitie or loue. And at the end of the second commandement (Thou shalt not make anie grauen image) Gardiner and the pontificals would haue added vnto it this sentence, To the intent to worship it. All which notwithstanding, the intent of Cranmer was brought to effect; for the English bible was placed in euerie church, the people had licence to read it, and power was giuen to two and thirtie of the parlement house to be named by the king, to make ecclesiasticall lawes for the church of England: where it was also decreed, that ecclesiasticall iurisdiction might be exercised by such married persons as had knowledge in the ciuill law, and had receiued the degrée of doctor in anie of the vniuersities. And the better to strengthen the euangelicals, as hath Matthew Parker, a mariage was contracted betweene king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine Par (a woman much fauoring the gospell) the sister of William Par marquesse of Northampton and the widow of the lord Latimer.

Cranmer increaseth in the kings fauour.

The bible translated into English.

How certeine words of the bible should be Englished.

1542 High commissioners appointed for ecclesiasticall causes.

King Henrie the eight mariech the Ladie Katharine Par.

After this, warres being had against the king of England both by the French & Scots, the king laboured the emperor, that ioining their power, they might set vpon the French. The issue of which warres (although they were both beneficiall and honorable to the king & kingdome, because Bullogne was then ouerthrowne and taken) yet by the emperors authoritie, Gardiner and the other pontificals did afresh crépe againe into the kings fauour, who preuailing,

Letters in which is conteined a conspiracie against Cranmer.
* Papists.

* Protestants or gospellers.

1543 1544 1545 prevailing, there was persecution vsed against the euangelicals. In which perhaps (as saith Matthew Parker) if they had kept a meane, they might haue made their cause to haue seemed better with the king; but they went so farre, that they spared not the kings bed, neither could the kings mariage be clere from danger of the six Articles. For Gardiner did not onlie accuse those of the kings chamber, but also the kings wife of heresie: which deed so offended the king, that he could neuer after well awaie with Gardiner, and did commit the duke of Northfolke, with his sonne the earle of Surrie prisoners to the Tower for suspicion of treason, wherof the one which was the sonne was after beheaded, and the other remained in prison for seuen yeares, vntill the reigne of queene Marie, who deliuered him. King Henrie the eight hauing now banisht the popes authoritie, and dissolued the religious houses, died the third kalends of

Queene Katharine Par accused of heresie.

1546 Februarie, and was buried at Windsor: at what time appointing sixteene persons, to whom he committed the yong king Edward, onelie two bishops, this Cranmer and Cutbert Tunstall were of that number, Gardiner at that time being out of fauour, & therefore excluded from the priuitie of the kings will. After this, on the fourth kalends of March, was king Edward the sixt crowned by this archbishop, at what time doctor Cox before named, and sir John Cheke, were appointed his schoolemaisters, to instruct him in the euangelicall doctrine. But in the end, to auoid further inconuenience, which might grow by reason of the multitude of gouernors appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne the yong king, one man by the aduise of the lord Paget was chosen in place of the rest, to take the office of protectorship vpon him, which was Edward Seimor erle of Hertford, after duke of Somerset. Who altering the forme of religion, as it was left in the time of king Henrie the eight, did take from it such ceremonies of the Romane church as king Henrie had yet left within England.

Cranmer and Tunstall appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne king Edward the sixt.

The duke of Summerset altereth religion.

1547 At what time a parlement being called, and a synod also, Cranmer in that synod made an oration to abolish such rites as king Henrie the eight had left; and therewith found meanes in the parlement to abolish the law of the six articles. Besides which, in that parlement, the cleargie exhibited an other petition: for they considered that all the force and authoritie of the synod was not onelie diminished, but wholie broken and ouerthrowne, after that the cleargie in the word of priesthood, had promised to king Henrie the eight, that they would not decree anie thing in their synod without the kings authoritie: which power of ecclesiasticall lawes being banished, the burgesses in the parlement began to establish lawes for diuine matters, without consent or knowledge of the cleargie, and by little and little, to take awaie the immunities of the absent cleargie, and to make harder lawes wherewith to tie the spiritualtie, the which to suffer, seemed hard vnto the cleargie, sith the parlement was accustomed onelie to treat of matters touching the common-wealth, and not of the church.

Matt. Parker. pag. 398.

The inferior cleargie desire to be admitted as part of the lower house of the parlement.

Wherefore they required, that as the prelats in the higher house of parlement were ioined with the nobilitie; so in the lower house, that the prelats and procurators of the cleargie might be ioined with the burgesses togither, with them to consult of the state of the church. But the determination of that request was turned ouer vntill an other time. A little after which, all the ceremonies of the Romane church, masse, dirge, inuocation of saints and other things, with the seruice in an vnknowne tong, and the multitude of worshipped saints were taken awaie and abolished. In place whereof, the seruice in the English tong, and the most holie sacraments by Christ onelie instituted, were then set vp through England. And for the better establishing thereof visitors were sent through the realme, which so set forth the matter, that they left no relikes or suspicion of the contrarie religion: against which, yet manie of the pontificals did resist with such feruencie as they could. For Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Boner bishop of London, Tunstall bishop of Durham, and Heath bishop of Rochester toke it grieuouslie, that all relikes of Rome in generall should be so abolished, pretending that no alteration in religion ought to haue beene had during the kings minoritie. Wherevnto they did stand the faster, because the ladie Marie king Edwards sister had masse, with the appurtinances in hir house: whose example (because she was after the death of king Edward next heire to the crowne by hir fathers testament) did conteine and hold manie in the same religion.

1548 Visitors sent through the realme.

1549 Bishops defending the Romane religion.

But Gardiner, Boner, Tunstall, and Heath, persisting in their opinions, they were remooued from their bishoprikes & committed to the Tower, at what time the emperors ambassador intreated for the ladie Marie (the emperors nere kinswoman) that she might still vse the Romane seruice in hir house; which king Edward would not allow: but but burst out in teares (when Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and Ridleie now bishop of London in the place of Boner did require the same) and said that she should be by law restreined thereof, whereat the bishops were greatly ashamed of their request. This done, Cranmer called out of forren nations certeine diuines to read in the vniuersities of England, and to inlarge the euangelicall doctrine, which persons were Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer: whereof the first was placed at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge, with whome in that vniuersitie Paulus Fagius another stranger did at Cambridge vse and teach the Hebrue tong. Moreouer, this archbishop did nourish beyond the seas, Tremelius, Ochinus, Alexander, and Valerand, with their wiues and children, and sent for Melancthon, and Musculus: who not permitted by their countrie to come into England, excused themselues by letters.

Cranmer called diuerse out of forren nations.

Cranmer thus succoring learned men, wrote a booke for the supper of the Lord. Against which, Stephan Gardiner being in the Tower, wrote another booke intituled *Marcus Constantius*, refuted by Peter Martyr, as hath Matthew Parker. Few yeares after, died king Edward of the ptisicke (as saith the same Matthew Parker) though Osorius (by what reason or authoritie I know not) obiecteth to doctor Haddon that he was poisoned: against which (if my memorie faile not) maister Fox hath written in answering to Osorius after the death of the same Haddon. King Edward the sixt being thus dead, his sister Marie obteined the crowne, made alteration of religion, set the before imprisoned bishops at libertie, restored them vnto their see, & displaced others appointed therevnto in hir brothers time. Which bishops hauing now the sword in their hand, and full authoritie, stretched the same to the execution of their lawes, burning some, banishing others, and imprisoning the third sort: whereof, some were in life reserued vntill the gouernement of queene Elisabeth, & after aduanced to places of great honor. Amongst which that were so pursued by the pontificals Cranmer was one, who being persuaded to flie the realme, would not: affirming that if he were guiltie of treason or murther, he would imbrace and follow their counsell: but being otherwise, he would not: who being verie stout in matters of religion, did challenge a noble man to fight with him in king

Cranmer writeth against Stephan Gardiner.

1551

1553

Cranmer would not the realm

Cranmer reth the bat to a man.

Edwards daies, because he did oppugne the ecclesiasticall ceremonies reformed by Cranmer his counsell, who had abolished the Romane sacraments.

Now when Cranmer was thus persuaded by others to flie, a certeine kind of prophesie (as it may be termed) came to his mind, in which king Henrie the eight did foreshew his death. For when Cranmer did beare the ensignes and armes of his ancestors, quartered with three cranes, the king taking awaie the cranes, placed in lieu thereof three pellicans to be borne in his armes, as a signe that he should after shed his blood for his children: but to leaue that, let vs go forwards with the historie.

The armes of Cranmer altered.

Quéene Marie was the daie before the kalends of October crowned at Westminster by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, against all law and example (as some haue) because the same doth onelie belong vnto the metropolitane, as most ancient histories affirme: but we find manie examples to the contrarie, both in ancient & moderne times: whereof these few come to my mind. That Alredus bishop of Yorke crowned William Conqueror, Maurice bishop of London crowned Henrie the first, Peter bishop of Winchester and Joseline bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third, and Oglethorpe bishop of Carlill crowned quéene Elisabeth. Which I speake not to impeach the priuilege and honor of that sée: for it is most reason that the best should be serued with the best; and that the best subiect should doo the best honor to the best and chéefe gouernor: but I haue onelie brought in this, because that some saie, that Winchester (not hauing example therefore) did crowne quéene Marie. And yet notwithstanding (to saie the truth) these bishops did alwaies crowne the princes vpon some reasonable cause; as when the metropolitan was vnlawfullie gotten into that sée, as Stigandus, who intruded himselfe thereunto; or was beyond the seas, as was Anselmus, when Mauricius bishop of London crowned Henrie the first; or as Stephan Langton was, when Peter bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third; or else in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, as when Oglethorpe crowned the worthie quéene Elisabeth.

The metropolitane onelie to crowne the prince.

But to leaue this, let vs returne to Cranmer, who was after accused, and by the iudges condemned of treason: which Cranmer tooke to be an vnkind recompense for all the kindnesse which he had bestowed vpon quéene Marie. For when hir father would haue committed hir to prison for standing in hir religion, this Cranmer pacified the king; and when she should haue bene disherited by the testament of king Edward, he did with a long oration persuade the contrarie, although it tooke not effect. But the remembrance of hir mothers diuorce, Cranmers religion, and the subscribing of his name to the proclaming of quéene Jane, put those things out of mind. Whereupon being condemned, he with Nicholas Ridleie, and Hugh Latimer, bishops of London and Worcester, were sent to Oxford to prison. After this, quéene Marie maried king Philip at Winchester the seuenth kalends of August, and cardinall Poole (of whom we will speake more hereafter) being called hither by quéene Marie, came into England with power legantine from pope Julie the third, and in parlement released the interdict and excommunication of the land, which had continued almost twentie yeares.

Cranmer condemned of treason.

In the meane time, Weston the prolocutor with manie other professors of diuinitie, came from the synod to Oxford, publikelie to dispute with Cranmer, Ridleie, and Latimer, about the carnall presence of Christ in the sacrament. But in the end the matter was so handled, that Cranmer and the others were condemned for heretikes; first by the vniuersitie, and by the synod of London: the long declaration whereof we leaue to others, who haue of purpose treated thereof, amongst whome is Iohn Fox in his booke of the Acts and monuments of the church: for it is beside my purpose, to treat of the substance of religion, sith I am onelie politicall, and not ecclesiasticall; a naked writer of histories, and not a learned diuine to treat of mysteries of religion. Wherefore leauing that, let vs hasten to the hastened death of Cranmer. Cardinall Poole being the popes legat, was in honor and fauor preferred before all men, who although he sought the archbishoprike of Canturburie, and did by his legantine power take the fruits thereof from Cranmer, conuerted them to his vse by colour of sequestration, and dwelled at Lambeth: yet he would not beare himselfe as archbishop so long as Cranmer liued.

Iohn Fox.

But Stephan Gardiner (after the fashion of court prelats) desirous to be equall in honor with cardinall Wolsele (whom he sometimes serued) priuilie labored with the pope to be cardinalated, and to haue power legantine bestowed vpon him; for the obteining whereof he conceiued a certeine hope, because pope Julie the third being dead, John Peter Caraffa, which was called the cardinall Theatin, was aduanced to the popedome: betweene whome (being now called Paule the fourth) and cardinall Poole, there was old & capitall enimitie which could not be pacified by anie meanes. Wherefore Gardiners request to be cardinall, to take awaie Poles authoritie, and to call him to Rome, was acceptable to the pope. For which cause it was supposed, that Gardiner prolonged the life of Cranmer, to the end that Poole might not haue the bishoprike of Canturburie. In the meane time, Gardiner falling sicke of the gout, or paines of his ioints; the same grew so much, that his physicians affirmed that he could not liue. At length lieng in his bed, his bodie yéelded such a lothsome sauor (as saith Matthew Parker, and Iohn Fox) that none could scarse abide it; who dieng in that sort, did in the verie instance of death saie: I haue erred with Peter, but not wept with Peter.

Matt. Parker.

The pope and cardinall Poole enimies.

1555

When he was dead, the legat Poole appointed Brookes bishop of Bristow to be the popes delegat to giue sentence vpon Cranmer, who comming to Oxford (togither with John Storie, after executed at Tiburne, and with Thomas Martin doctor of the law now liuing, associats to the said bishop by the quéenes authoritie) called forth Cranmer, at what time with a long oration Brookes labored to bring home Cranmer to the Romane religion. But he not remoued from his maner of christian profession, & persisting in his former doctrine, was summoned to be at Rome within fourescore daies to answere before the pope; which Cranmer promised to doo if he might haue licence therefore of the quéene. But the pope, before the twentith daie was past, sent letters to king Philip and quéene Marie, to condemne Cranmer, and to commit him to the secular power. Whervpon, a little after, new authoritie was by the pope granted to Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, and to Edmund Boner bishop of London, to depriue Cranmer from all præstlie and archiepiscopall dignitie, and to commit him to the secular power to be burned, which was doone the foureteenth daie of Februarie. But Cranmer yéelding to the frailtie of the flesh, lacking the comfortable letters which one was wont to write to another at the going to their death, there entered him by the persuasion of one frier John, and of the pontificals, a certeine temptation, in that they laied before him hope of life, thereby

Brookes bishop of Bristow appointed to giue sentence vpon Cranmer.

The pope giueth authoritie to the bishops of London and Elie to depose Cranmer.

A disputation about religion in the time of quéene Marie.

Cranmer subscribed to the Romane religion.

to auoid the terror of death, if he would by writing recant what he had before said and written touching religion. Wher vnto Cranmer yelding, and they obteining the same, yet they were not contented: for when Cranmer hoped most for life, then by the decree of cardinall Pole was his death hastened. For doctor Cole came to Oxford, and preaching in S. Maries church, he there affirmed that God could not be pacified (being offended with the death of sir Thomas More sometime chancellor of England, and of John Fisher bishop of Rochester, who were beheaded in the time of king Henrie the eight, for maintaining the popes supremasie) but with the death and sacrifice of this Cranmer: who being brought forth of prison betweene two friers in an old gowne, was exhorted by Cole in his sermon that he should with liuelie voice confirme that recantation which he had made by writing. But he denieng that, terming the pope antichrist, and hating the bishops, was after burned in that towne; first burning his hand which made the recantation, and then standing vpright in the flame, and crauing mercie of God, to whome he committed his soule, he was consumed to ashes: a death not read before to haue happened to anie archbishop, who as he was the first that publikelie impugned by established lawes the popes authoritie in England, so was he the first metropolitane that was burned for the same.

God cannot be pacified but with the death of Cranmer.

Cranmer burned at Oxford.

After his death the see of Canturburie being now void, there was a synod called by the commandement of the king and queene; in which it was decreed that the daie wherein England was by cardinall Pole reconciled to the church of Rome, should euerie yeare be kept holie daie, and called the daie of the reconciliation of the church of Rome. But that lasted not long, sith the death and end of queene Marie set end vnto the same: besides which, because queene Marie had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths before granted to king Henrie the eight, they granted hir a large subsidie. In which synod also manie other things were required, but not obteined. Besides which, queene Marie was of that mind (as not being satisfied in giuing those tenths to the clergie) that she also thought vpon the restitution of the houses of religion, and to bring to them the lands taken awaie in the time of king Henrie the eight: for manie supposed that they could not keepe the same with a safe conscience. Wherefore calling togither the marquesse of Winchester treasuror of England, and others of the councell, she declared vnto them how that she was daie and night troubled with the lands of those monasteries; whose restitution although it be hurtfull to the crowne, as weakening the reuenues thereof, yet she would not keepe anie other bodies goods, no not the kingdome it selfe with a troubled conscience. Wherfore she willed that cardinall Pole the popes legat, to whome this matter was by the pope committed, should be consulted therevpon, to the end that hir vexed conscience might safelie be deliuered from all care thereof. But king Henrie the eight, when he did dissolue the monasteries, by the exchange of those lands, and by other grants thereof, did so diuide the same into seuerall mens hands (a deuise proceeding from Cromwell earle of Esser, who first also sought the dissolution of those monasteries) that he had nothing so much left in his possession, as he had distributed to the noble men and others, who feeling the sweet that came thereby, would not so easilie depart with the same againe; insomuch that when the pope (as hath Matthew Parker) by the queene and cardinals procurement had thundered sentence of excommunication against all those which possessed lands belonging to monasteries, and that the same bull (as it was said) should haue beene declared in England; there was such sudden hurliburlie raised here amongst vs of all sorts, aswell noble men, gentlemen, and others, yea of such as most fauored the pope, as vnlesse that bull had beene sent backe to Rome, and the sentence reuoked, it was thought the popes authoritie would haue beene againe banished England; for they plainelie said, that they would not obeie him if he touched their freholds. By reason whereof the clergie vtterlie despaired of generall restitution of the religious houses, although in some few places, monasteries and such other houses began againe to be builded, and religious persons to be brought into them; as at Westminster, great S. Bartholomews besides Smithfield in London, Grenewich, and Dartford in Kent, and others more.

Ex archinis. The daie of the reconciliation of England to the pope kept holidaie.

Quæne Marie willing to set vp the houses of religion.

Noble men loth to depart with religious lands.

Reginald Poles life being with such high praise written by manie learned and eloquent Italians, and manie declamers of the vniuersitie of Venice, is set forth with such beautie, and eloquence of stile, as nothing can be more desired therein. But therwithall (as saith Matthew Parker) they fauoring him ouer much, did in their praises of him not spare the dispraise of king Henrie the eight: so that they rather seemed flattering and rhethoricall schole declamations than true commendations, worthilie deserued for vertue and vpright actions. The which is not therefore spoken by vs, because we do enuie his commendation. For what can be more glorious vnto our kingdome, than that the Italians, who after a certeine sort glorie of the inheritance of learning and eloquence, should so highlie commend a man of our nation? But because we are chieflie to set down such things as he did being archbishop of Canturburie, we will omit whatsoeuer might else be said of him, and briefflie passe ouer his life, craving pardon although we omit or somewhat dissent from that immoderat commendation, which other haue throwne vpon him; for mine intent is onelie plainelie to set downe things as they were done, without aggrauating, diminishing, praising, misliking, or anie waie else inferring vpon the outward action.

Reginald Pole cardinall archbishop of Canturburie.

This man (as saith Matthew Parker) *Patre quidem Richardo equestris ordinis viro, Henrici septimi regis fratre consobrino, matre verò Margareta Eduardi quarti Anglorum quondam regis nepte, Georgij Clarentij ducis filia atque comitissa Sarisburiæ natus est.* Of which his descent I haue alreadie spoken in my former discourse of the cardinals, pag. 1168. who by the care of his parents, perceiuing him of a deintie wit, and of a gentle behauior, was brought vp in learning in Magdalen college in Oxford, whome king Henrie the eight in his youthfull yeares did greatlie fauor, not onelie because he was kin vnto him by the father and mothers side, but also because that he hoped that his learning should beautifie the kinglie race, and might be a great helpe vnto him in the gouernement of the kingdome. Wherefore he augmented the stipends of this Pole with the deanerie of Excester, and with other large allowances, to the end that following the studies of good letters beyond the seas, he might there learne both the depth of the sciences, and the maners and languages of those outward nations. Whereupon he goeth to Pauie a citie belonging to the dominion of Venice, where he found learned men in all sciences. In which place Pole gaue his mind to the studie of eloquence and philosophie, where he profited so much, that he was no more knowen to those strangers for the nobilitie of his birth than he was for the fame and report of his learning. Wherefore, when he was thus had in admiration in Italie, aswell for his parentage as his excellencie of learning, he ioined himselfe with the magnificos and noble men of Venice, wherby vnthanke-

Pole brought vp in Oxford.

Pole trauelleth the parts beyond the seas.

fullie he departed from the loue of his countrie, and the dutie of so liberall a prince as king Henrie the eight was to him. For (as we said) when the same king determined to abolish the popes authoritie in England, he louinglie sought to call this Poole home into his countrie. But he refusing to returne, making manie delaies and excuses, the king caused Stokes bishop of London, and Tunstall bishop of Durham to write vnto him against the popes authoritie, whose works are yet extant. But Poole not moued thereby, ioined with the Italians, famous as well for their birth as for their learning and eloquence, amongst which were Aloisius Priolus, Gaspar Contarenus, Peter Bembus, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, borne at Naples, but then for feare of the emperor fled vnto Uenice, where he remained in a monasterie. To these were also ioined in one knot of amitie for likenesse of studies and maners, James Sadolet bishop of Carpentoract in France, & Cosmus Gherius bishop of Fauens; and of the commoner sort in the vniuersities of Pauie & Bononia, M. Antonius Flaminius, surnamed Genua, Lampridius Cremonensis, Lazarus Bonamicus, Basianus, & manie of that sort which seemed to excell in philosophie, Greeke, and all kind of learning: and therefore not onelie famous in Italie but through out all the other parts of Europe. All which for eloquence and flowing in the Latine tong gaue place to this Poole, as by the letters often times sent betweene them, and of late by the witnesse of the most eloquent Paulus Manutius is well proued. But if those their praises had neuer beene giuen of him, yet Poole himselfe may be a most plentifull witnesse in that matter, being importunatlie laboured by Sadolet (who had then written a learned and eloquent booke of philosophie) to deliuer his iudgement thereof. Whereunto Poole with long letters did answer, that he greatlie allowed all that he had written in philosophie: but on the other side, he did as much maruell, that a cardinall of the church of Rome would place the end and cheefe of all his studies in philosophie, which although it sometime held the price aboue all other studies and arts, yet now (as he writeth) that is cast downe by the comming of the word of God, for the which cause he compared it with these verses of Virgil:

Insula diues opum Priami dum regna manebant,
Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima fama,
Nunc tantùm sinus statio & malefida carinis.

Poole refuseth to returne into England.

Wherefore sith the ethnike superstition is now ouerthrowne, diuinitie and not philosophie ought to be set before a christian man, as the cheefest hauen whervnto he should with all his sailes hasten to direct his course & rest. Which epistle of Poole if it be diligentlie compared with the answer of Sadolet, he shall find Poole (as saith Matthew Parker) to go beyond Sadolet both in argument and sweetnesse of stile. In which place the said Matthew in his booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, hath also set downe these words of this Poole: *Sed iuuenis ingenij facunditate cum rerũ verborúmque frequens copia ei siue dicenti sibi scribenti succederet, Asiaticam redundantiam sequi visus est. Quam vt ex libris eius iam cernimus siue studio siue flacceſſente oratione sic tandem decoxit, vt senex in dicendo scribendóque redundantiam omnẽ & affluentiam a stilo resecuit, sape etiam sine vbertate, peneque succo ieiunus existimetur.* But leauing the commendation of his learning and eloquence, let vs returne to those things which this Poole did.

When Henrie the eight had expelled the pope, and would not suffer Poole to returne into England, first this Poole was bereaued of his deanrie of Excester, and of all other stipends which he had by the king. But he greatlie esteemed not thereof, because he was honorablie and plentifullie interteined by the clergie of Italie, with whome he liued so much the more honourablie, and with greater freendship, bicause he was banished England. For pope Paule the third being dead, Clement the seauenth succeeding, and Peter Bembus, a most familiar freend to Poole, being secretarie vnto Clement, brought Poole in continuall and great fauour of the pope, who after made him cardinall; at that time also aduancing to the purple hat Bembus, Contarenus, Sadolet, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, of which number Theatin toke part with the French, and Poole fauoured the emperour and his imperials; a thing (as after shall appere) that brought forth vnquenchable enimitie betweene Poole and Carafa. Which choise of these cardinals was made the eleauenth kalends of Januarie, at what time Poole was intituled cardinall of S. Maries in Cosmeden. Now, when it was secretlie consulted at Rome to support the falling authoritie of the pope, to restreine the Lutherans in Germanie, and to banish the gospell out of England; these delegates were appointed therefore: Theatinus, this Poole, Cortesius, abbat of S. George, & Matheus Gibertus bishop of Uerona, who taking aduise among themselues, committed those things to writing which might be profitable to the common cause of the pontificals, whose said aduise and counsell touching the same, is yet extant and published in Italie. But vpon the setting forth thereof, onelie Poole was admitted into the popes palace and familiaritie, bicause he stood in doubt of himselfe, and suspected some laieng of wait for him by the English. Poole being thus in the popes fauour, and framing himselfe to all the popes determinations, was after sent to the king of France, and to the low countries of Germanie, in two dangerous ambassages. In which though other causes were outwardlie pretended, yet (as hath Matthew Parker) he had giuen him in charge by the pope, that he should in the name of the church of Rome solicit the emperor & the French king to warre vpon the king of England. But king Henrie the eight wiselie auoided the same, for neither the emperor nor the French king (then in sharpe wars for the limits of their dominions) durst stir the king of England, least that he inclining to anie one part, might ouerthrow the other. At which time Poole did write to his freends and kindred in England, that they should stand fast in the Romane faith, and expect the end of his ambassage.

1536

Poole protected by the pope.

Poole persuadeth princes to warre vpon the king of England.

The king of England hauing knowledge of all this deuise, did (when he vnderstood of Poole his comming into France) deale with the French king by his legats, that he should send Poole into England to receiue punishment, as guiltie of treason to the king of England. But the French king denieng it, and affirming the same to be against the law of armes, to yeeld the ambassador of anie man (especiallie of the pope) to receiue punishment, would not do it. And yet, bicause he would not offend the king, he did not admit the ambassage of Poole; but speedilie commanded him to depart out of his kindome. Wherewith Poole being sore perplexed, speedilie spead himselfe into the low countries to the emperour, where he was also by the emperor repelled; bicause the king of England had a little before sentenced Poole, his mother the countesse of Salisburie, his other confederats and freends to perpetuall banishment. Wherefore this cardinall Poole hasteth to *Leige, being inuited thither by Erardus à Marchia, cardinall and bishop of that citie, where he for a time remained, but not long, for the king of England vnderstanding by his espies of his abode there, sent his ambassadors, and required of the Belgians in

Poole hasteth out of France to the emperor.

*Leodium.

The liuings which Poole had in England taken from him.

respect of the ancient leagues betweene him and the duke of Burgundie, that they would deliuer to his ambassadors his enimie, and one condemned of treason, and not suffer him to wander vp and downe amongst them. Which being opened in a publike councell, holden in the low countries, where the said Erard was present, it was declared to Pole that he should presentlie hasten himselfe to Rome through Germanie, whereby Pole departed without bringing anie of his ambassages to effect. Yet notwithstanding, after this they obtrude vnto him an other most dangerous ambassage: for when the emperour had ordered all his affaires in the low countries and in Germanie, he went into Spaine, whither by the popes commandement Pole was sent vnto them, and from thense to the French king to deale with them, to breake the league with the king of England, that they shuld both set vpon him, and that Pole should remaine in the low countries or on the borders of France, to expect the end thereof, in the meane time assertening the pope of all things which happened.

Pole inforced to depart the low countries.

Pole sent by the pope into Spaine.

With this commandement cardinall Pole changing his habit, did with a few persons hasten his iorneie, and with a spædie and readie course came to the emperor then remaining at Toleto in Spaine. But the emperor which meant to kæpe the king of England in league with him, gaue such audience to this cardinall Pole, that he answered, there was no time now to execute his request. And to rid him of that matter, he willed Pole to go into France, to consult thereabouts with the French king. With which answer Pole perceiuing how the emperor had shifted him awaie, obteining leaue, departed from Spaine, and came to Auinion; from whense he went to his familiar James Sadolet archbishop of Carpentoract and cardinall, where for a while he rested himselfe in great saftie, vntill he might vnderstand the popes pleasure. But in the end, being called home by the pope, although his ambassage had not the desired effect: yet for that he had much trauelled in the same, the pope made him legat of Viterbo, as a reward for his paines. Wherevpon finding no better successe in such things as he attempted, he gaue them ouer, and wholie applied himselfe vnto diuinitie; wherein it seemeth he had no setled iudgement (as saith Matthew Parker) but sometime fauored the * pontificals, and sometime the * euangelicals, as may be gathered by their often comming vnto him, but especiallie by the continuall companie of Antonius Flaminius (the most excellent orator and poet that translated the psalmes of Dauid into Illyricall verses) and of Tremelius, a most learned person which turned the bible into Latine, and was conuerted from the Iewes doctrine to christianitie when he was in the house with Pole, and baptised by the said Pole and Flaminius within the walles of the house of this cardinall Pole. Besides which, his house was a receptacle of friers and monks falling from the pope and flieng out of Italie into Germanie. Againe, when manie were accused vnto him in Viterbo, that they were Lutherans, he neuer punished them either by the inquisition or other seuere paine, but remained there certeine yeares, as a man wholie buried in studie, and one vtterlie separated from worldlie matters, of whome the same Parker writeth thus:

Pole made legat of Viterbo.

* Papists.
* Protestants.

Pole fauoreth the gospellers.

Verùm nescio quomodo Poli castitas, in qua una virtute omnes Romæ cardinales facilè superabat, dum Viterbij contemplaretur diffamata est. Nam papæ castello vbi Polus habitabat adiunctum est monialium cœnobium sanctæ Clarę dicatum. His monialibus suis vicinis vt in castitate retinerentur, sedulò dicitur prospexisse Polus, earúmque abbatissam quæ nobilis Perusina fuit ad se vocasse sæpius. Ex quorum frequenti congressu Pasquillus Romanus qui nullius famæ aut dignitati parcit, sæpiúsque vera quàm falsa narrat, Latinis Italicisque carminibus Romæ diuulgauit eam è Polo peperisse bis, primò masculinam deinde fœmininam prolem. But touching that matter, this Pole heard more thereof when he was in election to be pope, as after shall appære, when he clæred himselfe. In the meane time, whilest the warres were hot betweene Cesar and the French, Paule the third summoned a generall councell at Trent, to which he sent the cardinals Pole, Moronus, and a third to be his legats there. But the same counsell did shortlie after cease, being interrupted by the heat of the warres (betweene the emperor and the French) in Heluetia, Germanie, France, and Spaine. At length those warres being intermitted for a time, the councell at Trent was againe renewed, and this Pole with the cardinals de monte and of the holie crosse were appointed the popes legats, at what time Pole did write and publish a booke of the same councell. In the end the councell being turned ouer to Bononia, the emperor found himselfe græued therewith, & complaining thereof by Hurtaldus his orator in a little booke published to all men, he further described a forme of religion in that booke which he called the Interim: both which Pole being placed in the popes presence did with publike answer rebuke.

Pole appointed one of the popes legats in the councel of Trent.

Now when pope Paule the third was dead, the cardinals (after the maner) came into the conclaue to chose a new pope. In which there was great contention amongest them being diuided into two parts, the one taking the part of Cesar and the other of the French king. Pole himselfe being imperiall drew vnto him all such as were on that side, & those also that were neuters, amongst whom was Alexander Farnesius, nephue of the deceased pope, whose authoritie aboue the rest was verie great, and led the chæfest part of the other cardinals to chose Pole to the popedome. But they which followed the French causes obiected that they should beware, lest Pole hauing atteined the triple crowne, would ouermuch fauour the emperor: wherefore there was consideration to be had of the voices of the other French cardinals, which were not then come. But notwithstanding all that the French could dow, the next daie when the voices were taken out of the scrutinie, such and so great number of them was found to incline to Pole, that the French could not resist it. But Pole without cause found an other delaie, whie he would not then take it vpon him; which being perceiued by the cardinall Theatin, hoping to obteine the papasie if Pole were reiected, obiected against Pole the note of ambition, heresie, and incontinencie: of ambition, in that he ouer hastilie sought the papasie; of heresie, because that in Germanie, and in the councell of Trent, he did ouer familiarlie vse the companie of the Lutherans, that he kept Flaminius in his house, and inriched him with manie prebends and ecclesiasticall dignities, and thirdlie, that being legat at Viterbo, he spared many guiltie of heresie, & punished a few with small paine, but none with death; of incontinencie, in that he had placed his daughter to be brought vp with the nuns of Rome. All which defamations, this cardinall Theatin did spred amongst the people, to the end that Pole being defamed, might not receiue the popedome. Wherevnto Pole did answer grauelie and aptlie, as he could well dow, for he alwaies caried such grauitie in his countenance, that he neuer changed the same for anie iniurie or reproch, or for anie aduerse or prosperous successe. In which his answer he declared, first that he did estæme the charge of the popedome to be so great, that it rather moued a feare than a desire to possesse it: secondlie, that he

Pole chosen to be pope.

Pole refuseth the popedome.

Pole accused of heresie, ambition, and incontinencie.

Pole clæreth himselfe of all things obiected against him.

was to be iudged free from all note or suspicion of heresie, which for the Romane religions cause had run into the hatred and offense of his king and countrie. And lastlie touching the little one which he norished in Rome, he proued hir to be daughter of an English woman which died in Rome, whom he had presented to the nuns to nourish and instruct vertuouslie, to the end that she might not applie hir selfe to euill trades; hauing further prouided for hir a dowrie of one hundred crownes, in the publike banke of Rome, which they call *Fidei montem*, lest in hir age she might for need be constreined to be cast out to vncerteine mishaps. Which kind of liberalitie being knowne to be vsed by Poole to manie others, ought (as saith Matthew Parker) to be of all good men estæmed rather offices of charitie and pietie, than tokens of incontinencie. Which slanders when Poole had thus washed awaie, he was the next night chosen pope. Wherefore cardinall Farnesius, and the rest which were of that mind, spedilie run to Poole, intreating him that he will take it vpon him, and permit himselfe to be honored as the maner is, with the same honor that is due to the pope, and to be saluted by the name of the most holie father. But he excused the matter in that it was done in the night; for saith he, God doth hate darkenesse, and things well done ought to be performed in the daie: wherefore he would deferre the matter till the morrow. Which words greeuing those cardinals, they did call it most foolish delaie.

Poole the second time chosen pope.

Poole the second time refuseth the popedome.

Wherefore the next daie all things being changed, and the minds of the cardinals turned from Poole, they inclined an other waie. For when Poole was gone out of the conclaue (or place where the pope is elected) because he felt himselfe sicke, it was contumeliouslie answered by cardinall Theatin, called Caraffa, to such as demanded Poole to be pope, and complained of his slacknesse, that nothing could happen more vnprofitable to that see, than to declare him pope; because that he had now shewed himselfe a blocke to all men, in that he would not accept the papasie offered, nor yet could aptlie refuse it, but suffer it so to hang in suspense. During which delaies, came the cardinall of Guise out of France, whose authoritie was greatest amongst the French cardinals. With whom Farnesius forsaking cardinall Poole did ioine himselfe, to the end to win fauour of the French. Whervpō when these two vsed the helps and voices of the other cardinals at their pleasure, the cardinall de Monte, the associate of cardinall Poole in the councell of Trent, was declared pope, and called Julius the third. After which, Poole (although of some he was accused of dastardlinesse, and faint hart) did not yet laie aside the tranquillitie of his mind, or the constancie of his toong; but set forth a booke of that delaie of chosing the pope in the conclaue, and in a most eloquent epistle did write to one Pacens a Spaniard and bishop, touching his refusall of the papasie. This new pope Julius did the more courteouslie intreat Poole, because by his delaie he obteined the popedome. Wherefore he inforced cardinall Theatin (who, as is before touched, had slandered Poole) before the open assemblie in the conclaue, to call backe that which he had said, and to aske Poole forgiuenesse. The hatred whereof conceiued by Theatin, was manifestlie shewed against Poole, when the same cardinall Theatin came to be inthronised pope. This done, Poole (growing in some mislike with the Italians, because that he would not be pope) obteining leaue of the see of Rome to depart, went to Verona to a house of Benedictine monks, of which order he was patrone at Rome, in which he determined to haue passed ouer his whole life in silence. But all Italie ringing of the death

Poole by publike booke defendeth his refusall of the popedome.

The slanderers of Poole aske him forgiuenesse.

of Edward the first king of England, and of the succession of quæne Marie, the same did greatlie comfort the mind of Poole before abased, and called him againe to shew himselfe in the world. For he now hoped to haue an honorable returne into his countrie, for that he certeinlie knew that the quæne would banish the religion of hir brother, and induce the Romane ceremonies; for which cause he was fed with double hope when he was returned into England, either to obteine a most rich and honorable ecclesiasticall liuing, which in truth he did; or else to haue married the quæne, which he neuer did. To which second hope he was erected, because that quæne Marie (when he was a child vnder his mother Margaret countesse of Salisburie, sometimes daughter of George duke of Clarence) was committed to his mother (by quæne Katharine, mother to quæne Marie) to be brought vp & instructed. At what time it was supposed, as saith Matthew Parker, that quæne Katharine had in hir mind a determination to marrie them two together, to the end that the right of the kingdome might be more stronglier knit in one line of hir children, if king Henrie the eight had died without heire male. For this ladie Margaret was then the onlie liuing heire which might pretend anie title to the crowne, by reason of the house of Yorke. Wherefore being now onlie a deacon (from whense by the popes licence he might easilie be disgraded) he conceiued a hope in his mind to marrie the quæne; and obteine the kingdome. But sauing correction of that author, which I speake with all reuerence, vnto so learned an antiquarie and graue person, I suppose that cardinall Poole did, or at least might thinke himselfe hopeles to marrie the one, or to be lord of the other. For although the pope might disgrade him, and that there might be some such meaning in quæne Katharine and the countesse of Salisburie, when quæne Marie and cardinall Poole were verie yong, and that for the reason before rehearsed, yet me thinketh it somewhat strange that a man so spent in yeares, being continent all his life, giuen to contemplation, a spare and leane bodie withered to nothing, more like a ghost than a man, should in his old age, heat failing, nature decaieng, his lims weake, & his mind studious, should plaie the wanton, or follow the delights of loue and mariage. Besides which, vnderstanding that king Philip should marrie quæne Marie, and that the onelie drift of the emperor, as after shall appeare, was to staie the cardinals comming into England, vntill the mariage was done, he would not haue staid his iorneie to hurt himselfe, but would haue found meanes to haue stopped the emperors deuise & authoritie by the popes excommunication, and so to haue proceeded on his iorneie into England, if he had meant to marrie quæne Marie. And is it likelie that he was so ambitious of honor, in atteining of a kingdome, for which a man would violate all lawes, as that he would for obteining thereof marrie quæne Marie, when he had refused a greater honor in earth, as the world stood at that time, than the wearing of a kings crowne, that is the wearing of a triple diademe, and obteining of the popes authoritie, by which he might haue kept his spirituall function, & haue ruled the quæne of England, and all the other princes of Europe? Or would he for honors sake go against his profession, enter into mariage, returne to the world as a laie man, and submit himselfe to the cares of a kingdome, which might haue had the greatest honor on earth without doing anie of these things? Or can not princes or great persons be brought vp together, but that their childish loue must end in doting mariage? But admit that this hot humor should so contrarie to my

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Poole hoped to marrie quæne Marie.

reason

reason haue taken place in him, how might he hope that quæne Marie, a woman of great zeale in hir kind (and desiring mariage for hope of issue) would seeke to marrie with so weake an old man, and a man of the church: whereof I doo not remember that I haue read anie example.

But leauing my yoong iudgement and lesse experience in the affaires and policies of obteining and keeping of kingdoms; let vs allow that determination and hope to be in cardinall Poole, and follow on the historie as it is in some part set downe by others. Cardinall Poole harboring this double hope, either of the kingdome, or of some great ecclesiasticall liuing; and being called home by quæne Maries letters, and receiuing legantine power from the pope, set forth to come into England. But the emperor did greatlie withstand those conceipts of Poole, whilest he both vnderstood his deuise, and further determined to marie his sonne and heire Philip to quæne Marie, thereby to make his part stronger against the Frenchmen. Whereupon the emperor consulted with cardinall Dandine the popes ambassador, sent to compound a peace betwæne the emperor Charles the fift, and Francis the first the French king. At what time the emperor earnestlie desired the cardinall to staie Poole from comming out of Italie: with which persuasion, Dandine spædilie sent one Francis Commendune with letters vnto Poole, in which he persuaded him not yet to take his iourneie into England: because that legacie was taken in hand without the emperors knowledge: and the Englishmen, especiallie the Londoners, did as yet in some part hate the name of the pope and his legats; adding further, that they were not yet to haue anie legantine power amongst them, vntill by persuasions they were made apt therefore.

The emperor withstandeth cardinall Poole.

When cardinall Poole had receiued these letters in the monasterie before said, he determined not to go anie further before he knew the popes pleasure. But the bishop of Rome, because he would not haue the emperors part against the French increased by that mariage, called home Dandine (in that respect that he was by his letters the staie of Poole) to the end that Poole might be legat into England, to the emperor and to the French king, for to establish the peace betwæne them. Wherefore Poole armed with double legantine power, taketh his iourneie; and when he came to Trent, sent his messengers to the emperor, and to the French king, to let them vnderstand of this legation of his departure out of Italie, and of his comming vnto them. The which message was so vnfortunat to Cesars attempts, that he sent the lord John Mendoza (being a little entered into another iourneie) with all spæd to meet cardinall Poole with letters. In which the emperor declared that it would be verie acceptable vnto him, if he did staie there, and come no further, vntill the emperor had dispatched some weightie affaires, which might be hindered by that legation; and then (if næd were) the emperor would accept of him: but if he would nœds come forward, the emperor was willing that he should go to Liege; but there (of necessitie) he must remaine, vntill he were sent for by the emperor.

Cardinall Poole staied in the low countries.

Poole hauing receiued these letters, returned to Dilinga a towne not far from Trent, where he aduertiseth the pope of all that was done, and sendeth expostulating letters to the emperor, shewing what a heinous thing it was to haue the popes ambassador (comming for peace and religions cause) to be staied in the middest of Germanie (with great shame and contempt of the pope) in the eies of all heretikes; and that especiallie by the emperors commandement. Notwithstanding which letter, Poole could not obteine anie leaue to passe further into the low countries, before the mariage was ended, and by parlement ratified betwæne king Philip & quæne Marie. For the emperor knew how much the quæne had made of cardinall Poole from his youth; and for which cause he thought that he would be a hinderance to that mariage, and therefore must seeke to haue that impediment auoided.

But because king Philip (whose comming was earnestlie looked for in England) was not yet alanded in that nation out of Spaine, and so that mariage not consummated: cardinall Poole did verie hardlie obteine licence to come to the emperor to Bruels: where yet there was a condition of abode limited him, vntill king Philip was arriued and maried in England. During which time, he dealt (but all in vaine) for establishing of a peace betwæne the emperor and the French king, for the long and inueterat hatred betwæne them could not be so suddenlie appeased. This done, Matthew Parker goeth forward with the historie thus, writing: *Itaque Philippi & Mariæ congressu, omnibus ceremonijs peractis, & absolutis nuptijs, cùm Polus iam nihil impedire suam in Angliam profectionem amplius posse existimaret, cumque spe regni frustratus, tamen in sacerdotalis culminis possessione sibi esse videretur, occultis invidijs apud reginam & Philippum, necnon Cæsarem atque papam, pene subplantatus, & à legatione reuocatus est.*

Wherevpon Poole being thus maimed of authoritie, had no cause now to come into England, but onelie to see the quæne, who was offended that Poole was so long kept backe. Wherefore when she vnderstood the cause of his staie, she sent ambassadors to the emperor, to giue him leaue to come into England, and wrote also to Poole to hasten him hither; which he did by the emperors licence, but he was first admonished by such as fauored the gospell, to haue care of the church of England. Well, at length he commeth into this realme, more accompanied and attended on by Italians than English, where he admitted few into his societie, but such as did earnestlie defend the church of Rome. Now this cardinall hauing legantine power, and so admitted by the king and quæne, the crosse and other ensignes of the popes authoritie were borne before him: at what time there was a parlement held at Westminster, whither Poole being most honorablie brought, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England made an oration to the people of his acceptable comming.

Cardinall Poole commeth into England.

This done, cardinall Poole made a long oration in his mother tong; wherein these things were conteined, being the substance and order thereof: which is, That he gaue great thanks to the noble men & the people, because by their great benefit (after the abrogation of all the lawes which tended to his banishment) he was restored home vnto his countrie. Wherfore he thought it his part, both in respect of his dutie and thankfulnes, so to recompense this desert, that where of late they had by schisme fallen from the apostolicall see, and by that means from the vnitie of the church, and so banished themselues from the kingdome of God; that he through the authoritie giuen to him by the pope the vicar of Christ, had reduced them to the see of Rome as to their celestiall inheritance. That the chiefest cause why he was made legat, was to restore the nobilitie and glorie of this Ile, whereof (before all other prouinces) the church of Rome had principall care and consideration; because that this was the peculiar and proper praise thereof, that it first of all other nations did wholie embrace the faith of Christ. That the Britains although they were subiect to strangers and to

Cardinall Poole maketh an oration in the parlement house.

the Romane emperors, yet when they had receiued the christian faith, they did spread it ouer all the Iland, not as other nations did, by little and little, but almost at one and the selfe same moment. That although the Saxons had banished the faith of Christ, with the inhabitants of those parts of the Iland which professed it: yet God so loued this place and the Ile, that the light of the gospell did also at length lighten their minds blinded with superstition. That the glorie and nobilitie of this Iland ought to be imputed to the glorie, prouidence, and benefit of and from God: but yet the meane and waie whereby this nobilitie and glorie was gotten, was first and alwaies shewed & opened vnto vs from the church of Rome. That we haue alwaies since that time remained in the vnitie of the Romane faith, that our subiection to the church of Rome hath bene most ancient, and that the same hath with great reuerence and dutie bene obserued by the kings of this realme, as appeareth by the examples of king Offa and Adulphus, who with great charges thought Rome (although by long iourneies) to be visited, because they had first receiued the seeds of truth from them. That Charles the great, when he ordeined the vniuersitie of Paris, called out of England Alcuine the great and eloquent diuine to laie the foundation of all learning at Paris. That pope Adrian the fourth was an Englishman, who first conuerted Norwaie to the christian faith; and that he, led with the loue of his countrie, gaue the gouernement of Ireland which belonged to the pope, to Henrie the second, king of England. That he would ouerpasse not onelie the infinit multitude of benefits, which the English had receiued before other nations from the church of Rome, but also the calamities and reproches which it hath receiued from the time wherein it fell from that see. And therefore that he would onelie laie before their eies Asia, Græce, and Germanie, latelie dispersed into so manie factions, and diuers religions, with the ruins and afflictions which had happened vnto them since they fell from the Romane faith. That the cause of falling from that see in them, was auarice the root of all euill; but in England onelie the cause was the lust and riot of one man, who although he obteined great riches by that change, yet he not onelie consumed them to nothing, but was also brought far in debt. That the church of Rome might with extreame force and the helpe of other nations haue subdued England; but she had rather wait the daie and time from God, which suddenlie happened, and was at hand, after that churches were spoiled, altars ouerthrowne, all holie things prophaned, and vtter despaire of recouerie thereof. For religion, which laie buried in the quænes brest, as it were fire quenched, or a sparke raked vp in the ashes, did now become a great flame, and lighten all England. That she being disherited, reiected, weake, and beset with most strong enimies for the right of the crowne, yet being a virgin, did from heauen obteine victorie beyond mans expectation, and got power to gouerne, thereby to vnite England to the Romane vnitie. That strength did grow for the confirmation of that matter, by the mariage with the catholike prince the emperors sonne with the quæne of England; which emperor of all the princes christian, had bestowed most trauell in ioining togither the dispersed church; in which though it had not his happie and wished successe, by means of the turmoiles of the wars: yet that remained to be performed by his peacefull sonne king Philip, which his father had begun for the vnitie of that church, in building the house of God, after the example of Dauid and Salomon. To the ioining and establishing of which vnitie, there was two powers giuen by God, which were like vnto two swords, that is the ciuill or temporall, and the ecclesiasticall, whereof the one belongeth to kings to vse against rebels and stubburne persons, in punishing them by death, banishment, and other temporall paines; the other sword is the celestiall keies, which conteineth the binding or absoluing to and from eternall paines, which onelie belongeth to the pope and court of Rome, the vicar of Christ in earth. In the end he concluded with the authoritie granted vnto him by the pope, to reconcile England to the Romane faith: and therefore it was his dutie to impart it vnto such as might receiue it. But they were such as were not capable thereof, by reason of the established lawes made in their schisme from the court of Rome, which were impediments thereunto; wherefore the same were first to be abrogated, and that done, the blessing of the church of Rome (which neuer shutteth hir lap against such as returne vnto hir) was there at hand as it were of a dere mother to be bestowed vpon hir children.

Two swords, ciuill & ecclesiasticall.

Pope Adrian an Englishman.

This oration did Pole vtter with such eloquence and art, that it wrapt all such as were dedicate to the Romane ceremonies into such an admiration of him, as that they openlie said they were new borne that daie, although there were some in the same parlement (as saith Matthew Parker) which spake against the receiuing of the popes authoritie. But by the kings and quænes furtherance and power ioined with the multitude of voices, the authoritie of the pope was by speciall law established: a thing neuer done before in England. Which done, the cardinall absolued the quæne and realme, and vnited them to the church of Rome: which absolution Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, did declare at Paules crosse the next sundaie in a sermon there made. Of which returne of England to the church of Rome there was great reioising in the citie of Rome; and (as hath Matthew Parker) *Ampliß. mus annus Iubileus à Iulio tertio papa promulgatus.* Whereupon the king and quæne of England sent Thomas Thurlbie bishop of Elie, Anthonie Browne knight, Viscount Montague, and Edward Kerne or Kerne knight, ambassadors to Rome, to declare the same subiection of the church of England. But when these ambassadors were on their waie, they receiued intelligence of the death of pope Julie, to whom Marcellus did succeed, who died the twentith daie after that he had receiued the popedome. Wherfore these ambassadors did make some delaie in their iournie, vntill their ambassage were renewed in the name of the new pope, which was Peter the cardinall Theatin (of whom we spake before) called Paule the fourth, being a great enimie both to the emperor & Pole, and so studious of the French causes, that when fiue yeres truce was taken betweene the emperor and the French king, he procured (by the helpe of the cardinall of Lorraine) that the same should be vndone.

To this pope therefore did the legats of England offer obedience in the name of the kingdome. But Pole which vnderstood the old displeasure, which this pope did beare vnto him, and doubting some danger that might thereby happen vnto him, did diligentlie labor with the king and quæne, when the ambassadors were returned home, that he might obteine the bishoprike of Canturburie, after that Cranmer were executed for heresie, least that his legantine power being taken from him, he should be called backe to Rome, and be euillie intreated of the pope, who had fined and imprisoned manie of the cardinals which were imperialists. Now we said before, that Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, knowing the dislike that was betweene this

Pole laboreth to be archbishop of Canturburie.

pope and cardinall Poole, did seeke to obteine the honour of a cardinall, and the legantine power by secret drifts, & therfore laboured that Poole should not burne Cranmer, so long as Gardiner liued. But in this seeking for these honours, Gardiner died, and Cranmer was burnt. After which the king & quæne did earnestlie desire of the pope, that Poole might be inuested with the archbishoprike of Canturburie, for the common consideration of the cause of England, (latelie by the comming of Poole conuerted to the Romane faith) did somwhat mitigate the displeasure which the pope conceiued against this cardinall Poole. Wherfore the pope in the assemblie of the cardinals did (by cardinall Moronus, who was then called the protector of England in the Romane court) not onelie nominat Poole to be archbishop of Canturburie, but did highlie praise the man. And 1555 bicause Poole had not as yet receiued the order of priesthod, but was onelie a deacon, he receiued of pope Paule vnder the pretext of prouision, this generall title of the generall administrator of the bishoprike and prouince of Canturburie, vntill that he were made preest, which being had, the pope determined that the same title should cease and passe into the name of archbishop, and in the meane time gaue in the same bull of prouision, full authoritie, that Poole should lawfullie reteine with the archbishoprike, all benefices, dignities, and all pensions whatsoeuer, issuing out of ecclesiasticall liuings, for the maintenance of his honour of archbishop, cardinall, and legat.

After this, he being made preest in the conuent church of the Franciscane friers of Greenewich the two and twentith daie of March, he was by the popes authoritie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Nicholas Heath archbishop of Yorke, in the presence of the bishops of London, Elie, Worcester, Lincolne, Rochester, and saint Assaph; Poole swearing obedience to the pope, as other his predecessors had done: which oth he tooke during the time of the masse, in the sight of the king, the quæne, and manie other councellors. Three daies after, which was the daie of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie, being accompanied with Edmund Boner bishop of London, the earle of Penbroke, and sir Edward Hastings knight of the garter, he went most honourablie vnto the parish church of the arches or Bow in London (*Vbi primò* as saith Matthew Parker *pontificia sacra fecit*) with the ensignes of his cardinalship and legantine power, manie generall aduocats and procurators going before him. After whose comming into the said church, he placed himselfe attired in his cardinals weed, in a gilden seat, set about with golden carpets and cushins, at what time masse was celebrated by the bishop of Worcester, with vnaccustomed pompe. During which, Thurlebie bishop of Elie was present, to whom a certeine papall writing with the pall was giuen by Dauid Powell archdeacon of Derbie, which being receiued the bishops all mitred and clad in their pontificalibus, did put the pall vpon the shoulders of Poole with the accustomed speech and ceremonies: which done, the cardinall goeth into the pulpit, where he discoursed of the signification, vse, originall, and matter of the same pall, but verie slenderlie, as was by manie supposed. These things thus done, the archbishop tooke possession of his see, and was installed (without the accustomed shew and magnificence) by his procurator Robert Collins his commissarie of Canturburie, the fift kalends of Aprill. After this to put in vre the authoritie giuen him by the pope for the maintenance of his estate, he taketh the profits 1556 of the bishoprike of Winchester, during the vacancie of that see; which when White bishop of Lincolne did desire; bicause that he was borne in that dioceese and was sometime maister of Wickham college in Winchester, he promised to giue to the cardinall a thousand pounds English during his life, & one yere after, and so obteined the bishoprike of Winchester as hath Matthew Paris; for which couenants bicause they sauoured of simonie, both they were to be absolued by the pope. Now when quæne Marie (as we said before in Cranmer) had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths; which were before granted to king Henrie the eight, his heires and successors of the kingdome, she committed all that matter to Poole: to whome the cleargie (thinking themselues discharged of the burthen of these first fruits and tenths) did notwithstanding the quænes grant, wholie paie the same. The cause whereof was pretended to be this. King Henrie the eight vpon the dissolution of the religious houses, did grant yerelie stipends to manie of the monks and other persons; all which Poole would haue to be paid out of the first fruits and tenths, least the quæne might fele the hurt of this liberall grant, when hir treasure being greatlie weakened therewith, should not suffice to beare the charges of those grants of king Henrie the eight. Whereby it followed, that this grant of the quæne did more hinder than profit the cleargie: for manie with the hope of this release of their first fruits, did put in no suerties to paie the same, which they ought to haue done vnder a great paine set downe by that law, which gaue them to king Henrie the eight; for want of which suerties they were after called into the law, as writeth Matthew Parker in these words: *Illi in ius de stipulatione ac fidei iuss. one de primitijs dandâ vocati, dum in iure contenderent, fisci procuratoribus ac ministris, cum consuetæ sportulæ essent pendendæ, miserè plectebantur, soluendáque tum dilationibus factis earum residua, quæ arreragia dicuntur, mortuis paulo post tam regina Maria quàm Polo cardinale, maximo ministerij detrimento regina Elisabetha regnante iterum repetita sunt, postquam pontificius clerus amotus & abdicatus fuisset.*

Ex archiuis.

That same yeare Poole deseruing well of the see of Canturburie, obteined of the quæne that the patronage of nineteene ecclesiasticall benefices placed in Kent within his dioceese were giuen vnto that see. Besides which he procured not anie great profit vnto that chaire, but onelie in building the long gallerie of Lambeth on the east side, with the inferior buildings and parlor ioined to the same: for the charge which he ment to haue bestowed vpon the palace of Canturburie was neuer done, by reason that he was preuented by death. This archbishop held a synod at London in S. Paules church, wherein he established all things which might strengthen the subiection of England to the church of Rome: all which he publisht in a booke intituled; The reformation of the church of England, conteining twelue chapters, amongst which this was one, for frugalitie and moderat diet in England, as worthie remembrance, & to be followed by our now clergie, his words be these:

A law made for frugalitie and moderat diet, to be kept of the cleargie.

Quia exemplum vitæ magnam authoritatem verbo adfert, éstque velut quoddam prædicandi genus, ob id curandum est ijs, qui alijs præsunt, vt cæteris cùm morum probitate, vitæque sanctitate tum ea propriam domum rectè gubernandi laude, quàm in episcopis apostolus requirit, antecellant. Nullo igitur prælati fastu, nulla pompa vtantur, non vestibus sericis, non pretiosa suppelectile, sed eorum mensa frugalis & parca, non plus quàm tria, aut ad summum quatuor (quod etiam magis pro huius temporis ratione, indulgendo quàm probando concedimus) ciborum genera præter fructus & bellaria, quælescunque hospites aut conuiuas habeant apponantur. Reliqua mensæ cõdimenta sint charitas,

tas, sanctorum librorū lectio, & sermones pij. Domesticorum & equorum numerosa & superflua multitudine abstineant, ac tot ministris contenti sint, quot ad curæ sibi commissæ administrationem, ac domus regimen, & quotidianos vitæ vsus erunt necessarij. Thus much Poole.

Touching which sparing and frugalitie of diet, Cranmer before him, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, did make somwhat a more large decree. For he appointed six dishes of fish and flesh to an archbishop, fiue to a bishop, to deanes and archdeanes foure, & to inferior persons three; with foure dishes of fruit, or such like, for an archbishop, three for a bishop, & two for the rest. But neither Cranmer nor Poole with all their laws (the greater is the pitie) could restreine the inordinat and needles superfluitie of fare in England. For though these orders were for some small time obserued; yet within one month after they returned to their accustomed diet and banketing. But to returne to the course of the historie for this archbishop, we saie, that quæne Marie to succor hir husband now entred into the warres of France, sent defiance vnto the French king, which did so much incense pope Paule the fourth, who fauored the Frenchmen, that his dailie mislike of cardinall Poole grew more great against him, and that the rather, because Poole had directed letters vnto the pope, and sent messengers, by whome he did with great reuerence and vehemence deale with the pope, that the same warres might be appeased, through the mediation of his holinesse, which Poole did know to haue furthered the same. Wherefore the pope taking awaie his legantine power from this cardinall Poole, did call him backe to Rome, and in that office did place William Peter (as hath Matthew Parker) one of the order of the Franciscans to be both cardinall and legat, if this name of William Peter in the printed booke be not mistaken for Peter Peto the frier Minor, being made legat & cardinall at this instant 1557. as appereth in my discourse * of cardinals. When the pope had called Poole to Rome, he was not satisfied therwith, but committed to prison cardinall Moronus the familiar frend of cardinall Poole. All which being knowen to quæne Marie before they came vnto the eares of Poole, she (vnknowledging to this archbishop) commanded, that they which should come into England from the pope, should not land at any hauen by the helpe of the English: adding moreouer, that if anie letters were brought, that they should be intercepted and deliuered to the quæne, & not to Poole. For which cause she further sent vnto hir ambassador at Rome, to declare vnto the pope, that if this legantine power were taken from Poole and giuen vnto Peter, that the Romane religion new set vp in England would be in greter danger. Wherefore the pope with great heed ought to beware, that if he went forth in this determination, that it would breed such turmoile in England, as would not easilie be againe appeased. Whereunto the pope answered, that Poole by probable reasons of the court of Rome, was fallen into the suspicion of heresie, and for that cause was commanded to come to Rome[t]: *Vt* (saith Matthew Parker) *suum cum Moroni cardinalis ac familaris sui confessione iuncta habeatur de præsenti inquisitio, ne cui tanti momenti negotio absenti præiudicaretur.* Which thing, although quæne Marie meant to haue had kept from Poole, yet he vnderstood the same by other messengers, and therefore omitted to beare the siluer crosse, left the administration of the legantine power, and by post horses sent to Rome to the pope one Nicholas Dzmanet (called the popes datarie, whose diligence in that legantine power cardinall Poole did chæfelie vse) to defend Poole in all things, to render account of his orderlie vsing of the legantine power, & to open the state of religion in England. The pope gladlie receiued Dzmanet, & gaue him hearing in the behalfe of Poole, but said, he greatlie maruelled by whose persuasion the quæne of England made wars with the French, wherby a great slaughter & captiuitie of the French men was had at saint Quintins, from which warre he said that his legat Poole ought and might haue dissuaded the quæne, wherefore he deemed his negligence or permission therein, and thereof vnworthie of legantine power. For as touching the other suspicions of heresie laid against him, said they, were wholie vniust and malicious, from which the holiest man that euer was, no not Christ himselfe could be free. Which said, the pope permitted Poole to kæpe his legantine authoritie, vntill he should send cardinall Caraffa his brothers son to set a peace betwéen king Philip and the French, and so gaue leaue vnto Dzmanet to returne into England vnto cardinall Poole, who was somewhat reuiued by the comming of Dzmanet. But because he vnderstood through the talke betweene the pope & him that Caraffa the new cardinall, *Qui* (as saith Parker) *ex gregaria Galli militia ad id muneris nuper ab auunculo suo papa assumptus est*, should come vnto the emperor, he expected that Caraffa would be a sharpe censuror of all his deeds, in the administration of his legantine power. Wherefore this cardinall Poole proceeded verie streictlie against the euangelicals, and not onelie pursued the liuing, but also stretched his power vpon the bones of the dead. For first, visiting his diocesse of Canturburie, he after sent John Christopherson bishop of Chichester, and Cutbert Scot bishop of Chester, with doctor Cole and Dzmanet (whome he preferred in all things) to be his delegat iudges to visit the vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to reduce them vnto the rule of the Romane religion. Which commissioners amongst other things did at Oxford burne the buried bones of the wife of Peter Martyr, and at Cambridge the bones of Martine Bucer and Paulus Phagius, after that they were solemnlie condemned of heresie; at which time they scarse refreined their hands from the dead carcases of the kings, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt.

All things thus done, and (as it seemed) in quiet, Calis was lost to the French, which thing greatlie greeued the people, and the quæne so vehementlie, that she toke it at the hart, and neuer after recouered it; being in such agonie, as that she neither could nor would be comforted by anie, sith king Philip hir husband was then also absent, whereby in the end she died. But before the quæns death there was a parlement & a synod holden, in which synod Poole declared vnto the clergie how heauilie the quæne did take the losse of Calis; wherfore, to comfort hir, he persuaded the clergie, that they should willinglie promise to giue liberallie of their owne substance towards the maintenance of continuall warres against the French. Whereunto the clergie was led vpon condition, that they might be free from all other manner of charges of armor, horsse, and men, and other warlike expenses, the which was after obteined by the intercession of Poole; and yet the prelats entred into a priuat conference amongst themselues, to prouide all armor necessarie for their own defense (as they said in that synod) against the force of the enimies. This done, the quæne did shortlie after depart this life (during this parlement and synod) vpon thursdaie, which that yeare was the seuentæenth daie of Nouember, in hir manor of saint James betweene the houres of fiue and six of the clocke in morning. Upon whose death on that daie this

The pope intensed against England.

* Pag. 1168.

Poole a suspected heretike.

The losse Calis the death of Marie.

this is not to be ouerpassed in silence, that thursdaie was a fatall and funerall daie to three princes succeeding one after an other, being of one bloud and line, which were Henrie the eight the father, king Edward the first the sonne, and this queene Marie daughter to the first, and sister to the last, but not by one woman.

A fatall daie to three princes.

In which yere a feuer quartane deuoured manie persons, and namelie of the clergie; which feuer at this time, and on the daie of the death of queene Marie, did twise giue two fits to cardinall Poole, which troubled him so greatlie, that he shortlie died on the same daie, or (as others haue) the next morning, when he heard of the death of queene Marie. Wherein seemeth to be no lesse sympathie and consent of minds, and influences of the heauens in them at that time of their death; than there was by birth, nighnesse of blood and consanguinitie, and by education and societie in their young yeares a consent in maners and religion in the time of their liues. The death of which cardinall occasioned manie then to saie, that he poisoned himselfe, as one that hated to liue to see the change of religion, and doubting the mercie of the noble succeeding queene, whom he had secretlie offended. Which procuring of his owne death I cannot be led to beleeue for manie reasons, but speciallie for that Matthew Parker speaketh not thereof, who of purpose hath largelie set downe his life, and to the vttermost recited whatsoeuer touched him, either for dispraise, or opening of his euill actions. Which I leaue to the iudgement of others, not hauing at this present sufficient time to set downe euerie thing, which the same reuerend father and worthie author hath spoken or aggrauated with or against him. He died (as I saie) the same daie wherin the queene died, the third houre of the night, after that he had liued seuen and fiftie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths three weekes and fiue daies, and had exercised his legantine power foure yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conueied from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one night, being brought into the church of Rochester at the west dore, not opened manie yeres before. At what time my selfe then a yong scholer beheld the funerall pompe thereof, which trulie was great and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning weedes. At what time his coffin being brought into the church was couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and breth of the same, in the middest of which crosse his cardinals hat was placed. From Rochester he was conueied to Canturburie, where the same bodie (being first before it came to Rochester inclosed in lead) was (after three daies spent in his commendations, set forth in Latine and English) committed to the earth in the chapell of Thomas Becket. The tome of which Poole is yet to be seene so plaine and base as maie be, the same being onelie a heape of bricke mortised together, with the top like to the ridge or couer of a house onelie plastered ouer with lime, besides which is set his armes and this deuise of his: A globe, round about which a snake did spirallie wind hir selfe, vpon whose head did stand a white doue, and besides the same this posie written, *Prudens simplicitas*: which bearing manie, and those both wise and learned expositions, I leaue to euerie man to iudge as his humor pleaseth, especiallie sith he maie see the same deuise at this daie ouer the entrance into the defaced church of the knights of S. Johns of Jerusalem neere Smithfield besides London. Which deuise standing there, prooueth that this cardinall had begun to repare that church, and thought fullie to haue brought thither the knights of Malta, sometime knowne by the name of the knights of the Rhodes, and knights of S. Johns of Jerusalem, in as ample number as that order possessed that house before the same was dissolued in the time of king Henrie the eight, which was not doone so fullie as he ment; for but some few were gathered thither vnder their lord and prior sir Thomas Tresham knight. At the time of the death of this cardinall he greatlie fauoured and trusted strangers, to whom he principallie gaue all that he had, making Aloisius Priolus a senator of Venice, the heire of all his substance, to whose trust he committed the disposition of his will, and the performance of his legacies, who did it accordinglie, giuing liberallie to all men, but speciallie to such as came out Italie, or from other far countries with him into England. Which gratitude the Italians affirme that Poole vsed to them because he found honorable support amongst them when he remained there, and was banished his countrie. At what time of *disposing of his goods, Priolus himselfe seemed so modest and temperate in taking or withholding anie of the riches of the cardinall, that he gaue to euerie man his due, and further reteined nothing thereof to his owne vse but two praier bookes, which were a breuiarie and a diurnall.

Poole supposed to haue poisoned himselfe.

Restitution of the knights of the Rhodes.

*See pa. 1165.

Matthew Parker.

Matthew Parker was made archbishop of Canturburie in this sort. After the death of queene Marie, and that the noble princesse Elisabeth obteined the crowne, who abolished all Romane ceremonies and altered the state of religion; shee had care first to place a most graue and wise person in the principall see of hir kingdome, to the end that he sitting at the sterne of the ship of ecclesiasticall gouernment, might direct the same according as the gospell required: wherefore she nominated to that place doctor Nicholas Wotton, a man of no lesse wisedome and experience than he was of great seruice imploied for the benefit of his countrie. But he refusing the same, as one who in his old yeares would not accept so heuie a charge, Matthew Parker was most worthilie aduanced to that place, of whose birth, education, desert and learning, which brought him to that see, we will intreat as followeth, in some part taken out of a booke written of his life.

This Matthew was borne at Norwich on the first of August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and foure, being about the twentith yeare of Henrie the seuenth, of honest parents being citizens of Norwich, wherof his fathers name was William Parker, and his mother called Alois or Alice; of which two, the first died the tenth of Januarie one thousand fiue hundred and sixteene, being about the eight yere of king Henrie the eight; and the second departed the world the twentith of September, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, falling in the first yeare of the reigne of queene Marie. These parents of this Matthew procured him to be brought vp in grammar & such lerning at home with them, vntill he came to seuenteene or eighteene yeares of age; but when his father was dead, and he left in the custodie of his mother, he was sent to Cambridge, where he was mainteined by hir charge, and nourished in Corpus Christi college. But shortlie after his comming thither, when his good increase of learning was perceiued, he had (as one hath written of him) appointed to him *Stipendium è collegij vectigalibus, vt sacrã bibliam socijs legeret, cuius generis scholares bibliotistæ dicuntur*. Whereupon he thus made one of that number, and abating his mothers charge, did in saint Marie hall (belonging to Corpus Christi college) diligentlie applie his time in the studie of logike and philosophie, by meanes of which studies (after

Matthew Parker a Bibleclarke.

The pompe at Poles funerall.

ter that he had consumed three yeares and somewhat more in the same) he was made bachellor of arts in the fourth yeare after his comming to Cambridge, and within three yeares following, a professor or master of art, and fellow of the foresaid college. After which his first training vp in these humane arts, he did (as he grew in yeares and riper iudgment) applie himselfe to higher studies, giuing himselfe to diuinitie, the onlie knowledge wherein the most excellent part of man receiueth chéefest comfort in this life. In which kind of studie he bestowed such diligent and painfull trauell, that he red ouer the doctors & councels in the space of fiue yeares; which being so spent, he then began to come forth into the world to shew what he was, and to labour in the vineyard of Christ his church.

The first sermon that Matthew Parker made.

Wherefore hauing obteined the kings grant, and the licence of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie to preach, he made his first sermon in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, preaching afterward in manie other famous places of England, to his singular commendation; and at length by degrées, was admitted in the Lent time amongst other learned persons, to preach before king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and quéene Elisabeth. Whose fame thereby growing great, and king Henrie the eight liking of him, this Matthew was called into the court; and by the king made the chapline of quéene Anne, mother to the now liuing renowmed princesse Elisabeth, to whome God grant a long, happie, and peacefull life and gouernement, making hir enimies hir footstoole. When he was thus the quéenes chapline, the king and she bestowed manie great gifts vpon him. For first he was made deane of Stoke, which is not far from Clare in Suffolke. Then after (being made bachellor of diuinitie) he obteined of king Henrie the eight to haue a prebend in the church of Elie, and by the intercession of the same king (for his learning sake) he shortlie after obteined to haue the degrée of doctor of diuinitie, and to be chosen (by the fellows of that house) to be maister or ruler of Corpus Christi college, in which he had béene first brought vp, and which he did after increase with large gifts: besides the furnishing of the librarie there with manie rare and notable monuments and ancient histories of this realme.

See before pag. 1261.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, he was aduanced to be chapline to king Edward the first, by whose benefit he was made deane of Lincolne, and obteined the prebendarie of Coldingham in the same church, with the rectorie of Landbéech in the diocesse of Elie, foure miles from Cambridge, which was bestowed vpon him by the gift and patronage of the fellowes of his college. With which reuenues & dignities this bishop being thus indowed, he did not miserablie spend the same; but imploied it for the benefit of the common-welth, and kept the college of Stoke (desired & obteined of the king by the laitie) vntill in the first yeare of king Edward the first it was prouided by parlement, that the same college should come to the kings hand, by reason whereof he was inforced to depart therewith, hauing yearelie fortie pounds allowed him out of the exchéker for the same. The losse of which college he tooke the more grieuouslie, because he had there built a schoole, and appointed a yearelie stipend for the maintenance of a schoole maister there; which schoole he yet left, notwithstanding the taking awaie of the college, in such a state as he could by all means procure to haue it remaine.

1553 After this, when king Edward was dead, and his sister quéene Marie succéeded, and that in the second yeare of hir reigne all the maried cleargie were remoued from their ecclesiasticall liuings: this Matthew was also depriued of all his promotions, and so liued contented without them, during all the time of quéene Marie. After the death of the same quéene, when the noble and heroicall woman the quéene Elisabeth obteined the crowne (remouing all such Romane ceremonies as were renewed by hir sister Marie) manie such persons as were exiled in those seuere times of quéene Maries reigne returned into England; and such as then had secretlie hidden themselues within the realme for their religions cause, began now to step forth into the light, and openlie shew themselues in the world. Amongst which latter sort was this Matthew Parker, known to the quéene and hir councell from the time of his youth, being by the iudgement of all men thought méet, both for his learning, grauitie and iudgement, to be aduanced to some spirituall promotion. Wherefore he was named to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, which offered dignitie the more he refused to accept, was the more vehementlie vrged vpon him; whereof there be manie witnesses liuing, and of them in the highest degrée of credit with the quéene, and of honor in the common-wealth. But at length, what by the commandement of hir maiestie, and the persuasion of his friends, he receiued the title and possession of the bishop and bishoprike of Canturburie: in which, how he behaued himselfe, we shall more liberallie hereafter discourse.

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1559 Wherefore in the second yeare of quéene Elisabeth, he was on the seuentænth daie of December chosen to that place by the deane and chapter of that metropolitane sée of Canturburie, and was consecrated in the presence of foure bishops: which were William bishop of Chichester, John bishop of Hereford, Miles sometime bishop of Excester, and Richard bishop of Bedford. In whose consecration, this memorable thing happened vnto him; that being the seuentith bishop after Augustine, he was the first and the onelie man that obteined the same without the popes confirming buls, & without anie Aronicall ornaments of gloues, rings, sandals, slippers, miter, pall, or such like: *Multóque rectiùs* (as saith my author) *& simpliciùs & puritati euangelicæ congruétiùs, auspicatus est à precibus, & spiritus sancti inuocatione, manuum impositione; pijs ab eo interpositis stipulationibus, indumentis verò archiepiscopali authoritati grauitatique consentaneis, habitóque per doctum & pium theologum pro concione de pastoris in gregem officio, cura & fide, gregisque vicißim in pastorem amore, obsequio, atque reuerentia diserta admonitione, cáque finita eucharistiæ à frequenti grauißimorum hominum cœtu perceptione, & ad extremum omnium communi & ardenti oratione, vt munus iam illi impositum maximè cedat ad Dei gloriam, gregis salutem, suaque conscientiæ lætum testimonium, cùm coram Domino gesti muneris rationẽ sit redditurus:*

The maner of consecrating Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie.

Now to go forward with him, being in this sort consecrated archbishop, there was a law made in the first yeare of our quéene Elisabeth, wherein it was appointed, that commissioners named by the prince, should haue authoritie to deale in ciuill and ecclesiasticall causes; least in such varietie and dissention of religion, the church of England might suffer some inconuenience and hurt. In which commission, this Matthew as he was first placed for his office and dignitie, so was he most carefull in trauelling therin, and executing thereof: who in doing the same, behaued himselfe with such modestie and vprightnesse, that he displeased none in correction of things not rightlie done but certeine new fansied fellows, who puffed vp with vaine glorie, did first conceiue, set forth, and defend (rather with rashnesse and will, than with iudgement and learning) certeine new opinions to trouble the ordered state

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of the commonwealth: whose vniust complaints and contumelies he tooke so moderatlie, that he neither left the mildnesse of his owne nature, nor went beyond the dignitie of his archiepiscopall calling, nor did maliciouslie punish their lightnesse and rash vnaduisednesse. For what his sufferance was, to regaine these degenerat persons to the publike religion; what his pietie was, in seeking to reconcile such of the nobilitie, as law controuersies had sundered in amitie; and what his patience was, in suffering all kinds of iniuries, whereby he brake and auoided the malice and boldnesse of manie, and bound vnto him the wise and better sort; all they knew which were dailie conuersant with him: which if by proofe they did not, yet the same might be more coniectured by others, vpon his mild and well ordered actions, than we can here presentlie write. Now beside manie other things which he shewed for proofe of his patience and gentle nature, there were other good parts in him: for although he was manie times troubled with sickenesse, yet would he often ascend the pulpit and preach, both in his metropolitane church, and in other parishes. But leauing these and manie commendable vertues, wherewith he was indued, let vs come to those things which happened in the time of his archbishoprike.

Regist. Matth. Parker.

In the first yeare of his consecration, he did at Lambeth consecrat eleuen, and confirme two bishops in his prouince; & within the next two yeares did with the consecration of new bishops fill vp all the number of the bishoprikes of his owne prouince, except onelie the see of Landaffe, which still kept Anthonie the bishop, who possessed the same in the time of quæne Marie. These bishops, which were by him so consecrated in that first yeare, were Edmund Grindall bishop of London, Richard Cox bishop of Elie, Edwine Sands bishop of Worcester, John Jewell bishop of Salisburie, Gilbert Berkeleie bishop of Bath and Wels, John Beaton bishop of Lichfield & Couentrie, Rowland Yericke bishop of Bangor, Thomas Yong bishop of saint Dauids, & Richard Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, all diuines; and such as being fled out of England in the time of quæne Marie, were returned in the beginning of the reigne of quæne Elisabeth. Besides which, he consecrated two other bishops, which secretlie remained in England in the daies of the same quæne Marie: whereof the one was Nicholas Bullingham, brought vp in the ciuill and canon lawes, who (being in the time of Edward the first vicar generall of the bishop of Lincolne, was remoued from thense in quæne Maries reigne, and after in the beginning of this quænes time, appointed by the said Matthew Parker to be iudge of his courts) was now by him consecrated bishop of Lincolne. The other bishop was Edmund Ghest a learned diuine, & one of the familie or household of the archbishoprike & archdeacon of Canturburie, whome this Matthew aduanced to the bishoprike of Rochester. In which yeare also, this archbishop confirmed in their bishoprikes William Barlow bishop of Bath & Wels in the time of king Edward the first, now made bishop of Chichester, and John Scorie bishop of Chichester in the reigne of Edward the first, now aduanced to the bishoprike of Hereford.

The next yeare he consecrated at Lambeth Robert Horne (sometime deane of Durham before his banishment in quæne Maries time) bishop of Winchester, John Parkhurst bishop of Norwich, Richard Cheneie bishop of Glocester, Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, and Edmund Schambler bishop of Peterborough, being his household chapleine. Besides these, he confirmed also in the same yeare Thomas Yong, remoued from saint Dauids to the archbishoprike of Yorke, and Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Dauids being remoued from the see of Assaph to saint Dauids. When all the bishoprikes of his prouince were thus replenished, Anthonie bishop of Tauens or Landaffe departed the world, in whose place Hugh Dauid doctor of law did succeed, and was also consecrated at Lambeth. So that by this time all the number of bishops in his prouince receiued consecration at the hands of this Matthew. A thing woorthie the noting, because all histories haue set it down for a speciall thing, if anie archbishop had in his time consecrated three or foure other bishops, as Anselme is said to haue in one daie consecrated fiue bishops, & Plegmund his predecessor seuen bishops, a thing whereat antiquitie did maruell: but this Matthew, in the first yeare of his consecration, did consecrat eleuen, and confirme two. And in the three first years of his archiepiscopall dignitie he did fill vp all the bishoprikes of his prouince; a thing which neuer happened to anie archbishop of Canturburie before the daies of this man. This done, he appointed visitations, in which himselfe did visit his owne diocesse of Canturburie. At what time, to auoid all note and suspicion of gaine, he did not onelie willinglie remit to euerie parish their accustomed charges to be paid for those causes, but did further in all his iourneie defraie the expenses thereof vpon his owne cost. In the rest of his dioceses, either he did not visit, least he should greeue the people with the charge thereof; or else appointed that visitation to some other moderat person to be his procurator therein, which neuer demanded allowance therefore; or if he had anie allowance, the same was bestowed in his name vpon some bishop whose profits were but small; as on the bishop of Excester: or else it was distributed to the poore, as happened in the visitation of Norwich.

In hist. Eborū episco. cap. 51.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of his publike doings, let vs now also saie somewhat of his priuat actions. This man liuing priuatlie at Cambridge maried his wife Margaret, whom he loued seuen yeares before the mariage contracted or celebrated, which time they had to procure mutuall consent betweene them: because king Henrie the eight had established a law, wherein it was treason for anie priest to marie. Whereupon they were after maried in king Edwards time, in which band they continued two and twentie yeares. During which he had by his wife foure children, whereof two died yong, and the other two were called John and Matthew, whom he diligentlie brought vp in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; both which comming to mans estate, were after maried in the episcopall tribe. For the eldest John did marie Ione the daughter of Richard Cox bishop of Elie, the other tooke to wife Francis the daughter of William Barlow bishop of Chichester. The domesticall traine of this bishop was honorable after his estate, to euerie one of whom this law was set, to be at the seruice in the time appointed, or else to be fined with the losse of his dinner. His hall was in orderlie sort kept, as it had beene in the daies of his predecessors. For on the right side thereof, his steward kept the table for the archbishops gentlemen, and such other strangers: and on the other side did sit the almoner with his clearks, and the rest of his household: whose tables were so well furnished, as these officers were appointed to interteine (with their diet) all commers (who might thinke themselues satisfied) which were vnder the calling of a knight. And thus this much shortlie touching that matter.

The mariage and issue of Matthew Parker.

The order of his house.

Now, after that he had beene foure yeares archbishop, paied his first fruits, and furnished his house according to his degree, and established matters for

religion; he determined to renew and build the ancient palace of Canturburie belonging to the bishop, being all ruinous, and a great part consumed with fire; which was a hard thing, & of great charge, considering the dearth of all things in these our daies, necessarie thereunto. Which in the end he brought to perfection, to the charge of one thousand foure hundred pounds and more. The charge whereof he was the willinger to sustaine, because he understood, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and nintéene: Charles the fift the emperor, when he came into England to king Henrie the eight, to visit his aunt quéene Katharine, was feasted in the same hall. In which feast, Charles and his people had the vpper end of the hall, and king Henrie the eight & quéene Katharine kept the lower end thereof. But the chiefest cause, which moued this bishop to vphold the buildings of his predecessors, was; for that manie kings and quéenes had béene crowned, and manie archbishops at their inthronization had kept great feasts in the same hall: and that besides, in the same hall, manie dukes, earles, and noblemen, hauing a yearelie pension, therefore, did execute the offices of steward and butler at the installation of the archbishops. As of late, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foure; when William Warham archbishop of Canturburie did enter the possession of the bishoprike, and kept a sumptuous feast therefore in the same hall, Edward duke of Buckingham did there serue as steward and ruler of all the household.

He feasted the iustices of assise, and the whole assemblie of the assises.

This hall thus repared, he also bestowed some costs vpon all those parish churches (which were in decaie) whereof exchange was made by king Henrie the eight with Thomas Crannier, and whereof the quéene Elisabeth had receiued the tenths (during the vacancie of the bishoprike) by a law established in the first yeare of hir reigne. Which bishop (albeit he bestowed no great charge vpon his installment, as manie of his predecessors had done before, and lastlie cardinall Poole, whome this Matthew succéeded) further considering that the cause of building this great hall, was for the maintenance of hospitalitie, and desirous after the example of the old liberalitie of his predecessors, to make an archiepiscopall feast (worthie such a hall) to the multitude of his parishioners of Kent, (did in the yeare after the reparing of the same hall) take occasion that the same might be replenished with the people of Kent, when all the shire (aswell gentlemen and others were assembled at Canturburie, to wait vpon the iustices of assise) determined there to hold the oier, terminer, and gaole deliuerie. At what time, John Southcot iustice of the kings bench, and Gilbert Gerard then generall attourneie, and now maister of the rolles, were iustices of assise; and sir Thomas Kemp knight was shiriffe for and of that countrie, whome with the gentlemen of the shire this archbishop did inuite to a sumptuous feast.

Whereupon they granting to come thereunto, the bishop summoned the rest of the people by an officer and other messengers. On the daie of the appointed feast, the hall was decked with rich clothes, and furnished with much and rich plate and siluer vessell. At what time the iudges, the shiriffes, the knights, gentlemen, and all the whole companie of the bench, with lawyers and other officers attending on the court, togither with the whole multitude of the people, entered the hall, and were placed according to their degrées; no man seruing that daie, but such as were of the archbishops familie. But because the multitude was verie great, these ghests were faine to be set at seuerall times one after another; although in this publike time, when these iudges and other gentlemen were there, no woman was séene amongst them. For they being conueied into the innermost part of his palace, were committed to his wife, and this feast onelie consisted of the men: from whome the bishop receiued great thanks and commendations.

Other feasts made by the archbishop to the whole multitude.

Which generall interteinement he vsed at other times, both there, & in manie other places: but because that this was openlie done in the shew of the whole shire; it séemed, and was reported, to be greater than anie other. For in the Whitsundaie before, when the archbishop had made a sermon to the cleargie and people of Canturburie, in the metropolitane church; and the sacrament was then distributed to the people: he was attended on to his house by the deane and cleargie, by the maior and citizens, and by diuerse gentlemen of Kent; whome he had that daie inuited to dinner. In which feast, (which continued thrée daies) the archbishop sat in his hall at the vpper end thereof. On whose right side sat the maior and the citizens; and on the other side ouer against them were placed the women. Which order was at the rest of the tables set along the hall, where the men were placed on the right side, and the women kept the other part. Which feast so ordered, was celebrated in honor of the quéene, which had aduanced him to that sée.

This done, he preached againe on Trinitie sundaie to the people, and administring the sacrament, he bestowed the like feast on the people of Canturburie, in the honor of king Henrie the eight, the last restorer of the church of Canturburie. But this ouerpassed, let vs returne vnto some other thing, least in the midst of all these bankets, I make but a hungrie description of such worthie praise and liberalitie, vsed by so honorable and graue a personage. In the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and six, he consecrated Nicholas Robinson professor of diuinitie, to the bishoprike of saint Dauids, an eloquent man in his mother tong: who comming from Cambridge, where he suffered some troubles in quéene Maries time, was then this archbishops chapleine. In the yeare following, he confirmed Henrie Curwine doctor of law, bishop of Orford: who hauing béene archbishop of Dubline, and chancellor of Ireland, was verie skilfull in the ciuill law: which offices when he had worthilie manie yeares discharged, and did now grow in yeares; returned into his countrie, and was translated to the bishoprike of Orford. After which, this archbishop consecrated Richard Rogers bacheler of diuinitie to be his suffragane, bishop of Douer.

1566 Nicholas Robinson made bishop of saint Dauids.

1567 Henrie Curwine archbishop of Dubline, made bishop of Orford.

1569

The next yeare following, he returned vnto Canturburie, where on Ascension daie, in the metropolitane church, he fed the people with spirituall food; and the Whitsuntide after, for thrée daies togither, did abundantlie feed both men and women with materiall bread in the palace of Canturburie, after the same order whereof we spake before. In which yeare likewise he remoued the old example of his predecessors a long time pretermitted. For where of old time the bishops were wont to set their consecration at Canturburie; that order was now almost lost, to the preiudice of the right and priuilege of the church of Canturburie, which this archbishop did now restore. Wherefore, when Edmund Grindall bishop of London was to be remoued to the archbishops see of Yorke, and that Richard Curteis bishop of Chichester was chosen: he would haue the consecration of the one, and the confirmation of the other, to be done at Canturburie in the metropolitane citie. For which cause, in the feast of Trinitie, in which Richard Curteis (which was his

1570

chapleine)

Another feast at the consecration of Curteis bishop of Chichester.

chapleine) was frælie consecrated without anie reward. This archbishop, after a sermon ended, did make an honorable feast in the memorie of king Henrie the eight, which excluded the monks from that church: which feast might worthilie be called an archbishops feast, because the archbishop of Yorke was also inuited thither. At which time, besides the bishop of Yorke, there was Robert Horne bishop of Winchester, Edmund Ghest bishop of Rochester, and this Curteis also now consecrated bishop of Chichester, with all the cleargie of that citie, and other ministers of the church, both men and children. Besides all which, the outward tables of the hall were furnished through with more people of both kinds, belonging to the hospitall of saint John and Harbaldowne. The next daie following, being mondaie, this Matthew confirmed Edmund Grindall archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of the bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Chichester. The same yeare on the third daie of Julie he began his ordinarie visitation, which with manie intermingled continuations he after deferred vntill the two and twentith of the same moneth. On which daie he published iniunctions for the people & cleargie of his diocesse to obserue: the same being the last session of his visitation, although that he had proroged the same to the feast of the purification of the virgine Marie.

On the eleuenth daie of which moneth, when the iudges were againe (with the whole traine of the shire) assembled at Canturburie to hold the assises, he did once more, as he before had done, inuite the whole companie to another feast, appointed in all things as the other was. The thursdaie following, Edwin Sands bishop of Worcester, being to be translated to London, came to Canturburie to visit the archbishop: where after he had remained two daies, he had on the saturdaie, when he departed in the morning, his election confirmed at London by the procurators, which were there for him. After which, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, at what time his wife died, whose bodie was buried in the wals of the porch church of Lambeth, in a chapell, whose right belongeth to those houses of the buildings of Norffolke, whereof by hir husbands sufferance she obteined the inheritance, whilest she liued. On whose tome this sentence grauen in golden letters (promising resurrection to him and to hir) is set downe by hir husband as followeth:

Qui credit in me non moritur in æternum.

The same yeare the six and twentith of Januarie, he confirmed the election of Nicholas Bullingham bishop of Lincolne to the bishoprike of Worcester, in whose sée at Lincolne was Thomas Cooper placed, and consecrated at Lambeth the foure and twentith of Februarie. And in the same yeare, the eightænth daie of March, he consecrated William Bradbridge, professor of diuinitie, and deane of Salisburie, to the bishoprike of Excester. Then he new shingled his house at Lambeth, making there a new bridge into the Thames, and repairing the notable solarie or sellar in the garden built at the charge of Cranmer, and almost now destroied. Besides which, he further repared two water courses, one comming into the garden, and the other into the inner cloister, to serue the common vse of the houshold. Moreouer in the same yeare he procured the new street in Cambridge, directlie leading from the west part of saint Maries church, to the gates of the publike schooles, to be new painted, and to be walled on both sides with bricke. Next in the same yeare, in the month of March, he consecrated at Lambeth, Edmund Ghest (bishop of Rochester) to the bishoprike of Salisburie: but because

Solarium.

the archdeacon of Canturburie, whose office is to put the consecrated bishops into the possession of their sées deceassed at this time, this Ghest was inducted of the archbishop, by the procurator. After which, in the same place, John Freake professor of diuinitie and deane of Salisburie was made bishop of Rochester, and inducted thereunto by a procurator: at whose consecration were present the bishops Robert and Edmund, the first of Winchester, the second of Salisburie. But leauing this, let vs saie somewhat of his humanitie and courtesie vsed towards such as were committed to restreint vnder his custodie for matters of religion, who were Cuthert Tunstall bishop of Durham, Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, John Boxall secretarie to quéene Marie, Richard Smith professor of diuinitie, doctor Tresham chancellor of Oxford, Edward Rice esquier, and Henrie Howard brother to Thomas duke of Norffolke; all which he vsed with great lenitie and honor, bestowing the charge of the honorable buriall of Cuthert Tunstall, and causing maister Rice, and Henrie Howard vtterlie to renounce the Romane religion, as saith the author of the life of this Matthew.

After this, on the twelfe daie of Aprill, was the yong baron the lord Sturton committed also to this archbishop; who because the quéene came that summer into Kent, went also thither with this archbishop. Of which the quénes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne and bred, & wherein I haue both manie friends and kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie beare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receiue in it) leaue some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into hir maiesties progresse into that countrie. The fourtænth daie of Julie being wednesdaie, the worthie quéene Elisabeth departed from Grænwich, and went to Croidon, where with hir traine she remained in the archbishops house; from thense she passed to Orpington, to the house of sir Persuall Hart, an old knight & ancient courtier, where she staied thræ daies, from thense remouing to hir owne house at Knouls. After whose abode there by the space of fiue daies, she passed forth to Burling, to the house of Henrie Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, which she vsed for thræ daies. And departing from thense on the kalends of August, she went to another house of the said lords, called Eridge; & hauing staied there six daies, hir maiestie taketh hir iourneie to Bedgburie, belonging to Alexander Culpeper, and the next daie came to Hampsted, where Thomas Gilford (after made knight) receiued hir into his house. In which, when she had remained thræ daies, she passed on to Rie, a towne of the sea costes of Sussex, belonging to the ports; whither the people affirmed that neuer king nor quéne euer came before hir maiestie; the truth whereof I will not at this time either approue or reprooue.

1573

In this place she rested thræ daies, and then spent other thræ at Sisingherst, the house of Richard Baker, whome she made knight at hir departure. Next on the seuentænth daie of August, which was mondaie, she came to Bocton Maleherbe, to the house of that worthie gentleman Thomas Wootton, where she was two daies largelie interteined. For which, when hir maiestie would haue honored him with the state of knighthod, as manie of his ancestors had bæne before, he modestlie refused the same, rather seeking honor by vertue of life, and benefit to his countrie, than by the fauor and persuasion of others. From this mans house hir maiestie kept on hir progresse to Hetfield, to the house of maister Tufton; in which also staieng two daies,

she passed from thense to hir own house of Westinhanger, then in the custodie of Thomas Sackeuill knight, baron of Buckehurst, where she spent foure daies.

After this, as she hastened towards Douer, she dined in the castell of Sandwich, and then being ascended Folkestone hill, this Matthew archbishop of Canturburie (who at that time remained at Bekesborne) and the lord Cobham warden of the fiue ports (accompanied with three hundred knights and gentlemen of Kent, all well horsed and attended vpon with a large retinue) did met the quéene vpon the same hill; all which waited vpon hir to Douer. In the furthest parts of the liberties of which towne, the maior and the iurats thereof, with three hundred armed men receiued the quéene, and in the night conducted hir to Douer, where she was interteined with a noble peale of ordinance discharged from the castell, and the ships riding thereabouts. All which méetings, and hir receiuing into Douer, was doone the fiue and twentith daie of August.

Now hauing rested hir selfe six daies at Douer, interteined with delights answerable for the time, and for hir presence, she came to Sandwich, where she remained (being well receiued by the maior and iurats of the same towne, during hir abode there) by the space of three daies.

The next daie, which was the third of September, she toke hir iourneie towards Canturburie, dined by the waie at Wingham, and then entered the citie somewhat after three of the clocke in the afternoone. Who presentlie going to the cathedrall church, & entring the same at the west gate, a yong man, then scholer of the grammar schoole, receiued hir with a Latine oration. Which ended, and she kneeling at a deske, the archbishop, the bishops of Lincolne, Rochester, and of Douer, vsed praiers for hir comming thither. Then the deane with the prebends, canons, ministers, and the whole quier of the church of Canturburie, and manie other singers of hir chapell went before hir (hauing a canopie borne ouer hir head by foure knights) through the quier vntill she came to the place appointed for hir oratorie; from whense (after euening praier doone) she came along the street to hir palace of ancient time called saint Augustines: and the sundaie following, she went in hir coch through the streets to the same church, and so returned home: on which daie the deane preached before hir. The next daie of which hir remaining at Canturburie (being the seuenth daie of September, and the daie of hir maiesties birth, making vp the fortith yeare of hir age) she was with all hir traine inuited to dinner by the archbishop of that citie. The order of which feast being celebrated much about the houre of hir birth, was after this sort.

The noble men did onelie attend vpon the quéene, who as soone as she had washed hir hands, came to the table set in breadth in the highest place of the archbishops hall; in the midst whereof, vnder a canopie or cloth of estate, hir maiestie did sit in a certeine old marble chaire, alwaies there fixed, and now decked with pretious cloths of gold. Then the erle Ritius the marshall of France (who a little before, being sent ambassador from the French king, was with a hundred gentlemen come vnto Canturburie) togither with monsieur de Mote the French kings orator, were placed at the end of the quéenes table, vpon the right hand of the quéene, with their faces to hir maiestie, and their backs towards the hall; to the end that they might more conuenientlie talke with hir. And at the other end of the bord on the left hand were placed foure ladies, which were the marchionesse of Northhampton, with the countesses of Oxford, Lincolne, and Warwike. At what time the pensioners serued the quéene, and hir maiesties other seruants attended on the ambassador, the orator, and the ladies. The furniture of whose table consisted of two courses, of most delicat fish and flesh; and one third course of fruit & other banketting deuises. Hir maiestie thus placed, the other tables in the hall were also furnished; whereof, at the first (which stood at the right hand of the quéene) were set the archbishop with diuerse counsellors and other noble men and women, of which the chiefe were such as came out of France. And at the table on the left hand of the quéene were placed manie ladies and worshipfull women. At the tables somewhat further off were set the maior, the ancient citizens of Canturburie, and other gentlemen and gentlewomen of Kent, all which were serued with the archbishops retinue. Thus this solemnitie ended (whereof I haue omitted manie things, as well for order of seruice, as for musike and other delights) the quéene went into the bishops galleric, hauing long talke with the French ambassador, almost till night.

When hir maiestie departed, after that she had imparted manie great thanks vnto the bishop for this sumptuous and chargeable feast, and for the rich gifts which the archbishop did moreouer bestow vpon hir (as well of horsses, as other iewels) amongst which was one salt of gold, which hauing two rich achats therein curiouslie carued, the one with the quéenes image, and the other with saint George killing the dragon, and a long diamond in the couer, with French verses; it was valued at more than two hundred marks, besides the six portigues which were inclosed in the same salt, when he gaue it to the quéene. Moreouer, the archbishop bestowed manie goodlie gifts vpon others of the councell, and of hir maiesties traine; with fiue hundred pounds, which he gaue amongst the officers of hir house. And yet not contented herewith, he kept open house for all commers, during the time that the quéene remained at Canturburie.

The next sundaie also the quéene came to the cathedrall church in hir coch through the street: and so returned againe, after morning praier and a sermon made by the bishop of Lincolne. Thus the quéene remaining fourtéene daies at Canturburie, she went on wednesdaie to Feuersham, where she remained two daies. Then on fridaie she passeth to Sittingburne, and laie that night at the house of James Tromer esquier, a good member of his common-wealth. The next daie she came to Rochester, and rested foure daies there in an inne called the crowne, the onelie place to interteine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue séene both king Philip and the quéene to haue rested themselues there. From thense she goeth to Dartford a house of hir owne, and so after two daies to Grénewich, where she ended hir progresse. In which hir Kentish progresse (which by the quéene of all other countries is most commended, as well for the troops of gentlemen which continuallie attended on hir, as for the varietie of delights which were there shewed, the learned inuentions & orations, and the rich shewes of the countrie) the shiriffe with a goodlie traine of knights and gentlemen did continuallie attend vpon hir maiestie, from hir first entrance into that shire, vntill hir returne vnto Grénewich. This being spoken of, let vs returne againe to this archbishop. After the quéene was setled at Grénewich, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, where hearing the fame of this interteinement of the quéene, he greatlie reioised that he had liued so long, that being the seuentie archbishop of that see, he

should

shoulde in the seuentie yeare of his age, receiue so honorable a prince as his souereigne was, and giue hir a feast the daie of hir birth.

After this, he did at Lambeth on the thirtenth daie of December consecrat William Hughes doctor of diuinitie, chosen by the quéene to be bishop of saint Assaph; of whome he obteined that daie the accustomed fée for his consecration and confirmation; togither with the aduouson (which belonged to the archbishop by right of his prerogatiue) of the parish church of Llanduechen, in the dioceese of S. Assaph, then apperteining to the gift of the same bishop: which grant was confirmed by the consent of the deane and chapter, and signed with their common seale. The nert moneth in Januarie came Peter Dathen, orator from the countie Palatine of Rheine, to the quéene of England, to whome (after that the archbishop had greatlie feasted him) the archbishop gaue a guilt cup with a couer of three and fortie ounces of siluer: in the bottome whereof was the image of a citie grauen, hauing a serpent vnderneath it, lieng in a lake, and séeking to deuoure the same citie; about which were written these two Latine verses, expressing the proper sense and meaning of this hieroglyphicall image or portrature:

Vrbs ego sancta Dei serpentis fraude vetusti
Quassa, Palatini stabo potentis ope.

This bishop, liuing in all worldie delights, did yet kéepe such a moderation of gouernment in himselfe, and in the ordering of all things, that he séemed most rightlie to be indued with the vertue of temperance: and therefore not estéeming of the présent pleasures of this life, he alwaies vsed this posie in his windowes and other places: *Mundus transit & concupiscentia eius.* Which he caused also to be printed in his archiepiscopall seale, with the figure of the daie of iudgement. And now hauing spoken somewhat of his posie, let vs not also forget to write somewhat of his armes. It is supposed by some, that the keis which he bare in these ensignes of his, were by long inheritance of ancient familie descended vnto him: which armes being gules a cheuron siluer betwéene three keis; at the last, the quéene commanded that three stars should be added thereunto, which the harolds placed in the cheuron, with the colour of gules: of which armes, namelie the three keies, & the three starres, doctor Haddon composed these verses:

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta tuorum,
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex:
Sic bene conspirant, virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis semina læta ferunt.
Sed tandem ad finem decurrunt gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt antè fuit.

This man wrote in the English toong a booke of priests mariages; he composed manie homilies to be read in the church; he procured Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster to be printed; he set forth the foure euangelists in the old Saxon, and now English toong; and wrote a booke in Latine of the liues of the archbishops of that sée (as some affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie. He departed this world the seuentéenth daie of Maie (about midnight) at Lambeth, where he was honorablie buried: on whose tome (being of blacke marble) is ingrauen an epitaph, composed by the same doctor Haddon, and set downe before in this chronicle.

Edmund Grindall.

Edmund Grindall, descending of honest parentage (such as liued within the limits of good subiects, with the trade of certeine kind of merchandize; by which they neuer obteined the greatest wealth, nor by want felt the griefe of miserie) was borne in a towne commonlie called saint Bées, but rightlie saint Beges, standing in the west promontorie of Cumberlandshire. Which towne was so named of saint Bega, a godlie and religious woman borne in Ireland: who comming thither to liue a solitarie life in contemplation, as one estranged from the cares and troubles of the world, did there end hir daies, leauing a perpetuall memorie of hir being there; in that the same place, after rising to a proper towne, did still reteine the name of that woman, being called saint Beges or saint Bées. Whereby his birth place being famous by that woman, renowmed for hir religion and priuat life, is no lesse famous now, in bringing forth this man, who for his religion suffering a kind of persecution in the time of quéene Marie (as after shall appeare) was aduanced to the highest degrée of ecclesiasticall honor in England. In which, for the fauor he bare vnto that place (as all men naturallie doo, by a certeine sympathie, which our flesh doth participat of the aire and soile wherewithour life is first nourished) he did there cause (for a perpetuall monument of his good loue and fauor thereunto) a free grammar schoole to be erected (whereof we will speake more hereafter) in the same towne & place of his birth. Who being brought into the world much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nine-téene (as I gather by certeine circumstances of his age when he died, which was past the great clymactericall yeare, for he was three-score and foure yeares of age at such time as he departed the world) was (after that he had spent his tender yeares in the first rudiments) conueied vnto Cambridge, there to be further instructed in learning, whereunto by naturall inclination he séemed greatlie addicted. In which place he much profited in studie, to the comfort of his friends, and to his owne following aduancement and credit. For he not onelie there receiued degrées of schole, as that he was called to be a maister of arts, but also was made fellow and maister likewise of Penbroke hall, where he had béene first brought vp and instructed. Besides hauing executed the office of proctor in that vniuersitie, which is not the meanest rome there, he afterwards rising to higher degrée of scholasticall promotions, was made bacheler of diuinitie; hauing mostlie imploied his time, and profited his knowledge by the studie thereof, as appeareth by his disputations at Cambridge, on the foure and twentith daie of June, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being in the third yeare of king Edward the first. For in the second of these disputations (appointed by the protector the duke of Summerset, at what time the visitors, before whome the same disputations were holden, were Ridleie bishop of Rochester, Thomas bishop of Elie, John Chéke the kings schoolemaister, doctor Wate a ciuilian, and doctor Wendie the kings physician) he disputed against doctor Glin; whose arguments are liberallie set downe by maister Fox in his acts and monuments.

Thus, when he had spent some time in that place, he did forsake the vniuersitie, and began to make shew in the world of those skilfull parts wherewith he was indued. Wherefore being furthered by the helps, which his cousine William Grindall (schoolemaister to hir maiestie now liuing) could afford him; he was called into the affaires of the world, and made knowne to hir maiestie, then but ladie Elisabeth, in the daies of hir brother king Edward the first. To whom by the meanes of his good friends he was preferred in seruice, and admitted to be the kings chapleine, after that he had spent some time in the seruice of Nicholas Ridleie bishop of London, as chapleine vnto the said bishop. Which Ridleie,

leie, being by the kings appointment to be remoued from London to Durham (a place of more reuenues, and also a countie palatine) this Edmund Grindall stood in election to haue béene bishop of London; but manie things falling betweene the mouth and the cup, he was disappointed thereof. For before that he could receiue anie admittance into that sée, his maister king Edward the first departed the world. Whereby he was not onelie disappointed of that honor, but driuen to that extremitie, that he was inforced amongst others to flie the realme, and to passe into Germanie; where he continued all the time of quéene Marie, as after shall appeare. The cause of which voluntarie banishment of himselfe out of England was as followeth.

When king Edward was dead, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three; and that his sister quéene Marie, a woman estranged from him in the points of religion, had obteined the crowne; she not onelie banished such doctrine, as was by hir brother set forth: but also brought in the Romane ceremonies, the which manie (professing the other doctrine in hir brothers daies not being able to sustéine) did (following the counsell of our sauiour Christ, who willeth vs when we are pursued in one citie, to flie into another) forsake England: for that they might not suffer or sustéine that innouation of quéene Marie, denieng them the libertie of their conscience, to serue God according to the gospell. Amongst which persons, being manie, this Edmund Grindall (reserued vnto further honor after this trouble) was one, and not the meanest which fled the realme into Germanie; where he remained well interteined amongst them, vntill the death of quéene Marie; which happened in the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight. At what time the crowne was deuolued vnto hir sister, the now reigning quéene Elisabeth, who (banishing to Rome all such ceremonies as hir sister had set vp, restoring the free preaching of the euangelicall doctrine, and granting free passage to such as had béene exiled to returne home to their desired countrie) did gratiouslie and fauorablie receiue those preachers comming out of Germanie, and held them in greater honor than euer they were before. At what time this Edmund Grindall, hauing now recouered his swéet natiue soile of England, was after his comming home aduanced to the chaire of the bishoprike of London, where he continued in gouernment about eleuen yeares, being a person well beloued and honored of the Citizens. During which time he did in Pauls preach a funerall sermon for the emperor, whose obsequies were there celebrated with all honor thereunto appertaining.

After which, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and nine, he was remoued from London to the sée of Yorke, where he continued by the space of six yeares; being from thense in Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fiftéene, aduanced to the highest spirituall dignitie in England, & made archbishop of Canturburie. Where now growing to the highth of his honor, he not long inioied the same in full perfection. For as the wheele, when it is at the highest, must turne; and as the fairest cedar is most subiect vnto the power of the winds: so this man began somewhat to decline, and the beames of his honorable place were somewhat eclipsed, by the clouds of hir maiesties displeasure conceiued against him. For he was called before authoritie, where standing vpon the defense of his cause, and growing in mislike with hir maiestie therefore; he was committed to restreint in his owne house. In which estate he continued vntill his death, without release thereof. So greeuous a thing it is to fall into the princes disgrace: which Salomon saith is death, *Sed vir sapiens placabit eam.* Before the time of whose death (about the space of some two yeares) he was depriued of the benefit of his sight, and so continuing vntill his death, he fell into a feuer and lingering sickenes; wherein (one quarter of a yeare before he surrendred his soule) he did pininglie consume his life. At what time (because he would not laie that vpon the conscience of another, which he might himselfe performe; and so leaue that to be done by his executors after his death, which he might dispatch in his life) he like a carefull and wise prelat appointed a free grammar schoole, as is touched a little before in the beginning of his life, to be built in the place where he was borne. For doing whereof (as he did also for the rest of the things which follow) he some ten or twelue daies before his death deliuered forth the monie to such as hereafter should be his executors; and further for the mainteinance of the same schoole appointed a yéerelie reuenue of fiue and twentie pounds land to be annexed thereunto. Moreouer he deliuered forth monie so much as would purchase twentie pounds land by the yeare, which should be assured to Quéenes college in Oxford, with as much monie as should buie twentie pound lands by yeare, to be conueied ouer to Penbroke hall in Cambridge, the vniuersitie wherein he was nourished and tooke degree in schole. Wherewith not yet satisfied, he did in his life, a little before his death, bestow fiftie pounds vpon the almshouse of Croidon, for the releefe and mainteinance of such poore and impotent people as were there. Which being done, he as one that now perceiued the time of his death drawing néere, and that he had dispatched most of those gifts and liberalities which he meant to bestow, tooke his leaue of the world and departed this life the first of Julie *An.* 1583, at Croidon, where he was also buried, when he had béene archbishop of Canturburie much about the space of seuen yeares. After whose death the sée remained not void by the space of three months, but that hir maiestie aduanced John Whitegift thereunto, as here at hand more fullie appeareth.

John Whitegift. John Whitegift now archbishop of Canturburie (a man of no lesse grauitie than learning and honor, as both the worthie bookes which he hath left to posteritie, and the honorable offices, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, by him borne, doo well witnesse) being descended of honest parentage, was borne about the yere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, at great Grimsbie in Lincolneshire, a place no lesse knowne to antiquitie for things there passed in former ages, than now famous by the birth of this man. Which Grimsbie being by some in old times called Grimundesbie, doth occasion me to treat somewhat thereof in this place, concerning the cause whie it was so named. Which matter being set downe in manie of our chronicles, as in Caxton, Henrie Knighton, Eulogium, Scala chronicôn, Campden, and others, I will deliuer the words of the said Authors, least I might séeme (in being ambitious in names) to bring emptie casks without anie wine. The words of which authors, although they be long & to some maie séeme needlesse to be so often remembred, yet I haue not refused to giue euerie author leaue to tell his owne tale, for that I would not séeme to wrong them in misreporting thereof; and for that I desire to make common by manie copies (as occasion maie serue) the writings of former ages remaining in priuat hands. Thus therefore to begin with Henrie Knighton, a canon of Leicester, I set downe his owne

words

words liberallie describing the historie of the name of Grimesbie in this sort.

Interea videamus quam ob causam, & qua ratione, Canutus venit in Angliam, & misit clameum in regno Angliæ. Fuit quondam in Anglia quidam rex Ethelwoldus nomine, & genuit duos filios & duas filias, & moriebantur, excepta filia minore nomine Goldesborough ætate sex annorum & dimidium, quando pater eius moriebatur. Iste Ethelwoldus dū moriretur, cōmendauit tutelam filij sui cuidam Godricho duci Normaniæ, qui maritauit eam cuidam Hauelocke filio Birkelani regis Daciæ apud Lincoln, qui postea regnauit tam in Anglia quam in Dacia similiter: in Dacia iure hæreditario, & in Anglia iure hæreditatis vxoris suæ. Per quod Dani sumpserunt nimiam audaciam in Anglia, & suppeditauerunt Anglos longo tempore, sicut continetur in historia de Grimesbi. Quia quidam Grim nomine nutrivit prædictum Hauelocke apud Grimesbi, vsq; ad tempus quo ipse Hauelock desponsauit prædictam Goldesborough apud Lincoln. Et quia prædictus Grim quando primum adduxit puerum de Dacia primo applicuit illo loco qui sortitus est nomen à nomine ipsius Grimesbi. Iste Hauelock regnauit 31 annos, & rexit populū suum cū ingēti honore, & genuit quindecim filios & filias, & moriebantur omnes præter quatuor in iuuētute sua, & senior istorum quatuor vocabatur Gourmundus, quem proposuit præfecisse hæredem suum Angliæ, & secundus vocabatur Canutus (de quo loquitur in præsenti) quem fecit regem Daciæ quum esset 18 annorum. De regno Angliæ ipsemet contentus, volens reseruare regnum Angliæ filio suo Gourmundo, iste Gourmundus ascenso equo indomito (volens magistralia attemptare) frēgit collum suum. Tertius filius vocatus est Godardus, quem feoffauit in senescaria Daciæ & in mercimoniatu Angliæ, quæ non se extendebat ad tantū valorem qui nunc. Quartus vocatus est Thoraldus, qui duxit vxorem comitissam Hebertow in Norwegia, cuius affinitas in Norwegia perseuerat vsque ad præsens, & maior amicitia inter regem Norwegiæ & regem Daciæ adhuc confirmatur, & qualibet vice quando Dani intrauerunt posthac in Anglia pro clameo mittendo in regnum Norigi cū eis affuerunt, suum præbendo auxiliū, donec Guido de Warwik finem fecit in hac parte.

Peculiaris historia de Grimesbi.

Grimesbi vnde deducit nomen.

Thus much Knighton, which is confirmed by Eulogium, written by a monke of Canturburie, who hath set downe the same historie at large, knitting vp the matter with these words, *lib. 5. a. 44. d.* gathered out of diuers places of the same. *Rex Edelfridus quandam habuit sororem nomine Orwen, & illam maritauit regi Ethelberto, quod coniugium vinculū amoris inter duos reges cathenabat. Rex autem Ethelbertus terram citra Trentam cum regio diademate occupauit, cum terra de Northfolke & Suffolke adiacentibus. Rex verò Edelfridus comitatum Lincolniæ & Lindesciæ cum eis spectantibus. Rex verò Athelbert de vxore sua filiā genuit nomine Argentile, quæ nupta fuit Hauelock, &c.*

Which matter being liberallie also recorded by one Graie of Northumberland, as Leland gesseth (the author of the chronicle intituled *Scala chronicorum* after the arms of the said Graie, which was a ladder, and after the imagination of a dreame which he sheweth of a ladder in the prolog; which Graie being an Englishman and taken prisoner in the wars nēre vnto Edenburgh in Scotland, did turne that chronicle out of French rime into French prose) I will not refuse to deliuer, as the same was turned into English by Leland; and that the rather, because the same Graie after the reciting of the same historie touching Grimesbie, in the end sæmeth to conclude with some doubt of the truth of the matter, for that he called it an apocrypha, or thing not vniuersallie receiued, as appeareth in these words. Some saie, in Constantine king of Britains daies, that Ethelbright and Edelseie were small kings vnder him, whereof the first was king of Northfolke and Suffolke, and the other of Lindseie. And the two kings increased, and Ethelbright tooke to wife Dwene the sister of Edelseie, of whome he begat a daughter called Argentile in British, & Goldesborough in Saron. And this Goldesborough was after left with hir vncle Edelseie, on condition, that he which in feats of armes might be found most noble, should haue his daughter; who was after married to one Hauelocke, which was sonne to the king of Denmarke, but conueied by sleight into England, and after the truth knowne, was restored in Denmarke as the true heire. One Curane sonne vnto Grime (a poore fisher, not able to keepe him for pouertie) a strong and a mightie young fellow, came to Edelseie his court into Lindseie, and there was first a turner of broches in the kitchin, and after by valiant deeds grew to great name. Grime had Hauelocke by the commandement of the king of Denmarks steward deliuered to him to be drowned: but hauing pittie on him, he conueied him to Lindseie, to a place since called of his name, Grimesbie: but this historie of some is counted but apocrypha. And some saie that Sweine of Denmarke, father to king Cnute first attempted Lindseie by the first comming thither and mariage of Hauelocke. Thus much *Scala chronicôn*, which in this sort censuring this historie, did (as I suppose) occasion that learned antiquarie Campden to write of the same in this sort in his Britannia, in the title of Lincolnshire, pag. 306. *Deinde Louth frequentatum emporiolum, cui Lud fluuiolus nomen impertijt, & postea Grimesbi, quod Sabini nostri (qui quod volunt somniant) à Grimo mercatore sic dictum volunt, qui quòd Hauelocum regium Danorum puellulum expositum educauerat, fabellis decantatur cum Haueloco illo pupillo, qui in regis coquina primò lixa, & postea regis filiæ nuptijs ob heroicam fortitudinem honoratus, nescio quæ facinora gesserit, illis digniſsima qui anilibus fabulis nostem protrudere solent.*

The author of Scala chronicôn.

Wherefore passing ouer those things touching Grimsbie, the etymon wherof I leaue to some Apollo to declare, let vs descend to some such notable thing (whereof no question maie arise) as hath bēne there donne. Touching which thus writeth Piers Longtoft in his chronicles of England written in French verse; in which he setteth downe, that in the time of Ethelred, the Danes infesting this land, arriued at Grimesbie, and so spoiled the countrie, as appeareth in these his French verses following:

Mes l'an suaunt a pres sunt cyl ariuez,
A mont de Grymesby, a Nicole sunt alez
Vastant & destruent, kant ke eit trouez
Le false counte Ederick al roy ad taunt perlez,
Ke la pees est feye & Eylred enginez.

Thus leauing the place of the birth of this archbishop, and going forward with our purpose, we saie that he did participat his race with ancient gentrie, and some such persons as their place and office made honourable. For he was by kindred and bloud

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alied to the Fulnetbées, and to Godzich sometime lozd chancellor of England. The familie of the first being descended from an ancient race, hath yet his being in Lincolneshire, whereof Fulnetbæ at this daie liuing is indued with faire possessions. And the other (Godzich) being bishop of Elie & chancellor of England, a man as learned as honourable) obteined a perpetuall remembzance therof amongst posteritie, in that he did not degenerat from the Saxon etymon of his name, which signifieth a person both good & rich, sith he was vertuous in life and honozable in his calling. Besides, this John Whitegift had an vncle called Whitegift, lozd abbat of the abbeie of Wellow (as I take it) *Iuxta Grimsbie*, at the last suppression of the abbeies.

Now in this man, of whom we purposelie speake, there appeared euen in his tender and yong yeares a great towardnesse in learning, wherein he highlie profited as after shall appeare. For being by God his goodnesse and beneficiall natures inclination framed therevnto, he did in his first and yongest yeares wholie consecrate himselfe to the muses; by meanes of which naturall forwardnesse in him, he was (for more increase thereof) by his frends furtherance first trained to some prettie skill in song, and after taught the rudiments of grammar in S. Anthonies schoole in London, where he some yeares remained, vntill he was found apt to ascend to higher places of learning, and then was committed to the tuition of maister Bradford that famous martyr, then fellow of Penbroke hall in Cambzidge, about the third yeare of the reigne of blessed king Edward: where continuing his studie with earnest desire and great profiting, he was first by doctor Ridleie then bishop of London & maister of that college, and maister Grindall then president there and afterwards archbishop of Canturburie his means chosen bible-clearke, and after that was inuested with the degree of bacheler of arts, being not long after from Penbroke hall (with the good liking and consent of all the fellows) chosen fellow of Peterhouse in that vniuersitie, where he proceeded to the degree of maister of arts, and bacheler in diuinitie, continuing his studie in that college by the space of twelue or thirteene yeares, and thereby atteining to great skill & knowledge in the Greeke and Latine tongs, diuinitie and all other good learnings. Whose praisable trauell in the tongs and sciences did well appeare in his painfull lectures and other exercises, as well in the said college, as in other his exercises and disputations abzode: but speciallie at a commensement, wherin he was father of the act at the bachelers proceedings. Moreouer, his dailie proceeding in the studie and knowledge of diuinitie (wherevnto he wholie applied himselfe, making the same the centre wherin to end the lines of the circumference of all humane learnings) was not onelie made apparant by the learned readings that he made, being reader of the diuinitie lecture called the ladie Margarets in the said vniuersitie, & after that of the quænes maiesties lecture in diuinitie, by a good number of yeares (in which he expounded ouer the whole epistle to the Hebzues, & the reuelation of saint John) and likewise by the learned bookes which by good occasion he hath written: but also by his continuall, godlie, and dæpelie learned sermons, vttered in the vniuersitie of Cambzidge (both in Latine & English) in the citie of London, and in the court before hir maiestie, & elsewhere.

And as almightie God did blesse his labours in studie of all kind of godlie science and knowledge, wherevnto were ioined great humilitie, vertue, vprightnesse of life, and constancie, both in matters of religion, and priuat frendship: so did he singularlie blesse the fruits of his learning with increase of preferments and dignities in the church and the commonwealth. First, during his fellowship in Peterhouse, immediatlie vpon his being minister, preacher, and chapleine to doctor Cox, late bishop of Elie, the said bishop bestowed vpon him the parsonage of Teuersham nære vnto Cambzidge, and after that a prebend belonging to the cathedzall church of Elie. Next (for his vertue, learning, and gouernment, whereof he had giuen good experiment) being president vnder the maister of Peterhouse, he was in the roome of doctor Hutton deane of Yorke, chosen by the fellows of Penbzoke hall to be maister there, about Easter, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundzed sixtie and seauen, in which yeare he also was orderlie called to the degree of doctor in diuinitie. But in the maistership of Penbzoke hall he did not long continue, for such was the wise gouernment and cariage of himselfe (with a carefull and mild seueritie for the due obseruation of the lawes, statutes, and ozders of the vniuersitie of Cambzidge, and of the colleges he had gouernement in, not admitting anie innouation in them, or in anie other such good and tolerable ozders) that vpon the death of doctor Beaumont he was, in the said yeare of Christ 1567, being the tenth yeare of the quænes maiesties happie reigne, by hir highnesse appointed and made maister of Trinitie college in the said vniuersitie: at what time he was also worthilie aduanced to be one of the swozne chapleins to hir maiestie. During the time of his carefull and wise gouernment of that great college, which was by the space of ten yeares, he was twise by the generall good liking of the whole vniuersitie chosen vicechancellor. In the latter yeare of whose magistracie, being 1573, hir maiestie did bestow vpon him the deanrie of the church of Lincolne, wherevnto was adioined afterwards the prebend of Nassington in that church. And such was the opinion iustlie conceiued of his learning, integritie and gouernment, that besides the education of the lozd Herbert sonne and heire to the earle of Worcester, and of maister John North sonne and heire vnto the lozd North in Peterhouse, there was at one time vnder his tuition in Trinitie college, the right honozable George earle of Cumberland, Edward lozd Zouch, the lozd Dunboine of Ireland, and two of the sonnes of sir Nicholas Bacon knight lozd keeper of the great seale, with diuerse other yong gentlemen, ouer whome he had the ouersight for their education in good learning and vertue. And in the synod and clergie (which was held in the yeare of Christ 1571 and the 14 yeare of the quænes reigne, vpon a deserued opinion of his graue modestie and mildnesse of disposition, accompanied with great gifts of learning) he was chosen prolocutor: which function he right well performed both at that session and the session following, holden in the 18 yeare of hir maiesties reigne for the clergies benefit, and to hir maiesties verie good liking. Shortlie after which time, in the yeare of Grace 1577, and the 19 yeare of the quænes reigne, he was about Easter preferred by hir maiestie to the bishoprike of Worcester; and in September after by hir highnesse made vicepresident of hir councell in the principalitie and marches of Wales, in the absence of sir Henrie Sidneie knight then lozd deputie of Ireland. Which office of vicepresidentship though he did beare during all the time of his being bishop of Worcester (which was by the space of six yeares and more) yet he did personallie execute and attend the same but onelie two yeares and an halfe, the lozd president himselfe being then returned. During which time of attendance he so painefullie and so carefullie demeaned himselfe also in his other charge and function eccle-

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siasticall, that it did well appeare to all those countries adiacent, that his doing of iustice to and vpon others was no hinderance to the teaching of iustice and godlinesse to others, which euen then he continuallie practised. Afterwards doctor Grindall archbishop of Canturburie dieng in the moneth of Julie 1583, it pleased God to put into hir maiesties hart to nominat him in August after archbishop of that sée, whose election thereunto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he with other worthie and honorable personages was sworne one of hir highnes priuie councell; which honor vnder hir maiesties most gracious gouernement I praie God he may long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reuerend prelat John Whitegift now liuing, order leadeth vs to a collection of the lord Cobhams, for that the lord Cobham now liuing is the next person (after the same John Whitegift) which is next before mentioned to haue béene sworne of hir maiesties councell.

A treatise of the lord Cobhams, with *the lord wardens of the cinque ports: gathered* (as well out of ancient records and monuments, *as out of our histories of England) by Francis Boteuile*, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption, 1586.

THe diuine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into foure degrées, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust, and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowmed by worthie fame, in that they haue obteined a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and chéefest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselues excell in the prerogatiue of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whome his owne dowries of the mind, and not an others worthinesse doth nobilitate. Whereupon Socrates being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: *Animi corporisque temperantia*. And Cassiodorus prooueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by our selues is the most excellent, when he saith: *Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam quæ ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo desinit cuiusque nobilitas, tunc auorum nobilitate congruè indiget.* The reason whereof, and the cause whie a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies séeketh to performe worthie and honourable actions, for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: *Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quòd concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectant & sordida. Fœlix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortunæ, prospera tentabit, aduersa comminuet, & aliis admiranda despiciet.* Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular falling in seuerall persons maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therfore, in whom all these foure parts or the most of them do concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerate from them, euen in the chéefest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie? All which as I haue persuaded my selfe are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was amongest others for his worthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene of this our present age. Which noble person being so preferred to that place ministreth iust cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare; but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a louer of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.

But leauing him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth, and for auoiding the note of flatterie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth) I will orderlie descend to my purposed catalog of the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports, which I will set downe in that sort, as the pedegrée of that neuer sufficientlie praised lord treasuror of England, sir William Cecill knight lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasurors of England, pag. 1238. Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams.

William Quatermer, which signifieth as much as William of the foure seas, was lord Cobham of Cobham in Kent, and florished in the time of king Henrie the second. This man, being a knight and belonging to king Henrie the second, was called the kings knight; because that the king, after the seruice donne by this Quatermer beyond the seas, brought him out of Normandie into England; where the king recompensed him with the gift of certeine land and rent in Kent of the nature of Gauelkind, together with all the land of Hertland in Schorne, and in the marsh of Bolham, and Swainpole in Schorne, in the said countie of Kent. Whereunto the king further added all the lands and rents in Cobham; which after tooke denomination of this William Quatermer, and was called Quatermers fée. By force of which grant he possessed this land accordinglie, with all such honor and priuileges as to the same belonged. But after by his déed he gaue vnto Henrie of Cobham all his lands and tenements which he had in the towne of Cobham, as by a dateles déed thereof maie more largelie appeare, as followeth.

The charter whereby William Quatermer *gaue to Henrie de Cobham* his land in Cobham and *Schorne in Kent.*

OMnibus hominibus tàm præsentibus quàm futuris Wilhelmus de Quatermares salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra, quòd ego dedi & concessi, & hac præsenti charta mea cõfirmaui Henrico de Cobham pro homagio & seruicio suo, totam terram meam & tenementum quod habui in villa de Cobham, cum toto iure, & homagijs, & eorum sectis, & seruicijs, & redditibus, & releuijs, & in omnibus eschetis, & totam terram & tenementum meum quod habui in villa de Schornes, videlicet totam terram quæ appellatur Gauelland: cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, totum mariscum meum de Bulham, & totum mariscum meum de Swanpoole, cum omnibus aisiamentis quas habeo in prædictis villis in capite de domino rege, per seruicium quartæ partis feodi vnius militis. Habendum & tenendum sibi & hæredibus suis de me & heredibus meis

omnia

omnia prædicta tenementa, cum omnibus pertinentibus ad fœdam firmam, absque omni diuisione & diminutione in perpetuum, liberè, & quietè, & integrè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis, ille & hæredes sui decem libras sterlingorum apud Cobham, scilicet ad festum sancti Michaëlis, vel infra octabis, centum solidos; & ad pascha, vel infra octabis centum solidos, pro omnibus terrenis, demandis, & sectis, & querelis. Et ego prædictus Willielmus, & hæredes mei defendemus & quietabimus omnia prædicta tenementa, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, versum dominum regem, regem, &c: de omnibus seruicijs, quæ pertinēt ad quartam partem fœdi vnius militis, de omnibus seruicijs quæ possunt accedere super prædicta tenementa, &c. Testes, Richardus Bereſſe, Willielmus Clouile, Robertus de Sentclere, Stephanus de Cochington, Godfridus de la Deane, &c.

Henrie de Cobham.

Henrie de Cobham liued in the 10 of king John, in the yeare of Christ 1208, hauing obteined the lands in Cobham by the grant aforesaid from William Quatermer, was lord of Cobham, and so accounted; and that the rather, bicause that king John, by his charter in the same tenth yeare of his reigne, did confirme to the said Henrie de Cobham all the lands which he had in Kent, or elsewhere, vnder the witnes of Peter *de Rupibus*, or Peter of the rockes bishop of Winchester, Geffreie Fitzpeter erle of Essex, and Saier de Quincie earle of Winchester, &c. This Henrie had issue three sons, John de Cobham knight his eldest, William de Cobham his second called Cobham of Allington, iustice itinerant in the 40 of Henrie the third, and who further continued that office in the 42 of Henrie the third, as is proued by the records of the exchéker in the priuie seales of 41 of Henrie the third, where this writ is found: *Liberate Willielmo de Cobham 20 marcas de termino paschæ, quas ei concessimus, percipiendum ad scaccarium nostrum, ad sustentandum se in seruicio nostro, quamdiu steterit in itinere in officio iusticiarij nostri.* The third son of this Henrie Cobham was Reinold de Cobham, another of the iustices itinerants, in the 30 of Henrie the third, being the yeare 1246. I haue read also of one Henrie Cobham shiriffe of London the 13 & 21 of Henrie the third, whom at this time I will neither receiue or reiect to be this Henrie Cobham, to whome Quatermer gaue his lands.

John de Cobham.

John de Cobham knight, lord of the manors of Cobham and Cowling, eldest son to the first Henrie Cobham, came to the manor of Cowling by purchase for foure hundred marks, as appeareth by the effect of a charter, the note whereof came vnto my hands in this sort: *Simon de Pelham dat Iohanni de Cobham manerių de Cowling, &c: pro 400 martis præ manibus solutis. Hijs testibus, Rogero de Northwood, D. Fulcone Paiferer, D. W. Sentclere, D. Will. de Valouis, militibus.* This John married two wiues, the first was the daughter of William Fitzbenet, by whome he had issue John de Cobham the yonger, or the second of that name, and Henrie de Cobham of Kundall or Kandall, of whome we will intreat hereafter when we haue finished the lineall descents and orderlie successions vnto our time of the lord Cobhams of Cobham. After the death of which his first wife, this John Cobham knight married his second wife called Jone, the daughter of Hugh Neuill, by whom he had issue Reinold de Cobham knight, lord of Allington, an other person different from the former Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, & son to Henrie before, James de Cobham, Will. de Cobham, & an other Reinold de Cobham that died without issue. Of which Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, the son of this John by his second wife, descended the L. Cobhams of Starburow, whose descent and succession we will set downe after the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Kandall; at this time in this place onelie shewing the death of this John the elder lord Cobham, who died not (as some haue) in the 35, but rather (as others haue) in the 36 of Henrie the third, being the yeare of Grace 1251, as I gather. After whose deth an office was found that he held in Kent, the capitall mesuage of Cobham, and that he had lands to the yearelie value of 117 pounds and 14 shillings.

And here, because I haue mentioned Hugh Neuill, whose daughter this John maried; I thinke it not vnmeet, although it concerne not the lord Cobhams otherwise than as a deed done by one from whome they are descended, to set downe what I haue read touching the said Hugh Neuill (being a person then of great honor, and one whose name hath bene the greatest in England: as well for manie noble men of that name liuing at one time, as for the valiancie of their mind, and continuance of their descent) in performing an act of great courage and force, deseruing continuall remembrance, the which I haue taken out of Matthew Paris. This Hugh Neuill, being in his youth familiar with king Richard, did (after that he had bene chiefe iustice of the forests) go into the holie land, to fight against the enimies of Christ: where he not onelie behaued himselfe to his singular glorie against those men of that countrie, but also obteined a memoriall of posteritie for that which he then did against the beasts thereof, when he killed a huge lion in the holie land, which being first by him pearsed with an arrow, and after hurt with a sword, there died. Of the death of which lion was this verse compiled, as followeth:

Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis.

Afterwards this Hugh died, in the yeare of our redemption 1222, being about the first yeare of king Henrie the third.

John de Cobham the yonger.

John de Cobham knight, surnamed the yonger, or the second of that name, the sonne of the former John by his first wife, did (after the death of his father) diuide the lands according vnto the custome of Gauelkind in Kent, betweene him and his brother Henrie Cobham of Randall, as appeareth by a deed dated the 16 of Edward the first, about the yeare of Christ 1285, at what time the marsh called Sherdmarsh remained to John, & the lands called Heuer in the parish of All saints in Yo, in the hundred of Yo in Kent remained with Henrie. About 18 yeares before which, that is to saie, in the 54 yeare of Henrie the third (falling in the 1269 and 1270 yeares of our Lord after the account of England, beginning the yeare on the 25 of March) this John Cobham, mindfull of the aduancement and maintenance of his yonger brethren by his father & mother in law, the daughter of Hugh Neuill (as all elder brothers ought to be) did giue to them diuers lands in forme following: which was, he granted to James certeine rent in Burfield and Shelne, and pastures in Haligwesto; to William he gaue a rent in Aldington, togither with a mill there; & to Reinold he granted his lands in Orkesden, and in Einsford: vpon condition, that euerie of those three brethren surviuing should be heire to the other, if they died without issue. Which when he had so liberallie done, finding how great an inconuenience it was (for the maintenance of anie name or familie) to haue the lands so to be diuided amongest manie brethren, as the Gauelkind land in Kent was accustomed to be, obteined of Edward the first a grant (dated the 4 of his reigne, being about the yere of Christ 1276) in which the king granted to him, that all his lands and tenements, which were holden in Gauelkind in Kent, should descend to his eldest sonne, or anie other next heire after him, according as other lands held by sargentæ or knights seruice, did at the common law

In the time of Edward the first, as appeareth by the records of that court, there was one John de Cobham a baron of the exchéker, which office he held in the 34 yeare of that king, and also long before.

without

without anie partition of Gauelkind, to which deed were witnesses R. bishop of Canturburie, W. bishop of Rochester, R. bishop of Welles and Bath, William de Valence the kings vncle and earle of Penbroke, Roger de Mortimer, Paganus de Cadurcis, Stephan de Pinchester, and diuerse others.

According to which deuise of this John Cobham, thus to make the Gauelkind land in Kent inheritable after the custome of the common law, diuers persons as well of nobilitie as gentrie of this shire of Kent (amongest which was George Broke knight lord Cobham descended of this John Cobham) did by parlement holden in the one and thirtith yere of king Henrie the eight, cause the nature of their Gauelkind land to be altered into the customable descents of our common law, for the eldest sonne to inherit. The example whereof others also following in the time of Edward the first, did by like authoritie procure such descent of their lands in Kent, whereby at this daie most of the lands in that countrie haue weiued the nature of Gauelkind, and clothed themselues with the honor of descent in the common law. This John Cobham, who hath induced me to saie thus much touching Gauelkind lands in Kent, maried Jone daughter of Robert Septuans knight, by whome he had issue Henrie Cobham knight his heire, James Cobham a clearke, whom I suppose, to be he that in the tenth of Edward the third, the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, had lands in Ealschetes mead lieng in Penshurst in Kent, according as I haue seene a charter thereof: Roger Cobham of Piperstiue, that died without issue. And here because I am fallen into the name of Piperstiue, which is as much to saie as the cliue of Pipard, I will saie somewhat of that name of Pipard; and that the rather; because much about this time (as I haue read) one William Cobham married Jone the daughter of Henrie Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, the said Henrie Pipard liuing in the fift & tenth of Edward the second. The name of which Pipards comming into England with William the Conqueror, the first of them being called Rafe, was lord of great Haselie and Lachford in great Haselie in Oxfordshire. Shortlie after the time of which Rafe, Roger Pipard of great Haselie gaue to his sonne Henrie Pipard certeine lands in Lachford in the tilth called Inland, bordering vpon Ditch furlong, to hold of him by a gilt spur; and further gaue to his said sonne Henrie all his lands in Lachford for his homage and seruice. The which line of the Pipards tooke end in Jane Pipard, the daughter and heire of Richard Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, who liued in the yeare of Christ 1421, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the fift, and in the third of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1424. For she being maried to John Badbie the second sonne of John Badbie, he became lord of Lachford, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth, in the yeare 1466, whereby the name of that line of Pipard was vtterlie extinguished. The daughter and heire of which Badbie named Katharine, being maried to William Lenthall of Starkar in Herefordshire (an ancient gentleman, and one whose ancestors were lords of Hampton court in that shire of Hereford) the manor of Lachford came to the Lenthals, and is at this daie in the possession of William Lenthall esquire, descended from the said William Lenthall, which maried the heire of Badbie that maried the heire of Pipard, of which name one marieng a Cobham, occasioned me (as before I said) to digresse thus much to treat of the Pipards, and their offspring. And so againe to this John Cobham, who besides the sonnes before named, had other sonnes, as Rafe Cobham, which maried Marie Brewes countesse marshall (the widow of Thomas of Brotherton earle marshall, second sonne to King Edward the first) which Rafe died in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of Christ 1316. And the ladie Marie his wife departed the world in the six and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, about the date of our Lord 1362, being 36 yeares after the death of the said Thomas of Brotherton. Of which countesse issued John Cobham knight, who liued in the 41 yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1367, (as appeareth by the records of the ercheker) and John Cobham of Blackborow in Deuonshire, with Thomas bishop of Worcester, besides two other daughters, whereof we will speake hereafter, when we haue treated a little of this Thomas Cobham the bishop, referring thee for the more ample discourse therof vnto Thomas Walsingham, and another anonymall chronicler, who liberallie treat of him. The first of the which writeth, that after the death of Robert Winchelseie archbishop of Canturburie, *Monachi magistrum Thomam de Cobham, virum supereminentis literaturæ, multisque virtutibus redimitum, in pastorem regi præcipuum concorditer eligerunt*, &c. Contrarie to which writing of Walsingham (in which is said, that Walter Reinolds was made archbishop gratis, & what a worthie person he was to gouerne the church and dispose the kingdome, and that Thomas Cobham was reiected from that see the other anonymall author before mentioned, referring all this to the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirteene, doth most bitterlie write, who liuing much about that time, and before Tho. Walsingham, as I coniecture (because he taketh vpon him to know the conditions of the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds) doth deliuer these words concerning the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds, that the monks of Canturburie *Magistrum Thomam Cobham virum sanguinis nobilitate clarum, sacræ theologiæ, iuris canonici & ciuilis, necnon & dialecticæ professorem egregium, ecclesiæque fulcimento columnam immobilem concorditer elegerunt, cuius electioni & morum honestatibus humani generis inuidebat inimicus, misitque in cor Walteri Reginaldi viri siquidem & in tantum illiterati vt no men proprium declinare penitùs ignorabat: qui & ipse vir Belial lubricus, regens tunc temporis indignè episcopatum Oswaldi & Dunstani apud Wigorniam, & ad episcopatum Cantuarien sem nequitèr aspirans, euacuauit electionem Thomæ Cobham per simoniam*. Thus much he. By which we perceiue the diuersitie of affections in writing of histories. But whether this man, for malice to Walter Reinolds hath written this thing aboue the truth for me thinketh it should not be, that a man so vnlearned, as that he could not decline his name, should atteine to such dignities, as to be bishop of Worcester, chancellor and treasuror of England, and archbishop of Canturburie) or that Walsingham (himselfe a spirituall man) seeking to aduance more than was due the metropolitane of the relme, hath so commended Walter Reinolds, I know not, and therefore leaue it to euerie man to iudge as he listeth: I will againe come backe to the said John Cobham the second of that name, and returne to make rehearsall in one place of all his children, to the end the same may be the better conceiued, sith I haue before with manie a long parenthesis mingled other matters with them, whereby the reader might be troubled in the right knowledge of those persons.

1312 As hath Walsingham.

This Thomas was also prebendarie of Yorke & deane of Salisburie, as hath Matthew Parker in the liues of the bishops of Canturburie.

The descent of Pipard and Lenthall of Lachford in Oxfordshire.

This John the second therefore had issue Henrie his heire; who (I suppose) for this time, is that Henrie mentioned in the rolles of the ercheker, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, to haue the farme of the citie of Rochester: James a clearke, Roger

This Henrie might well haue Rochester in farme, in the life of his father, in the

time of Edward the second.

Cobham of Piperdelliue, Rafe Cobham, John Cobham of Blackeborow, Thomas Cobham the bishop: Ione maried to Michaell *de Columbarijs*, and another daughter maried to William de Andwich knight. This John Cobham the second, liuing in the time of Edward the first, and dieng in the reigne of the same king, maie well be (and so is) that person which is recorded (if my conceiuing be not deceiued) in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the first, falling in the yeare of Christ 1290, to be capteine or gardian of Rochester, and of the castell; and also to be in the twentith yeare of the same king Edward the first, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and twelue, a baron of the exchéker. Before which time, Iohn Euersden, a monke of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, writeth that in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and ninetéene, which was in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, John Cobham and Walter de Helma were sent downe vnto Burie, otherwise called S. Edmundsburie, to sit vpon certeine goldsmiths that were accused for clipping of the coine; where he fined them, and tooke the monie to the kings vse, contrarie to the liberties of the abbat. This John Cobham the second died the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and three hundred.

Henrie Cobham, the first lord Cobham of that name.

Henrie Cobham the sonne and heire of John the second, being fortie yeares old at the time of his fathers death, was made knight, and created the first baron and lord of Cobham, obteining place in the parleiment house. To this Henrie did king Edward the first, in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred & foure, grant the farme of Rochester, with the kéeping of the castell, as appeareth by this déed following.

The grant of Edward the first, of *Rochester castell to Henrie Cobham.*

Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ, omnibus, &c. Nos de fidelitate dilecti & fidelis nostri Henrici de Cobham plenius considerantes, cõmisimus ei ciuitatem nostram Roffensem; tenendam de nobis, & hæredibus nostris ad firmam, ad totam vitam suam; ac etiam castrum eiusdem ciuitatis, cum pertinentijs, custodiendum simi liter ad totam vitam suam. Reddendo nobis & hæredibus nostris per annum, ad scaccarium nostrũ pro ciuitate prædicta duodecim libras, & pro custodio dicti castri ac wardis eidem castro pertinentibus, triginta sex libras & quatuor solidos, sicut Ioannes de Cobham pater prædicti Henrici, & bonæ memoriæ Richardus nuper episcopus London, dudum firmarius noster, dictæ ciuitatis & custos castri prædicti nobis ad dictum scaccarium nostrum per annum, pro custodia eorundem reddere consueuerunt, &c. In cuius rei, &c: has litteras nostras, &c. Teste meipso apud Dumfermeline, 14 die Ianuarij, anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo.

This man being thus in great credit with the king, in the life of his father Iohn Cobham, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue & thirtith and last yeare of king Edward the first, as appeareth by a note which came to my hands, set downe in this sort: *Stephanus de Burgherſh filius & hæres Roberti de Burgherſh, quondam custodis quinque portuum, fatetur se recepisse de isto Henrico Cobham, conestábulo Douerniæ, & custode quinque portuum, 20 marcas argenti, &c.* The déed of which Stephan Burgherſh was dated the twentith of Maie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first, in

He was constable of Douer vnder Edward the first, in the life of his father king Henrie the third: and after in the last yeare of king Edwards gouernment, as appeareth by this deed of Stephan Burgherſh in the twelfe yeare of Edward the third: and so vnto his death which was in the 13 yeare of Edward the third: of which see more in the wardens of the cinque ports.

the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuen; which Henrie Cobham is reported, maister Lambard, in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Léeds, to haue raised the castell thereof. But because there maie be some question touching the same, and for that the same Lambard hath not iudiciallie defined the same; I will leaue it as I find it in his owne booke, and *Verbatim* set downe his words in this sort.

I haue read (saith he) that * Edward (prince of Wales, and afterward the first king of that name) being warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castell, in the life of Henrie the third his father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministerie he vsed as substitute in both those offices, to raise the castell that Robert Creueceur had erected, because Creueceur (that was then the owner of it, & heire to Robert) was of the number of the nobles that moued and maintained warre against him; which whether it be true or no, I will not affirme: but yet I thinke it verie likelie, both because Badlesmer (a man of another name) became lord of Léeds shortlie after, and also for that the present worke of Léeds presenteth not the antiquitie of so manie yeares as are passed since the conquest. Thus this much my synchronos and the learned antiquarie maister Lambard. After which, it resteth to set downe the effect of a déed, wherein Richard de Rochester gaue the manor of Stone and Stapingdon in the ile of Shepeie to this Henrie Cobham; in the first yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1312, 1313; according to a note which I haue séene gathered thereof, in these words.

* Edward the first king of that name since the conquest.

The castell of Léeds builded by Robert Creueceur.

The barons warre against Henrie the third.

Richardus de Rouecester dedit domino Henrico de Cobham, & Reginaldo filio eius, pro ducentis libris, manerium de Stone & Stapingdon in Schapeia: habendum et tenendum eisdem Henrico & Reginaldo, & hæredibus ipsius Reginaldi exeuntibus: & si Reginaldus obierit sine exitu, tunc idem manerium reuertitur rectis hæredibus ipsius Henrici: anno sexto Edwardi, regis filij Edwardi. Hijs testibus, domino Ioanne de Northwood seniore, Rogero de Sauage, Roberto de Shireland, Ioanne de Northwood iuniore, Ioanne de Sauage, militibus.

This Henrie, being the first baron of Cobham, maried Maud the daughter of one that was called *De columbarijs*: by whome he had issue Iohn de Cobham his sonne and heire, Thomas de Cobham of Piperdelliue, and Beluncle knight, Iames Cobham, Reinold Cobham parson of the church of Wicham, Stephan Cobham bishop of Lincolne, and one daughter named Margaret, maried to Matthew Fitzherbert. After which, this Henrie lord Cobham surrendered his life to God, in the yeare of our redemption 1339, and in the thirtéenth yeare of king Edward the third, about 39 yeares after the death of his father, being seuentie nine yeares of age, and was buried at Stoke vnder Hamden in Summersetshire.

John lord Cobham.

John de Cobham knight, the third of that name, and second baron of Cobham, was gardian of the citie of Rochester, and was (as I gather by a note, that nameth Iohn Cobham, if Iohn be not mistaken for Henrie, last before recited) constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the second yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1320, which fell in the life of his father Henrie, the first baron of Cobham. This John, in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of Christ 1336, was (when the king tooke his iournie into France, by occasion whereof he was to gather great summes of monie of his subiects) ioined with Haimo de Heath bishop of Rochester, the prior of that citie, and Thomas

Regist. Roffen.

de Aldon knight in commission, whereby they were authorised to call before them in the church of Rochester the mondaie next after the feast of the Holie crosse, the clergie and people of the whole countie of Kent, to demand certeine summes of monie to be paid to the king for the support of his iournie toward France. Whereupon the people comming to that place at the daie appointed, those commissioners could not for that instant bring their trauell in executing that commission to the expected end. For the commissioners demanding what euerie man would giue towards the kings wars in France, the clergie would not giue anie thing, because they were to grant a tenth; and that which the laitie would giue, came to so small a summe that it was refused. Whervpon the king demanded onelie a fiftenth and obteined it.

This John the second baron maried two wiues, the first was Jone the daughter of John Beauchampe of Stoke vnder Hampden in Summertun-towne-shire, now called Summersetshire, knight; by whom he had issue, one sonne and his heire called John Cobham, which Jone was buried in the chancell of the collegiat church of Cobham in Kent, with this French epitaph as is yet there to be seene:

Dame Ione de Cobham gist ycy,
Dieu de sa ailme ayt mercy,
Qui pur l'ailme priera,
Quarante iours de pardon auera.

The second wife of this John the second baron was Agnes the daughter of Richard Stone of Dertford in the countie of Kent, who dieng without anie issue by hir (whereof I can yet learne) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith of the reigne of king Edward the third, was also buried in the chancell of the collegiat church of Cobham, on whose graue stone is this epitaph yet to be seene:

Vous qui passe ycy entour,
Pries pur l'ailme de curteous viandour,
Qui Iean de Cobham auoit a nome,
Dieu luy face veray pardone,
Qui trespassa l'endemayne de S. Mathy,
Le puissant otrie a demourer oue luy,
En l'an de grace Mil. CCC. L. quatre,
Ces enimies mortel fist abatre.

John Cobham.

John Cobham knight (the first of that line, the fourth of that name, and the third and last baron of Cobham, descended of the males of that familie) was the sonne of John the second baron of Cobham. This man as the state of the world, and loue to religion went in those daies, did for the redemption of his soule erect a college and chanterie of a certeine number of chapleins, with a maister belonging vnto them, to praie for the soules of him, his ancestors, and his successors: which college he erected in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and two, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, and after confirmed (in the three and fortith yeare of Edward the third in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred threescore and nine) other lands vnto it. Touching which college I find these epitaphs belonging to certeine maisters thereof: amongst which William Tanner was the first maister, as appeareth in the same collegiat church of Cobham at this daie, yet there to be seene. All which epitaphs I thinke not vnmeet here to haue place, sith they were aduanced to that college by reason of the grant of this John Cobham, which made the said William Tanner the first maister of that place: ✠ *Hic iacet Gulielmus Tanner primus magister istius collegij, qui obijt 22 die mensis Iulij, anno Domini* 1418, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

The other maisters of that college were such as these epitaphs there found do declare: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Iohannes Sprot, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 25. die mensis Octobris, an. Domini* 1498, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

The third epitaph is of William Hobson maister of that college, which died in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, hauing this written vpon his grauestone in brasse: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Gulielmus Hobson, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 22. die Augusti, anno Dom.* 1473, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

A fourth epitaph is of John Gladwin maister of that college, wherein is neither set downe the time of his death, nor anie certeintie when he liued, being deliuered onelie in this sort: ✠ *Hic iacet magister Iohannes Gladwin, quondam magister istius collegij, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.*

Which college being so founded by this John lord Cobham, did (after the generall dissolution of houses of religion, & other chanteries, in the time of king Henrie the eight and king Edward the first) returne by the kings grant vnto those which were descended of this John Cobham. For George Brooke lord Cobham, father to that honorable and worthie gentleman William Brooke knight, lord Cobhem now liuing, obteined the same at the kings hands, and doth at this daie inioie it. About fiue yeares after the building of that college, this said John last lord Cobham was (in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and seuen) dispatched ambassador vnto Rome, concerning the mariage of Lionell duke of Clarence with Jolenta or Violenta the daughter of Galeas earle of Millaine; as appeareth by a deed of the said Edward the third, directed to Nicholas of the Heath clearke, dated at Eltham in the said one and fortith yere of the king. Who dispatching his ambassage to the desired effect, did still increase in such fauor with king Edward the third, and with the nobilitie and commons of the realme, that after the death of Edward the third, and in the minoritie of Richard the second, he was by the whole consent of the nobilitie and voice of the parlement, amongst other appointed to haue the custodie of king Richard the second. In which he behaued himselfe verie faithfullie, both in defense of the king, & also of the kingdome, against those rebellious insurrections and coniurations of Wat Tiler and of his complices, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fourescore, and one thousand three hundred fourescore and one, being the fourth and fift yeares of the deposed king Richard the second. At what time for his owne defense, and the safetie of the countrie of Kent, against those rebels, he by the kings licence built that goodlie castell of Cowling yet standing, with a writing of brasse fixed on the gate, to shew the cause and the person for which and by whom it was erected. But such be the inconstancies of mens hays, & the tickleneese of yong mens fauor, that nothing is happie on euerie side, nor seruice done to persons of light credit can alwaies be remembred, and worthilie requiter, as this lord Cobham vnhappilie proued. For after all his good done for the yong king and the realme, he was in the end (as shall after appeare) banished the land, and left in perpetuall exile during king Richards time. For (after that he with his wife the ladie Margaret had bene the chiefe benefactors in charge of purse, and trauell of bodie to build that famous stone bridge of Rochester, a beautifull ornament to that citie, and a necessarie benefit to the whole countrie of Kent, and the realme of England) this John seeking with others of the nobilitie to remoue such persons as miscounselled the yong king

Richard the second (did with the assistance of Thomas Woodstocke duke of Glocester the kings vncle, by violence take Tresilian the chiefe iustice out of the sanctuarie of Westminster. For which act afterward in the eleuenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fourescore and eight, both the duke and he asked pardon of the abbat of Westminster for the breach and violating of their priuileges, and the reuerence of the holie place in taking him out of sanctuarie. Which lord in some yeares after, that is, in the two and twentith yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourscore and eightéene, was apprehended & sent with sir John Cheineie knight to the Tower: after which, when they had sometime remained there, they were by the consent of the nobilitie (saith Walsingham) in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie banished into the Ile of Gerneseie, where they had a small portion allowed them, the said lord John being onelie arreined vpon these two articles. First, that he the said lord Cobham was in counsell to make one commission against the state of the king, and likewise that he vsed the same commission in doing iudgement against the kings will and to the preiudice of him. Secondlie, that he did sit in iudgement to iudge sir Simon de Burleie, and James Barnes knights of the king, in his absence and against his will. Whereupon he was condemned to perpetuall prison and banishment into the Ile of Gerneseie: of which matter thus writeth that worthie poet sir John Gowre knight liuing at that time, and beholding all these doings of that age:

Some saie they were condemned to lose their liues, but pardoned thereof at the request of the nobilitie and so banished.

Innocentem dominum Cobham, qui prius seculo renuntians, in domo Carthusiensi tunc moram traxit, etiam in iudicium parlamenti produxit (which was the king) *sed ille minarum terrore aut blandiciarum exhortatione locum tyranno non præbens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelissimus inueniebatur, vnde rex quasi confusus eius constantiam deterrens, ipsum præ verecundia absque mortis sententia longè ab Anglia destinauit.* Which matter with a further commendation of this lord Cobham, the said John Gowre setteth downe in these heroicall verses following:

Vnus erat dignus patiens, pius, atque benignus,
Prouidus & iustus, morum virtute robustus,
Non erat obliquus, regni sed verus amicus,
Hunc rex odiuit in quo bona talia sciuit,
Vt dicunt mille dominus Cobham fuit ille,
Chronica quos læsit quibus ille fidelis adhæsit,
Christo sed verè voluit quia fine placere,
Transtulit ad sedem, se Carthusiensis in ædem,
Sic cœpit Christus voluit quem tollere fiscus,
Quem Christus duxit, fiscus sine iure reduxit,
Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,
Iustificans factum, sic res processit in actum, (tur,
Quæ sapit hæc loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperi-
Immo quod est certum, regi manifestat apertum,
Sic quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,
Rex condemnauit Cobham, sed non maculauit,
Sic non conuictus gladij non sentijt ictus,
Exilij loca subijt tamen exteriora,
Hunc rogo quòd purus redeat cum laude futurus,
Vt sic fœlici redditu lætentur amici.

But afterward, as sir John Gowre doth request of God in the end of these Latine verses, so this lord Cobham (being before greatlie in the fauor of Henrie duke of Hereford, after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fourth) was restored home to England, when the said Henrie did weare and beare the crowne and scepter of this realme, of whose calling home out of the Ile of Gernsrie by king Henrie the fourth, the said Gowre writeth thus.

Cobham sorte pari dux fecit & hunc reuocari,
Exilio demptus iustus redit ille redemptus.

Which lord Cobham being now setled againe at his owne home, liued an honourable old man manie yeares after, and surrendered his life to God the tenth of Januarie, in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the word of the Father take on it the flesh of the mother 1407, and was buried within the collegiat church of Cobham, which he built, with this epitaph yet there to be seene:

De terre fuit faite & fourmee,
Et en terre a terre suis retournee:
Iehan de Cobham foundeur de cesty place qui fui
Mercy de ma ailme eit la seint trinitee. (nomee

He married Margaret the daughter of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, who dieng the daie and yeare set downe in this following epitaph, was also buried beside hir husband, hauing this written:

Icy gist dame Margaret de Cobham, iadis fille a noble tire counte de Deuonshire, femme de siegneure de Cobham, foundeur de ceste place, que morust le second iour de mois de Aouste, le anne de grace 1495, l'ailme de que Dieu aist mercy, Amen.

This lord Cobham had (by the ladie Margaret Courtneie his wife) his onelie child, daughter and heire Ioane married to John de la Poole knight, by whome he had issue one daughter named Ione after hir mother, which was heire, ladie, and baronesse of Cobham, neece by the daughter and heire of this John Lord Cobham, which Ione de la Poole had fiue husbands, whereof we will speake as they succeeded in order. Hir first husband was Robert Hemengdale knight, by whome she had two sonnes, William & John, which both died in their childhood. Hir second husband was Reginald Braibrooke, knight, by whome she had issue Reginald and Robert, which died verie yong; and Ione maried to Thomas Brooke of Summersetshire knight, who was in hir right lord of Cobham, as after shall appeare, which Reginald Braibrooke with his two sonnes before named, were buried in the church of Cobham, as appeareth by this now extant epitaph ouer the place of their burials: ✠ *Hic jacet dominus Reginaldus Braibrooke filius Gerardi Braibrooke militis, ac maritus dominæ Iohannæ dominæ de Cobham heredis domini Iohannis domini de Cobham fundatoris istius collegij, qui quidē Reginaldus obijt apud Middelborow in Flandria 20 die mensis Septem an. Dom* 1405, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.* On which stone also was grauen on ech side of him: *Hic iacet Reginaldus filius eorum:* & also *Hic iacet Robertus filius eorum.*

Hir third husband was Nicholas Hawberke knight, by whome she had issue one sonne called John, which Nicholas died at Cowling in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was with his sonne John, who died yong, buried at Cobham with this epitaph: ✠ *Hic iacet dominus Nicholaus Hawberke miles, quondam maritus dominæ Iohannæ de Cobham heredis dominæ Iohānæ de Cobham, fundatoris istius collegij; qui quidem Nicholaus obijt apud castrū de Cowling 20 die Octobris, an. Dom* 1407, *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.* Upon which stone was also grauen the picture of a yong man, vnder which was written *Hic iacet Iohannes filius eorum*

All these three husbands this Ione had in the life of hir grandfather the last lord John Cobham, whereby none of them was intituled lord of Cobham; but when she married hir fourth husband, he was called lord Cobham as after shall appeare. Hir fourth husband was sir John Oldcastle knight, by whome she had a daughter that died verie yong, and of whome we need not to saie anie thing, his life & doings being so largelie set forth in all our chronicles, especiallie by maister Fox and Walsingham, as that they need not anie discourse of mine. Onelie this I will touch, that he was intituled lord of Cobham

Sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham.

ham in the right of his wife, and was burnt and hanged for the doctrine of Wickliffe, and for treason (as that age supposed) to king Henrie the fift, about the first yeare of the reigne of the said king, touching which I will in breefe sort set downe so much of his life, written parciallie (as the nature of that age would permit) in verse, as is to be seene in the chronicle intituled *Extractũ breue de chronica THOMAE ELMHAM, prioris Lenton, de tempore regis Henrici quinti:* the capitall letters of which verses do shew the yeere of our Lord in this sort as here followeth:

1413 *HIC Iohn oLD CasteL ChrISTI fVrIt InsIDIator,*
Amplectens hæreses in scelus omne ruit:
Fautor perfidiæ pro secta Wickliuiana,
Obicibus regis fert mala vota sacris,
1413 His name being John Oldcastle, conteineth by the letters in the first verse the number of 701: out of which take 666, being the name of the man mentioned in the Apocalyps, the number remaining is 35, which was the yeare of his age when he died: such mysticall expositions could that age sucke out to serue their purpose.
Hic apocalypsis CirCVMCInCtVs patet hostIS,
Altera bestia fit cornua bina ferens,
Nomine secenti sunt sexaginta simul sex,
Extrahe quod remanet his sua vita datur.
Hunc rex militia necnon terroribus artat,
Flecti mente nequit turbidus ille lupus:
Nam corpus Behemoth vt scutum fusile fertur,
Durum dum superest fictile quando cadit:
Sic patet hæreticus non parens corripienti,
Dum lapsu proprio vergit ad antra Satan.
Censuit ancipiti rex hunc mucrone feriri,
Prætulit ecclesiæ iura paranda sibi:
Hæreticum propria confessio reddit eundem,
Qua damnauit eum pontificalis honor.
Regia sed pietas sibi differt mortis & ignis
Pœnam, sub spe qua possit adesse salus.
Has capit inducias in turri Londiniarum,
Rumpens vincla fugit dæmonis artis ope.
Hinc antris latitat, clam perquirendo fauorem,
*In lauacri * luce concipiendo dolum,*
Assultum regi studet atque suis apud Eltham,
Sed Deus inde suos eripit absque malo:
*Insidiando cohors in * gurgitis arce lauacri;*
*Concutiens * chrisma seditiosa ruit.*
Vernans MILICIa fVres CaLCabat agone,
Subuertit castrum, stat sacer ordo vigil.
Sed tamen extendit trux vires vlteriores,
Tertia cui feria fixa sit inde sequens.
Hic bellum regi campestre pararé studebat,
Campum manè petens regia iura præit.
Vndique conueniunt hac proditione feroces,
Partibus ex multis vota gerenda mala:
Vexillum regis prodit, crux præuia campo
*Astitit, * Aegidij gens inimica fuit.*
S. Giles besides London. *Campis atque vijs equites exire iubentes,*
Regi præsentant quos rapuere malos,
Carceribus trudi dominus rex mandat eosdem,
Ne sine iusticia flet violenta manus,
Sir John Oldcastle. *Námque * vetus castrum, cui sit damnosa vetustas,*
Profugus inde fugit cum nouitate fera.
Traditus hic Satanæ latitans luit ille satelles,
Fert odium luci qui mala tanta facit:
Hoc signo regi campo tunc fulgur amœnum,
Detexit tenebras, hoc operante Deo.
1413 *Caros LVCe CLVIt * IanI Dans robora * Deno*
Vt rus Aegidij regia cura colat:
Hîc suspenduntur tracti priùs, inde cremantur
Hæretici plures, conditione pari,
1413 *Capta Cohors CastrI VeterIs partIta CreMatVr,*
Rex hominem veterem sic renouare studet:
In tellure fatum lolium sit in igne crematum,
Quísque pians gramen sit benedictus, Amen.

*Ianuarii. *Decimo die.

Of which John Oldcastle I find also this note in the records of the exchequer, of the ninth yeare of that king in Michaelmas tearme: ✠ *Elisabeth, quæ fuit vxor Edwardi Charelton chiualer & Iohannis Piers, executores testamenti predicti Edwardi, nuper domini de Powis, in denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Thomæ Bradshew, in partem solutionis* 1000 *marcarum, quas dominus rex dictis executoribus liberari mandauit pro captione Iohannis Oldcastle, chiualer (nuper vocatum dominum de Cobham) iuxta quandum proclamationem dicti domini regis in singulis comitatibus Angliæ factum per priuatum sigillum DClxvi lib.* 13. *s.* 4 *d.*

Now the fift and last husband of the foresaid Jone de la Pole, was sir John Harpenden knight, buried at Westminster, besides hir first husband Hemendale. This Jone, which had all these husbands died in Januarie, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried in Cobham church, as is yet to be seene, with this epitaph: ✠ *Hic iacet Iohanna domina de Cobham, quondam vxor domini Reginaldi de Braybrooke militis, quæ obijt in die sancti Hilarij episcopi, anno Domini* 1433. *cuius animæ propitietur Deus.* Thus much touching Jone the heire and baronesse of Cobham, and of hir husbands and issue: amongst which, Jone (as is before said) maried to Thomas Brooke, was onelie baronesse of Cobham, and he intituled baron of that place in hir right, as after shall appeare. But before I enter into the tretie of the Brooks as lords of Cobham, I thinke it not amisse, as I haue set downe before of the Cobhams, to set downe the descending line of the Brooks, vnto Thomas Brooke the first, intituled lord Cobham, & so vnto this William Brooke knight lord Cobham now liuing, because I would fill vp one orderlie course of the names and descents of all such families as haue inioied the honourable title of the lords of Cobham.

The line of the Brooks, at this daie lords of Cobham.

Laurence Brooke liuing in the foure & fortith of Henrie the third, had receiued twentie pounds by the yeare of the kings grant out of the excheker.

I Haue read in the historie of Cambridge, lib. 1. fol 4. of one Laurence Brooke, who liued in the foure & fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, falling about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and sixtie, and was delegate of the king to appease certeine discords at Cambridge. But whether these Brooks, whereof I am now to intreat, be descended of him or no, I will not at this time receiue or reiect, but leaue it to the iudgement of others; and therfore hauing nothing to saie certeine thereof, I will hasten to that certeintie which sufficient authoritie doth warrant, vnder the learned pen of that notable antiquarie, Robert Glouer, named by office Summerset. Thus therefore I begin with the Brooks.

William de la Brooke, lord of the manor of the Brooke besides Iuell Chester, now called Ilchester, in Summersetshire, had issue Henrie de la Brooke.

Henrie de la Brooke the sonne of William, maried Nicholaa, the daughter of Brian Goneuile, by whom he had issue Henrie Brooke: of which name Goneuile one Edmund Goneuile a reuerend man, parson of the church of Terrington in Northfolke, did begin to laie one part of Goneuile college in Cambridge, on thursdaie in Whitsun weeke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and eight, being the two and twentith of Edward the third.

Henrie Brooke, the sonne of Henrie, and of his wife Nicholaa married Elisabeth, and died in the eightéenth yere of king Edward the second, leauing issue John de la Brooke.

John de la Brooke, the sonne of Henrie and Elisabeth, maried Jone the daughter of sir John Bardstone knight, by whome he had issue sir Thomas Brooke knight, which John died in the two and twentith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and eight.

Thomas Brooke knight, the sonne of John, maried Constance the daughter of one Markenfeld, by whome he had issue Thomas Brooke knight, which Thomas the father died in the one and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Lord 1367.

Thomas Brooke knight, the sonne of the said Thomas Brooke knight, married Jone second daughter, and one of the heires of Simon Yanape of Glocestershire, which Jone was the widow of Robert Chedder of Bristow. By which wife this Thomas had issue Thomas Brooke knight, lord Cobham, and Michaell Brooke his yonger sonne, which sir Thomas Brooke and his wife being buried at Thorncombe, there is this monument extant of the time of both their deaths: ✠ Heere lieth Thomas Brooke knight, which died in the yeare of our Lord 1419, being the fift of king Henrie the fift. And also heere lieth dame Ione Brooke, wife of the said Thomas, the which died the tenth of April 1437, the fifteenth of king Henrie the sixt, on whose soules Iesus haue mercie.

Tho. Brooke knight, the first (that was intituled lord Cobham) of that familie.

Thomas Brooke of Summersetshire knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, maried (as before is said) Jone the daughter of Reginald Braiebrooke, in whose right he was intituled lord Cobham. This man had issue by this Jone, Edward Brooke knight, lord Cobham; Thomas Brooke, and John Brooke, Robert Brooke, and Peter Brooke, all which died without issue; Reginald Brooke of Apsale; Morgan Brooke, which also died issueless, and Hugh Brooke; with Elisabeth married to S. Maur, the sonne and heire to John of S. Maur knight. Jone married to John Carrant the sonne and heire of William Carrant esquier, Margaret Brooke, & Christian which died without issue.

Edward Brooke lord Cobham.

Edward Brooke knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, was lord Cobham and aduanced to the baronie thereof about the fiue and twentith of king Henrie the first, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and six, or a thousand foure hundred fortie and seauen, for that yeare of Henrie the first, fell part in that one and part in that other yeare of our Lord. This lord Cobham faithfullie assisting the faction of Richard duke of Yorke, being now in the kings seruice in Ireland, continued his faith vnto him in the absence of this duke, for which cause the duke in the thirtith yere of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1452, commeth out of Ireland to consult with his frends John duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and this lord Cobham, who being now in Wales and flieng the comming of the kings armie in those parts, they all went ouer Kingstone bridge, passing into Kent, and there vpon Burntheath neere vnto Dertford pight their field: whereof when the king had intelligence, he came to Blackeheath, and there also placed his campe. At length the duke by mediation of frends, and for that the people of Kent and of other places came not vnto him as they had promised, brake vp the field, and yelded himselfe to the king at Dertford: at what time on the tenth of March the duke made his submission and tooke oth (to be true and obedient to the king) in S. Paules church of London, in the presence of manie of the nobilitie, amongst which were the lord S. Amond, and this Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After this, in the three & thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first 1455 the duke of Yorke being in the marches of Wales and associat with his frends, amongst which was the lord Cobham, and perceiuing that neither exhortation serued nor accusation preuailed against Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset chefe hinderer and enimie of this duke of Yorke: they determined to reuenge the quarell by force, and so to obteine their purpose by open warre. Whereupon, with those of his faction then present, whereof this lord Cobham was one, the duke commeth toward London, but was at saint Albons incountred with the king then present, and such as assisted him: where in the battell betwixt them, the victorie fell vnto the duke, and the king was wounded in the necke with an arrow: by meanes whereof things seemed to be at some quiet. But as the inward heat of coles of hatred are couered with the cold embers of outward dissimulation: so the malice betweene the king & the duke being but for a shew suppressed, and the same bursting forth againe, the duke of Yorke was faine to flie into Ireland. But afterward regathering his power togither, he landed at Sandwich in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and three score, where met them Thomas Bourcher archbishop of Canturburie with his crosse borne before him: who comming to Canturburie and through Kent, there ioined with them this Edward lord Cobham, John Guilford, William Pechie, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen of that shire. All which companie comming to London the second of Julie, at a conuocation in Paules, the earle of Warwike recited the cause of their comming. Which done, the duke and the rest departing from London to go to the king at Northampton, left Richard earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Guilford, to keepe the Londoners in their promised obedience; which lords tooke such carefull order for the citie, in diligent keeping the gates and entries thereof, that no succor might come to the lord Scales (lodging in the Tower) who with the lord Hungerford were come to the citie, to take the same before the comming of the duke of Yorke, that no aid might come to the lord Scales and those in the Tower, now streictlie besieged by water and by land. Wherewith the lord Scales tooke such displesure, that he shot off the great ordinance against them within the citie, and they of the citie did with like requit them within the Tower, to the great damage of both parts. This Edward Brooke lord Cobham married Elisabeth the daughter of James lord Audleie, by whome he had issue John Brooke lord Cobham, & Elisabeth married to Robert Tanfield esquier.

John Brooke lord Cobham, the son of Edward lord Cobham, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred eightie and three, attended vpon the said king to his coronation: and in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred ninetie and three, he interteined to be of his councell sergeant Read, after chefe iustice of the common pleas, from whome Thomas Wotton and Thomas Willoughbie in Kent esquiers, as heires of the said Read, and James Cromer, and Isaac Rudston esquiers also in that shire are lineallie descended; for which cause I was the willinger to take this occasion by this lord Brooke in this sort, to mention the said sir Robert Read, and those persons descended of him. This John lord Cobham, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred ninetie and seuen, ioined with Grey earle of Kent against the Cornish rebels, who made insurrection vnder James Touchet lord Audleie & Michaell Joseph the blacke smith, at what time those rebels were subdued at Blackeheath. This John lord Cobham had two wiues, the first Elenor the daughter of one Antie of Suffolke, by whome he had no issue; the second wife was Margaret the daughter of Edward Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue Thomas Brooke lord Cobham, George Brooke which married Elenor (some saie Elisabeth the daughter of William, and sister and heire to sir John Pechie knight) and Edward Brooke of Den-

John Brooke lord Cobham of Cobham.

ton;

ton, which was knighted in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, by Howard lord admerall, in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and twelue, and died without issue, hauing maried a woman borne in Ireland. The daughters of this John lord Cobham were Marie married vnto Robert Blage a baron of the exchéker; Dorothie married to William Isaac of Kent esquier, & Faith Brooke. And here hauing before mentioned one George Brooke sonne to this John lord Cobham, and finding by Leland, that much about this time liued one sir George Brooke knight, which I can not yet discerne to be other but this George Brooke; I will set downe the words and matter of Leland, as well for that I desire to perpetuat all whatsoeuer commeth to my hands of Lelands commentaries, as for that so worthie an exploit of a Brooke should not be by me forgotten. Thus therefore writeth Leland. After the battell of Tewkesburie, fought by king Edward the fourth against prince Edward sonne to Henrie the sixt, sir Walter Writle, and sir Geffreie Gates knights of Richard Neuill earle of Warwike were gouernors of the towne of Calis, who sent sir George Brooke knight out of Calis vnto Thomas bastard Fauconbridge capteine of the earle of Warwikes nauie, to raise the countrie of Kent, to go to London, and to take king Henrie out of the Tower, &c. So Fauconbridge came to Canturburie, raised all Kent, and came to London the tenth daie of Maie; there the maior and aldermen, and the lord Scales kept them out, wherefore Fauconbridge shot his ordinance at the citie, burning much about London bridge, and about Aldgate. Wherevpon the commons of London tooke great displeasure, or else they had let in Fauconbridge and the Kentishmen, in despite of the rulers of the citie. Wherevpon Fauconbridge went from London to Kingston, &c. Thus much Leland. This John lord Cobham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the fiftéenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and his wife Margaret died in September, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and six, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the seuenth, and were buried in the collegiat church of Cobham, with this epitaph:

Hic iacet Iohannes Brooke miles ac baro baroniæ de Cobham, & domina Margareta vxor sua, quondam filia nobilis viri Edouardi Neuill nuper domini de Burgauenni, qui quidem Iohannes obijt (*) *die mensis* (*) *Anno Domini* 1500. *Ipsa verò domina Margareta obijt* (*) *die mensis Septembris* 1506, *quorum animabus propitietur Deus.*

* *Stellulæ indicant nonnulla desiderari.*

1471 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth.

Thomas Brooke.

Thomas Brooke knight lord Cobham, the sonne of John lord Cobham, in the yeere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred and thirtéene, being the fift yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, was with George Talbot earle of Shrewsburie left to tame the Welshmen, when the king minded to passe the seas to the warres of Terwine and Turneie: who after also in the same yeare with the same earle of Shrewsburie, was at the warres of the cities of Terwine and Turneie. After which, in the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the mother a thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, being the thirtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, he was one of the péeres for the arreignment and condemnation of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham. Then in the yeare of our incarnation one thousand fiue hundred and fiue and twentie, being the seuentéenth yéere of the reigne of Henrie the eight, commissioners sat in all shires, to leauie the first part of euerie mans goods; but the burden was so grieuous that it was denied, & the commons in euerie place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. For in Kent the lord Cobham then a commissioner thought to execute the same, but being clubbishlie answered by one John Scudder, he sent him to the Tower; for which the people muttered against the lord Cobham, and said expresslie, that they would paie no monie, and in the same grudge did euillie intreat sir Thomas Bullen at Maidston, which tax the people refused to paie, because it was the cardinals extreame doings & not the kings. He maried three wiues whereof the first was Dorothie daughter of Henrie Heidon knight, by whome he had issue John that died issuelesse; George Brooke after lord Cobham; Thomas and William Brooke, which died without issue; Margaret married to sir John Fog knight; Faith married to William Dekenden gentleman of Calis; and Elisabeth first married to sir Thomas Wiat knight, and after to sir Edward Warner knight. His second wife was also Dorothie the daughter of sir Philip Calthrope of Norwich knight. His third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Thomas Hart, and sister to sir Perciuall Hart knight, by both which his last wiues this lord Cobham had no issue. He died the ninetéenth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Sauior one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, and was honorablie buried with his ancestors at Cobham, hauing this epitaph grauen vpon him:

Orate pro anima Thomæ Brooke militis domini de Cobham, & consanguinei & hæredis Richardi Beauchamp militis, qui quidem Thomas cœpit in uxorem Dorotheam filiam Henrici Heidon militis, & habuerunt exitum inter eos septem filios & sex filias, & prædicta Dorothea obijt: & prædictus Thomas cœpit in vxorem Dorotheam Southwel viduam, quæ obijt sine exitu, & postea cœpit in vxorem Elizabetham Hart, & habuerunt nullum exitum inter eos, qui quidem Thomas obijt 19 *die Iulij Anno Domini* 1529.

George Brooke.

George Brooke lord Cobham (by birth the second, but at the death of the same Thomas the eldest son of Thomas lord Cobham) being a gentleman of great hope, was for the valor shewed by him in his youngest yeares during the life of his father, not onlie well estæmed amongst all men, but also highlie honored by the king. For this George before his fathers death, shewing manifest proofe of those good parts wherewith he was liberallie indued by beneficiall nature, and his parents good and carefull education, attended with good credit (in the yéere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, being about the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight) on Thomas duke of Norffolke then lieutenant of Ireland, where this George Brooke did valiantlie behaue himselfe in the same wars. Wherwith not contented, but being like the sun, which the higher it goeth, so much the more it spreadeth and increaseth his force; this George as he increased in yeares, so much the larger he spread forth the honorable beames of his valor. For in the yeare of our Lord 1522, falling in the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of the renowmed king Henrie the eight, in the warres which the admerall of England had against the French Britons, at what time Morleus was taken from the Britons; the lord admerall in some part to recompense the worthie deserts of this George Brooke, then performing a péece of good seruice, did amongst others adorne him with the degrée of a knight. Who thus honored, did not yet cease from the performance of the dutie both of a worthie knight, and a valiant gentleman. For shortlie after in the selfe same yeare, the kings armie (vnder the conduct of Thomas Howard earle of Surreie and admerall of England, ioining with the men of the emperor Charles the fift) passed towards Ard, from

whense this sir George Cobham with two thousand men, by the precept of the admerall generall of the field, came to the towne of Sellois, set fire on the towne, assaulted the castell, burned, and subdued it, with the towns of Brunibridge, Sencherke, Botingham, and Manstier. Which done, he returned to the admerall, and obteined due thanks and reward therefore, all these things being performed in the life of his father Thomas lord Cobham. After whose death, this noble man George Broke being become lord Cobham, did neither faint in the course of his honorable actions, nor anie whit degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors, for he was still had in such estimation: that amongst other of the nobilitie, in the three and twentith yeare of Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord and Sauior a thousand fiue hundred thirtie and one, attending on the king going to mæt the French king betwæne Calis and Bullongne, this lord Cobham was one, who in honorable sort behaued himselfe to his singular commendation. Some yeares after this, being in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, and the six and thirtith yere of Henrie the eight, he as marshall of the armie vnder Edward Seimor earle of Hertford, taking ship at Newcastell, passed into Scotland, and in the same countrie performed manie warlike exploits. Wherevpon, in the same yeare, as a reward of his worthinesse, he was made deputie of Calis in the place of the earle of Arundell; at what time this lord was swone to that office, in the morning of the same daie, being the fourtæenth daie of June, in the night whereof (after the watch bell ended) the king landed at Calis, to go in person to the siege of Bullongne. Touching whose landing, and the behauior of the lord Cobham; the first declaring a most noble mind of the prince, in that he would not refuse to obeie the orders of his townes; & the other shewing the wisedome of the same lord Cobham, in that he would not rashlie do anie thing, I will not refuse to saie somewhat, sith the same deserueth not to be forgotten, and may be a good example to others. In the morning of the same fourtæenth day of June before the king passed from Douer to Calis, was Henrie Fitzalien earle of Arundell deputie of Calis, but he then surrendering his office, and the lord Cobham that daie swone, the king tooke land at Calis, after that the watch was set, & that the watch bell had ceased ringing; after the ceasing whereof, it was not lawfull to open the gates to receiue anie into the towne. The news of the kings landing being knowen, the erle of Arundell and the new deputie come with the porter, hauing the keies to open the gate, and to receiue the king into the towne, at what time the earle of Arundell in hast commanded the porter to open the gates, the lord Cobham then saieng nothing, but the porter refused the doing therof at his word, alledging, that this same morning in truth he was their gouernor, & then it was his dutie to obeie him. But now (saith he) you are no more in that office, wherfore I will not do it vntill the lord Cobham our deputie do appoint vs, at whose speech it shall be done, and not before.

Wherevpon the lord Cobham noting the wise demeanour of the porter that warrantlesse would not breake the orders of the towne, for the present time said nothing, but still expecting the kings nærer approch to the towne, he at length goeth himselfe to the gate, when the king knocked, tooke the keie from the porter, did open onelie the little wicket, receiued the king onelie therethrough, with three or foure more into the towne, and excluded all the rest of the traine, of what estate soeuer: which the king greatlie commended, hauing before vnderstood by the speech of the lord Cobham, that they might not without breach of the orders of the towne, admit such companie amongst them, after the houre appointed; and therefore besought the king that it would please him that onelie some three or foure, which his maiestie would appoint, might onelie come within the wals of the towne; wherevnto the king granted, and standing himselfe at the wicket, would not permit anie to enter, but such as he by speciall name called vnto him; whereupon three or foure being now come in at the gate, the king did shut the wicket with his owne hands. Thus this lord Cobham continuing in the fauour of king Henrie the eight during his life, shewed no lesse merit of good desert after his death, to his sonne king Edward the first, than he had done before. For about the third yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight, the king adopted this lord Cobham into the honourable felowship of the knights of the garter; in which yeare also, about the second of Maie, after the surrender of Bullongne (the daie whereof following this lord left his deputiship of Calis as I haue bæne informed) this lord Cobham with sir William Peter chefe secretarie, went from Calis as ambassadors vnto the French king, at what time these ambassadors were lodged the first night at Bullongne, and so rode to Amiens, where they met the French king, with whome hauing dispatched the cause of their comming, they after returned into England honourablie rewarded, vpon which returne of the lord Cobham he was swone one of the kings priuie councell.

After which to shew how redie and able he was to furnish himselfe with armor and men for defense of his countrie against inuasion, he in the first yeare of the same king Edward the first, in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, amongst other of the nobilitie which mustered before the king in the parke of Grænewich, shewed his traine to the number of fiftie persons, vnder the ensigne of the Saracens head, which he gaue to his seruants for their cognisance. Then after the death of king Edward the first, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, he setteth his hand with other of the nobilitie to a letter, wherin the lords admit quæne Jane to the crowne, excluding the ladie Marie daughter to king Henrie the eight. Which dæd of his, done by the persuasion of the greatest part of the greater sort of councellors, was not so hurtfull vnto him as it was to others, after the comming of quæne Marie to the crowne, to whom he shewed himselfe no lesse faithfull subiect than before he had bæne a sound councellor to hir brother. For in the first yeare of the reigne of the same quæne, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, he dutifullie resisted sir Thomas Wiat knight, raising a rebellion in Kent, and besieging this lord Cobham then defended within his castle of Cowling: where this lord discharging such artillerie as he had against Wiat, he inforced him to depart from thense. But as nothing is so well done or meant, but that the same maie be impeched by the malice of the aduersarie, sith there is none that resteth free from enuie: so this lord growing in some suspicion about Wiats rebelling, by the euill persuasions of his enimies, sith this lord had vsed some conference with Wiat; he was in the end apprehended and committed to the Tower with certeine of his sonnes; who there sufficientlie proouing his innocencie, was after about the foure and twentith of March, discharged of his imprisonment and sent to his house in Kent. From whense in the second yere of the same quæne, with other noble men, he went to mæt king Philip, comming into England

land to marrie quæne Marie. After which he liued some fiue or six yeares in honorable peace and quiet; beloued of his countrie, and honored of the nobilitie, and then gaue place to nature.

He married Anne the eldest daughter of sir Edward Braie knight, and one of the heires of John lord Braie, by whom he had issue William Broke lord Cobham, George Broke his second sonne which maried Christian the daughter and heire of Richard Duke esquire, by whom he had issue three sonnes; Duke, so christened after his grandfather; Charles and Peter, Thomas Broke his third sonne which married Katharine the daughter of sir William Candish knight, by whom he had issue a daughter married to Arthur Wils esquire; John Broke his fourth sonne now liuing, who married Anne the widow of sir John Norton, and the daughter and heire of Cob; Henrie the elder his fift sonne, and Edward Broke the elder his sixt sonne, who both died without issue; Henrie Broke the yonger his seuenth sonne now liuing a pensioner, a knight, and one that hath bene ambassador legier in France for hir maiestie, who married Anne the daughter of Henrie Sutton of Arrone, and widow of doctor Walter Haddon maister of the requests; Thomas Broke the yonger his eight, Edmund the ninth, and Edward the yonger his tenth sonne, all which three died without issue. Besides which sonnes, this lord George had issue foure daughters, Elisabeth married to William Par marquesse of Northampton, Anne and Marie which died issuelesse, and Katharine now liuing married to John Jerningham esquire. And here sith I haue somewhat mentioned this Elisabeth marquesse of Northampton, who went into Flanders to recouer helpe of an infirmitie which she had, I must saie somewhat that she after hir returne from those parts vncured departed this life at Whitehall, and was buried in Paules on the north side of the quier, not farre from John of Gaunt. Touching whome after hir death doctor Haddon did compose these few following verses:

Elisabetha fuit naturæ iure Cobama,
Coniugis & proprio nomine Parra fuit,
Forma, pudor, pietas, fæcundæ gratia linguæ,
Ingenium, virtus, inuiolata fides,
Cum grauitate lepos, cū simplicitate venustas,
Larga manus, pectus nobile, firmus amor,
Deniq; quicquid habet natura, quod addere possit
Addere quod possit gratia quicquid habet,
Omnia viuentem Parram comitata fuerunt,
Omnia mors atrox obruit ista simul,
Obruat ista licèt tristi mors sæua sepulchro,
Attamen illorum fama superstes erit.

But leauing hir, and returning to hir father, we saie, that this lord George departed this life the third kalends of October, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the fift and sixt yeare of the reignes of Philip and Marie. After whose death his wife ladie Anne, refusing anie longer to liue after the deth of hir honorable and louing husband, did also forsake the world, and ended hir daies in November after the death of hir husband, to both whom buried in Cobham church, their louing sonne William lord Cobham did consecrate a rich, statelie, and curious monument of rare workmanship in stone, to the end that one tombe might vnite their bodies after death, whose harts were by mutuall loue ioined during their liues. Upon which gorgeous monument are ingrauen these following epitaphs, wherof the first in prose concerneth the lord Cobham, and the other in verse belongeth to his wife in this sort. ¶ *Honoratissimus & clarissimus vir Georgius Brokus fuit dominus Cobhammus ex oppidi Cobhammi possessione cognominatus, & idē laudatissimus aliquot annis Caleti præfectus, in illustrissimum collegium cooptatus equitum diui Georgij, nec solùm hunc præstantissimū habuit honorem & familiæ commendationem, sed etiam natura fuit optima, & animo omni generis laude ornatissimo: dux fuit in bello præstantissimus, & sapientissimus in pace cōciliarius, principibus in quorum temporibus vixit egregiè probatus: Cantianis suis inter quos habitauit eximiè charus, deniq; toti reipublicæ propter honorum splendorem, & virtutum notissimus & dilectissimus. Et hæc omnia fuerunt in illo illustriora, quoniam & professionem euangelij susceperat, & defensionem, ac eandem ad extremum vsq; spiritum conseruauit. Iste nobilissimus vir, constantissimus Dei seruus, & ornatissimum patriæ membrum, cùm ad maturam senectutem peruenisset, annum agens sexagesimum secundum, & febris ardoribus conflagrans, tertio kalendas Octobris est mortuus, anno milesimo quingentesimo octauo, cuius discessu, liberi quos post se multos & inprimis laudatos reliquit, & amici & necessarij, tota denique respublica magnum & iustum dolorem acceperunt. Gulielmus autem Brokus eques appellatus, ex antiquæ familiæ cognominatione dominus Cobhammus Georgij patris & hæres beneuolētissimus, hoc monumentum memoriæ Georgij patris sui clarissimi dedicauit, an. 1561 & Elisabethæ reginæ tertio.*

Besides which, vpon the other side of the same tombe, besides the picture of his wife, is this epitaph set downe concerning hir, being a gentlewoman of great birth, and likewise of honourable behauiour:

Patre fuit domino fœlix, dominóq; marito,
Alter erat Brayus Cobhamus alter erat,
Anna fuit frugi, fuit & prosperima mater,
Pauperibus larga præbuit Anna manu,
Nil erat hac melius, nil fortunatius vnâ,
Donec erat charo charior illa viro.
Vltimus hunc annus Mariæ cū funere mersit,
Illa pari fato mense Nouembre ruit,
Sic quos vita duos concordes semper habebat,
Extinctos eadē nunc quoq; busta tenet.

William Broke knight, lord Cobham, the sonne and heire of George Broke lord Cobham, not degenerating in anie point from the nobilitie of his ancestors, was (as before his father had bene) aduanced to the honorable degree of knighthood in the life of his father, in whose time he deserued no small commendations for his seruice in the warres in those his yonger yeres. But because I maie not set downe what euerie particular action and honour of his might iustlie deserue to be spoken, because I might to some therin seeme ouer much to flatter him of whom I write whilest he is yet liuing, I will not either in truth dilate all the circumstances of the matter, neither in ample speeches streine my pen to powre out that which he rightlie deserueth; and euerie one plainlie knoweth: but onelie simplie set downe such things, as he hath valiantlie, honorablie, grauelie, and deliberatelie performed, in the warres, in peace, abroad and at home, to his countries good, the honour of his familie, his owne aduancement, and his princes liking. Wherefore to begin with things done in his fathers life, and in the budding of those yong yeares which gaue forth a manifest proofe of that fruit which so honorable a tree would in following time deliuer with ripe consideration; we saie, that in the third yeare of king Edward the first in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie & nine, after the assault of Bullogne-

William Broke.

berg

berg in the warres betweene the French and the English, this lord Cobham (by order and appointment of his father George lord Cobham then deputie of Calis) came from Calis with a hundred souldiors, who ioining with another hundred souldiors issuing out of Guines vnder the leading of capteine Smith, tooke their iorneies as appereth to Bullogneberg. Shortlie after which, by the order of the lord Clinton then gouernor of Bullogne, were sent forth sir William Brooke with his hundred from Bullogne berg, and capteine Litton with his hundred from the base towne, and another capteine with a third hundred of souldiors from another peece of defense thereabouts; wherevnto were ioined fiue and twentie horssemen with certeine cariages to go vnto a wood, two miles distance from Bullogneberg, to fetch timber from thense for the mounting of the great artillerie and other necessarie vses. These capteines with their bands being almost come to the woods side, met with certeine of their skouts, which were sent forth in the morning; who told them how they had discouered the tract of a great number of horssemen. Whereupon the English retired, and therewith the French horssemen brake out of the wood beforesaid, & following the English, fell in skirmish with them. But the Englishmen casting themselues in a ring, kept out the enimie with their pikes, wherewith they had impaled themselues; who hauing that their small number lined with shot, did continuallie gall the Frenchmen as they approched. All which notwithstanding, those horssemen gaue three maine onsets vpon the English, with the number of fiue hundred horsse; the rest of their companie remaining still in troope. But such was the valiant prowesse of the English (incouraged by the comfortable speeches, and valiant actiuitie of sir William Brooke, with the diligence of the other capteins, which not onelie conducted and placed them in such order as stood most for their safetie, but also vsed such good speeches to them as the necessitie of the time required and would permit) that in the end the enimie was manfullie repelled, and diuerse of them with their horsses slaine; amongst which was monsieur Cauret: whereby this sir William Brooke and the Englishmen did safelie retire and returne home.

This sir William Brooke being one of the squiers of the bodie to king Edward the first, was after the death of king Edward, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, with his father the lord George, by the malicious persuasion of their enimies, committed to the Tower vpon suspicion of priuitie of the rebellion of Wiat, although (as you heard before) this lord repelled him from his castell of Cowling. But in the end, they so well answered whatsoeuer might be obiected against them, that they were shortlie after with great credit deliuered to their libertie. After which, this William Brooke liued in quiet all the time of queene Marie, as far as I can yet learne. In the latter yeare of the reigne of which queene, George lord Cobham died, whereby this sir William possessing now the honorable title of his father, was made lord Cobham by descent: who with all due circumstances executing the funerall of his father and mother (who did not long suruiue hir husband the lord George) did after in the church of Cobham erect a statelie monument ouer them of rich stone, most beautifull now to be seene in the same church. Not long after which death of his father, this William lord Cobham was after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie knight, in the first yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth, made constable of Douer castle, warden of the fiue ports, chancellor and admerall of the same. Which office he at this daie doth most honorablie inioie, hauing (during the same) onelie two lieutenants, the one a worthie gentleman called William Cripse esquier, and after his decease, Richard Barre esquier, a man well deseruing a place of such charge, trust, and credit.

In which first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honorablie interteine the queene with hir traine, at his house of Cobham hall with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare inuention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which I then being yong beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto, composed all of greene, with seuerall deuises of knotted flowers, supported on each side with a faire row of hawthorne trees, which nature seemed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie, and to honor their lord and maister. But because the beautie and maiestie, with the rare deuise thereof cannot be so well conceiued by pen, as the same was artificiallie made, vnlesse the reder might at one instant behold also the artificiall situation of the place; I thinke it better to passe the rest in silence, than not deliuering it in such grace as it meriteth, to offer disgrace vnto it, and shame to my selfe, in that I shall faile in due commendation of the deuise; and take vpon me to describe that which is beyond my reach. Wherefore leauing the maner thereof, I will set downe certeine verses made by doctor Haddon, and placed in the forefront of the same banketting house, which do not onelie shew the ioifull welcome of hir maiestie to this honorable lord; but also to the whole countrie of Kent, which verses were these following:

Regia progenies, clari stirps inclyta Bruti,
Grata venis populis Elisabetha tuis:
Quocúnque aspicias plausus & gaudia cernis,
Lætatur vultu fœmina virque tuo:
Imberbes pueri, cani, teneræque puellæ,
Omnis ad aspectum turba profusa ruunt.
Nos te reginam, tu nos agnosce clientes,
Sic tibi, sic nobis, sic bona cuncta fluent.

Not long after which, this lord Cobham was by hir maiestie sent ambassador into the low countries to king Philip, where he so honorablie and wiselie dispatched the same, that he was holden in no lesse reputation, than his birth and merits did well chalenge. Which doone, his wife the ladie Dorothie the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie parted the world. Whereupon hauing no issue male by hir, and desirous to perpetuat so long and honorable a title of the lords Cobham, which he would not to haue ended in himselfe; he applied his mind to the second mariage, and finding a gentlewoman in the court of modest behauior and knightlie birth, deseruing well, not onelie for the rare and good cariage of hir selfe in that place; but also for the dowries of hir mind (for she was both wise and learned) and for the beautie of hir person wherewith nature had adorned hir, he tooke hir to wife, being by name Francis, the daughter of sir John Newton, knight; who hauing made him a glad father of much faire issue, whereof we will speake hereafter, yet liueth to both their comforts. Touching which name of Newton, sith I am now occasioned to speake thereof; I thinke it not amisse here to set downe what I find noted thereupon; to the end that I might in like sort ioine them in some part of a discourse of their descent, whome God hath ioined in one societie

of

of matrimonie. Wherefore I will vtter what I find thereof in the collections of Leland that most worthie antiquarie: who making mention of Gourneie, Caradoc, and Newton, as persons so tied togither, partlie by descent, and partlie by name, that they cannot be seuered; I will *Verbatim* recite Lelands words, which are these, written in the peregrination of England, which he made in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two.

"From Montague to Stoke vnder Hampden about a mile, there I saw at Stoke in a bottome hard by the village, verie notable ruins of a great manor place or castell. In this manor place remaineth a verie ancient chapell, wherein be diuerse tombes of noblemen and women. In the southwest side of the chapell be fiue images and tombes one ioined hard to another, three of men harnessed with shields, and two of women. There haue béene inscriptions of each of them; but now so sore defaced that they cannot be read. I saw a shield or two all barrete of blew and white. There are manie other tombes of noble men in that chapell. Without the quier doore lieth a great faire flat marble stone, with an image of brasse flatlie grauen, and this writing in French about it: Icy gist le noble & valiant chiualier Mahew de Gourney iadis seneschall de Landes, & capteine de castell de Acquies pur nostre seigneiure le roy en la duchie de Guyen. Qui en sa vie fu a la battaile de Beuamazine, & ala apres a la siege de Algazire sur la Sarazins, & auxi a les battailes de Schluse, de Cressie, de Ingenesse, de Poiters, de Nazara, &c. Il morut al age de 96 ans, & 26 September, anno Domini 1406, de que ailme Dieu aist mercy. I marked in the windows three sorts of armes, one all barrete blew and white, another with three stripes gules downe right in a field gold, the third was crosselets of gold manie intermixt in one, in a field as I remember all gules. The prouost of this collegiat chapell hath a large house by the village of Stoke, and thereby is a notable quarrie of stone at Hampden.

Caradoc or Cradoc, they were called Newtons of the name of their dwelling called Newtowne.

The verie proper name of sir John Newton is Caradoc. The name of Newton came by this error, because the grandfather of sir John Newton dwelled, or was borne in Trenewithein in Pois land. Againe, this Gourneie was lord of Stokehampden, and there he lieth buried in a collegiat chapell, by the ruins of his castell; he was chiefe founder (as some saie) of the house of Gaunts at Bristow, he was founder of the priorie of nuns in Summersetshire, called Baron Gourneie: and of Richmont castell by Wendep, fiue miles from Wels. All the building of this castell is cleane downe. It came after to Hampden, and to Caradoc *aliàs* Newton. The forest of Kingswood commeth iust out to Barmecourt maister Newtons house. There were of ancient time foure counted as chiefe lords of Wendep; first the king and his part came to the bishop of Bath by fée farme; Glastenburie had another part; Bonuill lord Bonuill, and now the lord Greie marquesse Dorset was the third owner; the fourth was Gourneie; and now Caradoc *aliàs* Newton. Gourneie vsed much to lie at Richmont castell. Sir John Newton digged vp manie old foundations of this castell, towards the building of a new house hard thereby, called Eastwood. There is a village by East chapter, called West chapter Gourneie, and there be the varietie of armes that Gourneie gaue in the glasse windows, and his cote armor. At such time as Gourneie liued, the lord Fitzwarren was maister of Wendep first by inheritance, and it was well furnished with deare: but shortlie after, for riots and trespasses done in hunting, it was disforrested, and so it remaineth. Gourneis lands came by this means vnto Newton.

Sir John Newtons house standeth in the verie place where the grange of Richmond castell was.

One Newton a man of lands inhabiting at Wike towards Banwell, had a yonger brother, which maried one of the daughters and heires of Hampton, and wife vnfruitfull before to one of the Chocks that died without child by hir, which was the yongest daughter of three that Hampton left behind him, and yet she being maried vnto Newton, father to sir John Newton, fortuned to haue all the three parts. The verie lands of Newton of Wike, be descended by heires generals to sir Henrie Capell, sonne to sir Giles that dwelled at Wike, and to maister Griffith of Northamptonshire that hath Braibrooke castell. So that Newton of Barmecourt hath no part of Newtons lands of Wike. Thus much Leland. Whose words although they be long, yet I haue béene the willinger to set downe, because it concerneth the name of Newton, of whome this honorable ladie Cobham is descended; being a person in no lesse credit with hir maiestie, than hir worthinesse doth well merit.

But to leaue hir in court in the good fauor of hir prince, I will returne my pen to the lord Cobham, who for the tender loue that he bare vnto his sister the ladie marchionesse of Northampton, went with hir and this ladie Cobham his wife into Flanders, there to seeke remedie for an infirmitie wherewith the said marchionesse was greeuouslie troubled. After whose returne into England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fiue, being the seuenth yeare of quéene Elisabeth, Christopher prince and Margraue of Baden, with Cecilie his wife sister to the king of Swethen alanded heere in England in the month of September at Douer, whom this lord Cobham there receiued, and from thense conueied vnto London, where the prince and his wife lodged at the earle of Bedfords house standing on the east side, not far from Iuie bridge. But as there are none that liue in this world in such happinesse, but that they are enuied (because such is the nature of enuie that it alwaies repineth at hir superiors, and at the good of anie other; for as saint Augustine in a certeine sermon doth write; *Inuidia est odium alienæ fœlicitatis, respectu superiorũ, quia eis non æquatur: respectu inferiorum, ne sibi æquentur, respectu parium, quia sibi æquantur; vnde Cain inuidet Abel prosperitati, Rachel Liæ fœcunditati, Saul Dauid fœlicitati: per inuidiam procuratus est lapsus mundi & mors Christi:* the sharpe and fierie darts whereof, none but onelie the poore and miserable can eschue; for the vertuous, the wise, the valiant, kings, quéenes, lords, capteines, and all estates whatsoeuer are subiect therevnto) so this noble lord Cobham, fæling the common force thereof, by the complaint of others, was vpon the same assigned ouer to the charge of the honorable lord treasuror, vntill further triall were made of his vprightnesse. But in the end, as gold the more it is purified by the fire the brighter and better it becommeth: so the lord Cobham, hauing well clæred himselfe of whatsoeuer was laied against him, did like Joseph not onelie receiue an honorable libertie, but did also in following time rise to greater honor than he had before. For his fidelitie to his prince deseruing it, and hir honorable fauor commanding it, he was after in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and eightéene, being the twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, sent with sir Francis Walsingham hir principall secretarie, ambassador into the low countries, to don John of Austria, bastard sonne of Charles the fift the emperor, and regent of those countries for Philip king of Spaine. In which ambassage he behaued himselfe so grauelie, that in few yeares after he was aduanced to greater honors. For he was called both to be one of the most

 honorable

honorable fellowship of the knights of the garter, and in Hilarie tearme in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and fiue, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne was admitted into the number of hir priuie councellors, where I will now leaue him, inioieng that place, in which I wish him long and happie continuance. Besides which (ouerpassing his goodlie buildings at the Blacke friers in London in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and two, and since that, the statelie augmenting of his house at Cobham hall, with the rare garden there, in which no varietie of strange flowers and trees doo want, which praise or price maie obteine from the furthest part of Europe, or from other strange countries, wherby it is not inferior to the garden of Semiramis) I determine to speake somewhat of such persons, as are issued from him. Wherefore we first saie, that this lord maried two wiues, wherof the first (as is before said) was the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue one onelie daughter called Francis, yet liuing, being borne on wednesday the last of Julie one thousand fiue hundred fourescore & nine, being first maried to Thomas Copinger of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquire, by whom she hath issue, two sonnes now liuing, William & Francis; and after his decease vnto Edward Becher esquire now liuing, by whom she hath also issue, two sonnes, Caro & Francis. After the death of this ladie Dorothie, the lord Cobham maried Francis the daughter of sir John Newton, by whom he had issue, foure sonnes, & three daughters, which were Maximilian, Henrie, William, George, Elisabeth, Francis, and Margaret, of whom particularlie we will saie somewhat, aswell for their honorable birth, as for that their good education giuen by their parents deserueth not that they should be forgotten. Maximilian the eldest sonne (borne on wednesdaie the fourth of December in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three score, being the third yeare of the reigne of quéene Elisabeth) growing after to be a goodlie yong gentleman, was first in his youngest yeares brought vp in his fathers house, where he learned the Latine, the French, & other languages; then going to Cambridge, where he bestowed some time in philosophicall exercises, & forsaking that place, did after trauell beyond the seas, where most vnfortunatlie (about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three) he ended his desired life, which might greatlie in time haue bene beneficiall to his countrie, whose death (being greeuous to his parents at Cobham performing the funerals of him their sonne, who should by the course of nature haue discharged that dutie to them) maie iustlie moue them to write vpon the tome of the same Maximilian these verses, set vpon a tome in the hospitals of the incurable in Naples, which in the like cause I haue read to be set by the now liuing mother vpon the tome of hir lamented sonne, departing in hir life time to hir great griefe and heauines:

Quæ mihi debueras suprema munera vitæ,
Infœlix seruo nunc tibi nate prior:
Fortuna inconstans, lex & variabilis æui,
Debueras cineri iam superesse meæ.

The which I haue seene turned into French in this sort expressing the words & the true meaning therof:

Par ces derneirs honores, que puet lauie attender,
Ie te paye primèr ce que tu me deuois,
Sort mutable ô du temps les variable loix,
Tu deuois ah mon filz ah suire ma cender.

But to let that passe, this yong gentleman hauing his mind mounted to the hight of good actions, and desirous to make shew that patience reioiseth in expecting the good successe of hard and high things, tooke this posie to him; Gaudet patientia duris. Of which words and the blacke lion placed in a siluer field being his creast, one Giles Fletcher (now doctor of law in Cambridge in this yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six) and one that greatlie loued this gentleman, did some yeares past compose these following persuasiue verses, as followeth:

Ecce niger vestræ referens insignia stirpis,
Stat leo candenti conspiciendus agro:
Admonet vt niuei tibi sint in pectore mores,
Hic color & fortem te iubet esse leo.
Quàm bene conueniunt nigro coniuncta leoni?
Quæ tria sunt titulis addita verba tuis.
Hæc quoq; te fortem, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hæc quoq; te niueis moribus esse iubet.
Ergò sit vt tituli, sic vitæ regula, verbo
Sed quod inest, factis debet inesse tuis.
Vt te nobilitas humilem, sors ampla modestum
Reddat, honor mitem, copia magna pium.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Conueniens verbo laus erit ista tuo.
Si malè quid placeat, quod vis non velle, carere,
Quod cupis, a placidis abstinuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Deterior verbo ne videare, caue.
Si quid displiceat, motus lenire feroces,
Pectoris ac iræ fræna tenere tuæ:
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hic quoq; sint verbo consona facta tuo:
Si mala contingant, tranquilla mente dolorem
Ferre, nec aduersus succubuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Dissimilis verbo ne videare, caue.
Hæc bene si facias, re, sanguine, nomine magnus,
Et magno maior Maximilianus eris.

Thus setting end to Maximilian the eldest sonne of this lord Cobham, let vs descend to the rest of his children.

Henrie Broke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman, of whome great hope is conceiued, that his following yeares giuing increase to his good parts by nature, and to the like gifts of the languages by education, will not onelie make him a beneficiall member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthie of such a father, which Henrie was borne at Cobham hall, on wednesdaie the two and twentith of November, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure.

William Broke the third sonne, a comelie gentleman, and inclined to follow the court (for which he seemeth by the gift of nature to be created) is in like sort beautified with the knowledge of the languages, and therefore likelie in following time to proue a glorie to his house, as well abroad as at home, being brought into this world on tuesdaie the eleuenth of December, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and fiue.

George Broke the fourth sonne, hauing by an accidentall chance in his youth some imperfection, in one part of his bodie, being borne on saturdaie the last of Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie nine, is so well indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he imploied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degree of master of art, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with Ouid (a man more wittie than welfauored) may iustlie saie:

Ingenio forma damna rependo meæ.

Elisabeth

Elisabeth and Francis Brooke two twins were borne on tuesdaie the first daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred three score and one, whereof the first being a modest and vertuous gentlewoman doth worthilie serue hir maiestie as one of hir priuie chamber; the other being a person not degenerat from the honor of hir house, was in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and eightie in Michaelmas terme married to John lord Sturton at the Blacke friers in London; Margaret the third daughter, a godly gentlewoman & furnished with the good gifts of nature, and her parents education, was at Cobham hall in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred eightie and foure married vnto sir Thomas Sands of Throughlie in the countie of Kent knight. With which ladie I doo for this time knit vp the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, and will descend to the other persons by collaterall lines issued from that house.

The Cobhams lords of Randall or *Rundall in Kent, in the parish* of Shorne.

HAuing before performed the descents & succession of all the lords of Cobham, either by the name of Quatermere Cobham, or Broke; order requireth (sith there hath beene three lords, as I haue beene informed at one time of the Cobhams, which I for this present take to be the lord Cobham of Cobham, the lord Cobham of Randall, and the lord Cobham of Sterborow) that we also intreat somewhat of the Cobhams lords of Randall, to make this worke perfect, touching all the lord Cobhams in England, For which cause meaning first in orderlie sort to set downe the lords of Randall, a place not farre from Cobham; I must begin the same a little higher, and make repetition of somewhat spoken before to bring forth this line of the house of Randall in this sort.

John Cobham.

Sir John Cobham knight the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, hauing two wiues, had by his first wife the daughter of one William Fitzbennet two sonnes, whereof the eldest was called John, of whom the lords of Cobham did descend (as we haue before touched) and the second was named Henrie Cobham lord of Rundall, of whome we are now to intreat.

Henrie Cobham of Randall.

This Henrie Cobham of Randall knight married Jone, one of the daughters and heires of Stephan Pinchester warden of the cinque ports, and of Margaret his wife the daughter of John de Burgh, which Stephan was the sonne of Stephan Pinchester knight, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and eightéene, about the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and of Rose his wife. The name of which Pinchester I haue beene the more willing to set downe, because that these Cobhams of Randall (in respect of this John daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester) did leaue the cote of the Cobhams, and bare the armes of Pinchester, which is gules a plaine crosse siluer, as yet to be seene vpon a monument carued out of stone in the church of Shorne in Kent, where this Henrie Cobham was buried with his armor, on whose shield he beareth those armes of Pinchester. By which Jone the daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester this Henrie had issue John Cobham, which died without issue; Stephan Cobham of Randall knight; Thomas Cobham which had lands in Hollinborne and Chaford; and Stephan Cobham the yonger which had lands in Dunstall. Which Henrie liued in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yeare of our incarnation one thousand three hundred fortie and three, and was buried at Shorne (as is before touched) with this epitaph in French as followeth: Sire Henry le Cobham leisne seignour de Rondall full appelle gist icy, Dieu de sa ailme ayt mercy.

Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall.

Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall the sonne of Henrie Cobham married Anista, by whome he had issue John Cobham of Randall knight; which Stephan died in the life of his father, in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yere one thousand three hundred thirtie & three of the birth of our Sauior.

John de Cobham lord of Randall.

John de Cobham lord of Randall knight, had issue Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, his heire, and John de Cobham of Yeuer his second sonne. Which John Cobham the knight departed this world, in the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the one thousand three hundred three score and second yeare from the birth of Christ.

Thomas de Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of John Cobham knight before recited, married Mawd the daughter of one Pimpe knight, who perhaps was lord of the manor of Pimps court in Kent. By which Mawd this Thomas had issue Reinold Cobham knight, and William Cobham, of which William I haue gathered this note out of an old euidence: William Cobham of Stapleherst, in the eight yere of king Henrie the first, gaue to Peter Web of Shorne two acres and a halfe in the parish of Shorne, in the field called Smithen, and all his lands vnder West Hull, which should descend vnto him after the death of the lord Thomas de Cobham *aliàs* Rundella knight, his father. This Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, died in the seuentéenth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtéene. But his wife Mawd died about thirtéene yeares before hir husband, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and foure score, in the third yeare of the said king Richard the second, and is buried in Cobham church, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene: Icy gist dame Mawd de Cobham, le femme de sire Thomas Cobham, que dellya le 9 iour d' Auerill, en le anne de grace 1380.

Reinold de Cobham lord of Randall.

Reinold Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of sir Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, married Elisabeth the daughter of sir Arnold Sauage knight, who was shiriffe of Kent in the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and fiue, at what time he had a *Dedimus potestatem* directed vnto him to take a fine of sir Roger Northwood knight lord of Shorne in Kent. By which Elisabeth this Reinold Cobham had issue John de Cobham, which died without issue; Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire, and Henrie Cobham which died without issue.

Thomas. Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire was nine yeares old in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, which fell about the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuen, or one thousand foure hundred & eight. For the said yere of the king did fall in both those yeares of our Lord, accounting the yeare of Christ to begin on the fiue and twentith daie of March, after the account of England. Of which Thomas sith I haue nothing to write either of his mariage or death, I will in this sort knit vp this discourse of the Cobhams lords of Randall, and descend to the lord Cobhams of Sterborow.

The

The descents and successions of the *lord Cobhams, lords and barons of Starburow castle in Surrie.*

TO come to the full discourse of these lord Cobhams of Starburow, who were for honor and antiquitie of great estimation; we must first fetch their originall from John Cobham knight, as we haue alreadie done the lords of Cobham and Kandall: and for that must the third time repeat some discourse and descent of the said John Cobham; who being the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, to whom Quaterniere sold his lands in Cobham, had two wiues as is before touched: by the first whereof he had two sonnes, of whom the lord Cobhams of Cobham and those Cobhams of Kandall did descend: and by his second wife called Ione, the daughter of Hugh Nevill, he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, lord of Aldington, of whom the Cobhams of Starburow did descend, as this following discourse doth manifest.

Reinold Cobham knight lord of Aldington, which liued in the sixteenth yere of king Edward the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score & eight, married Ione the daughter and heire of William de Yeuer, by whom he had issue Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham lord of Starburow

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, the second of that name and that line, being knight of the garter was lord of Starburow castle. All which lord Cobhams of Starburow (as differing from the armes of the house of Cobham of Cobham, from which they issued) did beare gules a cheuron gold, charged with three starres sable, onelie changing the sable lions of the cheuron of the house of Cobham of Cobham into sable starres; but still keeping all the rest of the armes both in colour, field, & cheuron, as they of Cobham did beare them. Of which starres in those armes of these Cobhams, the place was called Starburow, or the burow of the starres, and they surnamed the lords of Starburow. This Reinold lord Cobham, was with the earle of Derbie and others, hauing fiue hundred men sent in the thirteenth yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and nine, into Flanders, where they subdued the Flemings, whereof the most part were desirous to fall to league with the king of England against the mind of their erle, which toke part with the French king. After which, the king going into Flanders, feining that he would in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fortie, ride about that countrie for his pleasure, he secretlie came into Zeland, where taking ship, and sailing three daies and three nights, on S. Andrews daie at night about cocke-crowing, entred the Tower of London by night, being attended on (amongst other noble men) with this lord Cobham, who (continuing still in his princes fauour, a thing rarelie happening, but that his worthinesse alwaies merited fauour) was in the sixteenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie & two, appointed with others, during the wars in Britaine, to be a cõmissioner for the king of England, to conclude a peace by mediation of two cardinals, setting their seales to the same agreement, in the presence of the lord Cobham. About two yeares following, this Reinold was made admerall of the sea, from the mouth of the Thames toward the west parts, so long as it pleased the king, as appeareth by the patent dated the eight of Maie, in the eightéenth yere of Edward the third, falling in the yeare from the birth of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure. Then in the twentith yeare of the said king, falling in the yere of our Lord one thosand three hundred fortie and six, he passed with the king into Normandie, continuing with him in all those warres of France, and was by speciall appointment of the king bestowed in the fore-ward of the armie, in which the prince of Wales was at the battell of Cressie, as one of the chiefe persons for value, to whom Edward the third would commit the life of his sonne the prince of Wales. The next yere following, being the one and twentith of Edward the third, and of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, he was amongst others appointed for the English part to treat with two cardinals about a peace betweene France and England, and was in the same yere by patent admitted into the honor of a baron, with a further gift of the manor of Westcliue to him and to the heires of his bodie begotten. Besides which, in the same yeare, this Reinold, with Thomas lord Berkeleie, and Norice Berkeleie, became manucaptors for Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such order as the law would award for such misdemenors as he had vsed against the king. Afterward this lord Cobham toke the towne and castle of Sacret or Satart: from whense he returned towards Languedocke, and was sent againe in another voiage against the Frenchmen. And in the nine and twentith of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and fiue, when the prince of Wales, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince, diuided his armie two miles from the towne of Areull, this Reinold with others were in the vaward, at what time it seemeth that he was marshall of the armie. And in the thirtith yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, he was valiantlie fighting in that famous battell of Poiters, in which the Blacke prince toke the French king prisoner. But yet not ceasing his warlike exploits, he also in the three and thirtith of the king, being the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and nine, went out of England againe with king Edward the third, and besieged the citie of Rhemes. Not long after which, in the thirtie and fift yere of this king, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and one, he departed this life, and was buried at Linfield in Surrie: at whose feet on his tombe lieth embossed in stone a Saracen in a red robe, signifieng that he had obteined victories amongst and against them. He married two wiues, whereof the first was Ione the daughter of sir Norice Berkeleie knight, by whome he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, baron of Starburow. His other wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Hugh erle of Stafford, the widow of John de Ferrers of Chartleie knight, by whom he had no issue.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold Cobham knight the third of this line and name, and the second baron of Starburow, was in the eight and fortith yere of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and foureteene, with John duke of Lancaster, William earle of Salisburie, Simon Sudberie and others sent into Flanders to Bruges to intreat a peace betweene England and France, which parlee continued almost two yeres, and ended without conclusion of peace, but onlie with a truce for a certeine time. After which, in the one and fiftith and last yere of the same king, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and sixteene, he was the second time (with the bishop of Hereford and maior of London) sent to Bruges,

to treat of the like peace with the French, but was shortlie after called home by the death of the said Edward the third. When this king was dead, and that his nephue (by his sonne the Blacke prince) called Richard the second, being within age, came to the crowne; this Reinold Cobham amongst others was in the eleuenth yeare of the same Richard the second, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred foure score and seuen, appointed to haue the gouernment of the realme, as maie appeare in my former discourse of the protectors of England, and to be one of the kings gouernors. For which office and for nothing else he was after in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of this Richard, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score and eightéene condemned: who departing the realme therefore, did returne out of Britaine into England with Henrie of Bullingbroke, then duke of Hereford (and after king by the name of Henrie the fourth) in the three & twentith and last yere of this deposed king Richard, in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred foure score & nineteene. After which he liued about foure yeares, and ended his life in the fourth of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, falling about the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and three, being buried in Linsted church in Surrie with this epitaph, declaring his martiall and ciuill qualities:

De Starborough dominus, de Cobham hic Reginaldus,
Hic iacet, hic validus miles fuit vt leopardus:
Sagax in guerris, satis audax omnibus horis,
In cunctis terris famam prædauit honoris.
Dapsilis in mensis, formosus, morigerosus,
Largus in expensis, imperterritus, generosus:
Et quando placuit Meschiæ, quòd moriretur,
Ac spirans obijt in cœlis glorificetur:
Mille quadringeno, trino, Iulij numeres très,
Migrauit cœlo, sit sibi vera quies.

He maried Elenor the daughter of John lord Matrauers, & the widow of sir John Arundell knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham knight, the fourth of that name and time, and the third baron of Starburow, had two wiues: the first was Elenor the daughter of sir Thomas Culpepper knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, Thomas Cobham knight, Elenor maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, Elisabeth maried to Richard lord Strange of Knocking, Anne a nun at Barking, and Margaret maried to Reinold Curteous. Which Elenor first wife to this Reinold now lord Cobham, died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and twentie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, and was buried at Linsted with this epitaph here presentlie following:

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

¶ *Hîc iacet domina Eleonora quondam vxor Reginaldi Cobham militis, filia Thomæ Culpeper militis, quæ obijt anno Domini* 1420.

The second wife of this Reinold the fourth of that name was Anne, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Bardolph, by whome he had no issue. Now heere I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, to saie somewhat of the said Elenor Cobham, the daughter of this Reinold lord Cobham before touched. Which woman being maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the first, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and seuen, did by night on tuesdaie the 19 daie of Julie, in the 19 yeare of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the mother, one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, flie vnto sanctuarie, vpon the apprehending of Henrie Bullingbroke a priest the sundaie before, for vsing coniuration to consume the kings person. Which slight caused hir to be suspected of treason, & that the rather, because this Bullingbroke confessed he did this, by the procurement of the said Elenor: who was indicted as accessarie thereunto. After which, on the twentith daie of October, being in the twentith yeare of that Henrie, falling in the said yeare one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, from Christs birth, she appeared before Robert Gilbert bishop of London, William Alnewike bishop of Lincolne, and Thomas Browns bishop of Norwich. Where Adam Molins clearke of the kings councell read certeine articles obiected against hir, of sorcerie and witchcraft: whereof she confessed part, and denied others. But after, on the three and twentith of October, she was conuicted of those articles, and receiued penance therefore, which she performed. The maner whereof is set downe by Iohn Stow, and shall be more liberallie touched by me in my larger discourse of the lord Cobhams, hereafter to be set forth. And thus this much of that Reinold the fourth, and his children.

Reinold the fift of that name and line, was the fourth & last baron of Starburow of that house, being called Reinold the yonger in the life of his father. This Reinold the fift, I take to be that man, whome the duke of Bedford (brother to Humfreie duke of Glocester that maried Elenor, sister to this Reinold the fift) did amongst others make knight in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and six. He maried Thomasin the daughter of John Cherocke knight, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Margaret, maried to Rafe Neuill the second of that name earle of Westmerland; who hauing by hir one onelie daughter, which died in hir cradle, the lands of the lord Cobham of Starburow, came to sir Thomas Cobham knight, brother and heire to this Reinold.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Thomas de Cobham knight, the sonne of Reinold the fourth, and heire to his brother Reinold the fift, maried Anne the daughter of Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham, by whome he had one onelie daughter and heire called Anne, maried first to the lord de Monte Iouis *alias* Monte Jocoso, in English Mont Jews or Mont ioies: and after to sir Edward Burgh of Lincolneshire knight, baron of Burgh. Who at this daie inioieng that name & baronie of Burgh, doth kæpe the remembrance of their descents from these lords Cobhams of Starburow, the castle whereof being at this daie in their possession. This Thomas Cobham is he, whereof I haue read, that there was one Thomas Cobham knight, whose daughter and heire was called Anne, that died in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and one. Of which name Cobham I also read manie more notes and epitaphs: but by reason I can not yet well tell, in which of the collaterall lines of this house (whereof there are manie) to bestow them, I will refer them to my next addition; not doubting but longer time will breed more certeine knowledge where to place them whereby truth maie be brought to light, sith *Veritas est temporis filia.*

Thomas Cobham lord of Starburow.

Thus hauing finished all my course discourse of these lords Cobhams, it is high time for vs now to descend to the lord wardens of the fiue ports: which office the honorable baron sir William Brooke knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, doth to his countries good, and his great honor, worthilie inioy, as some of his ancestors haue done before.

The catalog of the lord wardens of the *cinque ports, and constables of Douer castle, as*well in the time of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, *as since the reigne of the Conqueror; collected by* Francis Thin, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

IT hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports were in the Romane and Saxons times, which truelie I am resolued was then vsed; and the officer rightlie to be called *Limenarcha*, the chiefe (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the gouernor *Saxonici litoris*; which was of that shore which belonged to England in Kent, on which the rouing pirats of the Saxons lieng vpon the sea were wont to alland, and then to spoile the countrie. For the more explanation whereof, I referre thee to that learned worke of maister Camden, touching the antiquities of Britaine, and will onlie bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall within my knowledge; as followeth.

Earle Godwine.

Godwine earle of Kent was constable of Douer castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the sea coasts, and had the towne of Douer in his keeping, in the time of king Edward the confessor: who in the yeare of Christ one thousand and nine-tæne, being the third yeare, or as other haue, the second yeare of Canutus king of England, had the gouernment of the English armie into Denmarke, when Canutus went to subdue the Vandals: at what time Canutus by the helpe of Godwine obteined the victorie. After which, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thirtie and eight, as some haue (but in the yeare one thousand thirtie and six, as others haue) in which yeare Canutus died, this Godwine, in recompense of the honor which he receiued by Canutus, labored to aduance Hardiknute the sonne of the same Canutus, to the kingdome of England; but he preuailed not: for Harold Harefoot was then made king.

Godwine thus still remaining in credit, found meanes to haue Alured the sonne of Egelred heire to the crowne to be slaine, least he should pursue his title to the kingdome. Of which thus speaketh the priuat historie of Elie in the second booke: *Alfredus* (Alfred or Alured) *missioni Goodwini strictissimè vinctus, ducitur ad Ely, sed vt ad terram nauis applicuit, eius oculi sunt eruti, & sic ad monasterium ductus traditur ad custodiendum; vbi breui post obijt, & in australi porticu in occidentali parte ecclesiæ sepultus: nunc autem.* (which was about the latter end of the time of King Henrie the second) *ossa ipsius iuxta altare sanctorum Eadmundi regis & martyris, & Thomæ Cantuarienſis episcopi tumulata sunt.* Which historie disprooueth all such writers as affirme, that this Alfred was slaine, and that he was killed by Godwine about Guildenford, of some called Gilford. This done in the time of king Hardiknute, he with quæne Emma had the gouernment of the realme.

But yet in the time of the said Hardiknute, as some chronicles affirme, he was feine to purge himselfe of the death of Alured: which he did by oth, and by giuing to the king a rich present; being a ship, conteining therein fourescore souldiors, wearing vpon each of their armes two bracelets of gold of sixtæne ounces weight, a triple habergeon guilt on their bodies, and a sword with gilt hilts girded to their waists, a battle ax after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosse & mailes gilt: and to conclude, they were furnished at all parts with armor and weapon accordinglie. But touching the purgation of Godwine, and the gift of this ship, I must speake my fansie; not as though I would be *Honorarius arbiter*, or a seuere controllor of other men: but as one that desireth that truth maie appeare, which hath bene manie waies obscured by writers of chronicles. And for that cause I saie, that this purgation of Godwine, and this gift, should be referred to the following time of king Edward the confessor; as is well proued by an ancient booke dedicated to quéene Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, and the daughter of this earle Godwine. Which booke was of purpose made, to set forth the praise, vertues, learnings, and languages of the said Edith (amongst which languages, she is commended, for that she vnderstood and spake the Irish tong) and to further the renowme and glorie of this erle Godwine, as after by the verses prouing the same, shall more plainelie appeare. And yet I know, it is not vnpossible but that he might giue two ships in both those kings times: which if he had done, I doubt not but this booke would aswell haue spoken of the one, as of the other; being speciallie written to set out his glorie.

This earle Godwine, hauing with much diligence aduanced Edward the Confessor through his power and strength in the realme to the crowne of England, did after purge himselfe of the death of Alfred brother to this king Edward, and presented a worthie gift (vnto the said king Edward, at his entrance into the gouernement) a ship of rare deuise and riches, as these verses taken out of the before mentioned booke do well and soundlie proue:

Laudibus exortis hinc gratis concinit orbis,
Et resonet mecum tua musica gaudia rerum,
Quæ lux de cœlo rutilans, in rege nouello,
Anglis illuxit, gemebundáq; corda resoluit,
Has quoq; conuitias, qua lætitia celebrarunt,
Festum proceres, certatim dona ferentes,
Agnouere suum regem magnúmq; patronum.
Multa dedere quidem, verùm supereminet omnes
Larga ducis probitas Goodwini, munere tali,
Scapha grauis longo laterum compage redacto,
*Verticibus binis, * finibus stabat Thamasinis,*
Sedibus æquato numerosis ordine lato,
A medio naui despecto vertice mali,
Centum bis denis aptata minacibus heris,
Aureus è puppi leo prominet æquora proræ,
Celsè pennato perterret tempore draco,
Aureus & linguis flamma vorat ore trisulcis,
Nobilis appensum preciatur purpura velum,
Quod patrum series depicta docet varias res,
Belláq; nobilium turbata per æquora regum,
Internè grauidus stipes robúrq; volatus,
Sustinet extensis auro rutilantibus alis,
** Armigerum volucrem, pedibus, rostróq; ferentē,*
Et similem viuo, visu gemmis simulato,
Singula bis denis argenti transtra talentis,
Bis binis rutili, cumulat dux inclytus auri,
Cuiq; viro galeam loricam pone trilicem,
Lancea cum gladio, nec abest his Gallicus vmbo,
Danica cum capitis sculpti formata securis,
Sæpius ex cocto chalybum fornace metallum,
Pluribus his opibus pollebat regia sedes,
Argenti montes meri rutilantes & auri,
Gazas insignes cum pallia plura videres,
Ornatúsq; graues, quo mittit Barbara tellus,
Orbis & extremi varijs textricibus Indi,
Tum decus armorum iungit nunc inferiorum,
Quanquam Vulcani referuntur in arte parari,
Regi Troiano nullo cedentia telo,
Cætera præcipuè sunt instrumenta carinæ,
Quæ stupeat pontus nimiùm mirantibus vndis,

* The banks of the riuer of Thames.

* An Eagle.

Respiciens

Respiciens solem tota de classe lucentem,
Hanc in sede noua solij regniq; corona,
Regnante tribuit, recipi & gratam fore poscit,
Sæpiùs augeri spondens hæc velle libenti,
Vnde manus præstat fidei sacramenta parari,
Eduardúmq; sibi regem dominúmq; fideli,
Seruandum voto contestans, & famulatu,
Principibus reliquis sit in exemplum probitatis,
Istud idem cunctis imitantibus Anglicus orbis,
Gaudet in Eduardo festiuus rege decoro,
Pax antiqua suos rediens sic visitat Anglos,
Aufugiunt rixæ, discedunt bella, furórq;
Omnis frigescit, tellus pontúsq; quiescit,
Ac passim lætis celebrantur festa choreis.

After which this erle Godwine hauing the towne and castle of Douer in his charge, did (vpon the complaint of Eustace earle of Bullogne, which maried Goda the sister to king Edward, and alanded at Douer, to the intent that he would visit the king, at which place eighténe of the men of Eustace were slaine for one man of Douer slaine by the men of Eustace, vpon a contention betwéene the townesmen and them) take armes against the king, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiftie and one. Wherevpon he was banished, but neuer after ceassed to molest the king, vntill that he was restored home vnto his honors and liuings, and had his peace made with the king the second yeare of his banishment, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and two, and the ninth yeare of king Edward the Confessor. Of the maner of the death of which Godwine there be diuers reports set downe, which I meane not here to touch, but onelie to laie before you that he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and three, or (as others haue) one thousand fiftie and foure, and was honorablie buried at Winchester. He maried two wiues, the first was Thira borne in Flanders, by whom he had one sonne, *Quem equus impotenter agitatus deiecit in Thamisin.* His second wife was Githa the sister of Sweine the king of Denmarke, *Quæ fulmine icta interijt, sæuitiæ pœnas soluēs, quòd dicebatur agmina mancipiorum in Anglia coempta Danemarchiam solere mittere.* By which woman this Godwine had issue, Harold after king, Sweine, Tostie, Wolnothus, Gurth, Leofwine, and Edith maried to Edward the Confessor.

Harold. Harold the sonne of Godwine being earle of Kent, after the death of his father, was also constable of Douer castle about one yeare in the time of Edward the confessor. After which, this Harold put on the crowne of England immediatlie vpon the death of the said king Edward, but was within three quarters of a yeare thereof slaine by the Norman bastard, in the first and last yeare of the reigne of the said Harold. He maried Agatha, by whom he had a sonne, by some named Ulfus, but by Dudo de sancto Quintino, which liued aboue fiue hundred yeares past, it seemeth that he had two sonnes. For thus writeth the said author: *Porrò duo filij Heraldi regis se ab eorum contubernio subducentes, cum multis vernaculis patris, Hiberniæ regem nomine Dermutum pro obtinendo iuuamine sunt aggressi. De cuius regno ipso suffragante, parua temporis intercapedine non minimam militū sibi contrahentes manum cum 66. nauibus (quā in regione maximè oportunum existimauerunt) Anglos otiùs repetierunt, rapinis & incendijs, more sæuissimorum piratarum, exterminantes populum. Quibus Brientius Eudonis ducis Britanniæ minoris filius, cum suis obuius, protinus cum eis die vna duobus prælijs manum conseruit, cæsisq; mille & 700. bellatoribus cum nonnullis regni proceribus, reliqui è certamine fugientes nauiū præsidio, necis exitium vtcúnq; euaserunt, ex carorum amissione permaximum Hibernensibus importantes luctum, qui profectò nisi nox prælium diremisset, omnes mortis nouacula abrasi fuissent.*

The names of the two sonnes of Harold, were Godwine and Edmund, as appeareth by one anonymall chronicle in these words: *Goodwinus & Edmundus filij regis Heroldi de Hibernia redeuntes in Summerset applicuerunt, quibus Adnothus olim regis Heraldi stallarius occurrit cū exercitu, &c.*

Thus much Dudo. The which I haue bene the willinger to set downe, because that it not onelie proueth Harold to haue had two sonnes, but also vnfoldeth a doubt which hath bene amongst our antiquaries, whose sonne that person, which is called commonlie amongst vs *Brientius filius comitis* should be; for by these words of this author, I find him to be the sonne of Eudo earle of Britaine.

Bertram Asburneham. Bertram Asburneham a baron of Kent was constable of Douer castle in the yeare of Christ one thousand three score and six, being (as is said) the first and last yeare of king Harold; which Bertram was beheaded by William the Conqueror, after that he had obteined the crowne, because he did so valiantlie defend the same against the duke of Normandie. But of this man I am not yet fullie resolued whether he were constable of Douer castle or no; or whether there were anie such man before in that credit, at or before the conquest.

Odo. Odo bishop of Baieux and earle of Kent, wherevnto he was aduanced by the Conqueror, had also the towne and castle of Douer in his charge, at what time Hugh Montfort was constable thereof, who resisted and repelled Eustace earle of Bullogne besieging the same castle. After which, this bishop falling into the kings disgrace, the castle of Douer was committed to John lord Fines, and he by the Conqueror made the first warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castle.

John Fines. John Fines lord Fines created warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer by William Conqueror, with a gift of inheritance to keepe that place to him and to his heires; to whom also the Conqueror did giue (to the end that the said Fines should be of sufficient abilitie to beare the charge thereof) the number of fiftie and six knights fees, of lands and possessions: which being valued at fiue pounds the knights fee, as is by statute limited, amounted to the yearelie value of two hundred and fourescore pounds; the ounce of siluer being then at twentie pence, which at this time riseth to the summe of eight hundred and fortie pounds by yeare, after the rate of fiue shillings the ounce of siluer: which six and fiftie knights fees he had vpon condition, that he should disperse the same to such valiant persons as worthilie serued in so noble and pretious a castle. Wherevpon he distributed the same to eight persons to be his assistants, and to mainteine one hundred and twelue souldiors, the names of which eight with the other matter therevnto belonging, is more liberallie set downe by that carefull and learned antiquarie William Lambard esquire (my Synchronus) in his perambulation of Kent vnder the title of Douer, pag. 124. and 125.

James Fines. James lord Fines, the sonne of John before named, was after the death of his father (by force of the inheritance thereof granted to his father) warden of the cinque ports, & constable of Douer castle, who died (as is by some supposed) at Folkestone in Kent.

John Fines. John lord Fines sonne of the said James Fines was also by inheritance warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castle.

Walchilinus. Walchilinus de Yannot, called also by Robertus Montensis Wachelmus de Douer, is in other authors named Walkelme or Walkeline, and was constable of Douer castell in the third yeare of king Stephan, as witnesseth the said Robertus Montensis, who being in the said castle (as a freend to Yaud the empresse as I coniecture) did yet in the said third yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie & eight, deliuer the castell of Douer to the quéene the wife of king Stephan, when she besieged the same castell. For which cause after the death of king Stephan, and

the comming in of Henrie the second, he abandoned his charge, and fled into Normandie. By the comming of which Walkelme to the constableship of Douer castell, there was a disseizine of the inheritance thereof belonging to Fines. Now, after the surrender of this castell by Walkelme, there be some antiquaries which affirme that William earle of the Egle, and also earle Warren (in the right of his wife) being the base sonne of king Stephan, was in the life of his father constable of Douer castell, grounding themselues vpon a composition made in the seuentéenth yeare of the said Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, betwéene king Stephan and Henrie Fitzempresse duke of Normandie, contending with Stephan for the crowne of England. Which opinion they defend with these words of the agréement, wherein it was granted to this William (amongst other things) that he should haue the séruices of Faremouth besides the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteined to the honor of Douer. In which (saie they) sith the honor of Douer is depending vpon the prerogatiue of the castell, and that without the castell there is no honor, sith all the tenures, and all the seruices which belong to that honour, doo belong to the castell, he could not haue the one without the other. For hauing whatsoeuer belonged to the honor which is the castell, he could not receiue the benefit of that, without he had the thing also which was the cause of that tenure, and by force of which he might receiue those appurtenances.

But trulie sauing correction, it is often séene, that seruice may be seuered from land to which it is due, and one to haue the demesne and an other the seruices of manour. But sith I am neither good logician nor lawier to dissolue arguments, or to disproue tenures, I will at this time leaue it indifferent for euerie one to receiue or reiect him for constable of Douer castell, vntill I find more substantiall proofe by charter to prefer him thereunto, than such an argument to infer it thereupon; especiallie sith I find him not so named by anie authoritie that I haue séene, whereof manie make mention of his other titles of honor, as that he had the citie of Norwich with the third penie of the earledome of Northfolke, that he was earle Warren, and that he was earle of Bullongne and Norton.

Richard earle of Ewe.

Richard earle of Ewe. I haue read of this man this note, that he was both constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and gouernour of Kent; but how true it is I will not at this time set downe, but leaue it to the iudgement of others, who can iudge better of that note deliuered to me in these words. *Officium constabularij iuxta patris sui donationem perdurauit à Fineo ad Fineum vsque ad tempora regis Stephani; & postea Richardus comes de Oye constabularius institutus est ac custos quinque portuum & præfectus totius Cantiæ, ac fundator collegij de Hastings in castro de Hastings, &c.*

Eustace.

Eustace earle of Bullongne, and duke of Normandie, sonne to king Stephan, is by some supposed to be constable of Douer castell, and lord warden of the cinque ports. Which perhaps may be true, although that at the same time William de Ypre was earle of Kent, whome some haue in respect thereof made to be constable of Douer castell: notwithstanding others saie that he was onelie deputie constable of Douer castell to the said Eustace, or (as we terme it) his lieutenant.

Allen Fines.

Allen Fines, after the death of king Stephan, was by the benefit of king Henrie the second restored vnto the wardenship of the ports, and constableship of the castell of Douer. And héere I thinke it good to note that king Henrie (the sonne of king Henrie the second) being crowned in the life of his father, did in the yeare one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, being about the nineténth or twentith yeare of the reigne of his father, giue vnto Philip earle of Flanders one thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues, the countie and earledome of Kent, with the castels of Douer and Rochester: for the which the said Philip should doo homage to the yoong Henrie, and mainteine his quarrell against his father. But the erle was neuer in possession thereof, neither made anie constable of Douer castell, or was himselfe constable of that place; which gift of the said yoong king Henrie Geruasius Dorobernensis setteth downe in this sort.

Comes Flandriæ Philippus sutum pro posse spopondit auxilium iuueni regi (against his father king Henrie the second, being then in Normandie) *faciens homagium cum iuramento, cui pro seruitio suo promisit rex cum tota Cantia* 1000 *librarum reddituum, castellum quoque de Roffa cum castello de Doueria. Matthæus comes Boloniæ frater comitis Flandriæ suscepit in promissis pro homagio & seruitio suo totam socam de Kiketonia in Lindesia, cum comitatu de Moritonia, &c.* And héere mentioning Allen Fines, and hauing no cause to speake of these Fines hereafter, I am to admonish the reader, that (although my iudgement be but of one man, and that one swallow maketh not summer) I doo not suppose anie thing spoken of the Fines constables of Douer castell to be so firme, as that I would bind anie man to beléeue more thereof than he listeth.

Hugh de Esser.

Hugh de Esser, afterward earle of Esser, was made constable of Douer castell, at that time when the sonnes of Henrie the second (as is mentioned before by Geruasius, which fell about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seuentie and three, and the nintenth of king Henrie the second) rebelled against their father not onelie in Normandie but in England also: this Hugh being further constable of Douer castell, when the same king sailed ouer into Ireland, for to receiue the kingdome thereof, which happened in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and two, the yeare before the rebellion of yoong king Henrie the sonne against his father. At what time yet the right of the inheritance of this office of wardenship continued still in the heires of the Fines; by reason whereof Adam Fines, then baron, ought to haue continued constable thereof. But bicause he was hated of the king and the nobilitie, they appointed an other constable, which was this Hugh of Esser, a person in great fauour with the king, and possessed that office a great time of the gouernement of the same king. But of this man I haue no great opinion that he was constable of Douer, or earle of Esser, yet may I not tie other men to my conceit, bicause *Barnardus non vidit omnia.*

Matthew Clere.

Matthew Clére was constable or capteine of Douer castell, as appeareth by manie authorities, being also by writers called shiriffe of Kent; who vpon the commandement of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, legat *A latere*, protector, chéefe iustice and chancellor of England, did (about the third yeare of king Richard the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) imprison in Douer castell Godfreie bishop of Yorke (the base sonne of king Henrie the second) returning from Rome. At which time also (as I haue séene noted out of the register of the house of Canturburie) there were thrée constables of Douer

castell, as is proued by this deed found in the said register.

Gulihelmus comes de Albemerle, & Simon de Auernen. & Matthæus de Clere constabularij Doueriæ, & Gulihelmus de Aubuill, & Henricus de Lõga campo præfecti Cantiæ. Omnibus præsentibus & futuris, ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd dominus noster Richardus rex Angliæ in redditu suo a Ierosolomytana apud Alemaniã detentus esset, & inimici eius contra eum & regnum suum insurgerent. Prior & conuentus Cantuar. licèt ab omni consuetudine regni & exactione sæculari, liberi & immunes esse dinoscerentur: de mera tamen voluntate sua non coacti, homines suos, ad opus domini regis per octo dies commodauerunt. Vnde ne quis in posterum ab eis hoc præsumat, quasi debitum vel consuetum petere, quod pro tam grati regni necessitate sponte studuerunt impendere, litteras istius cũ sigillorum nostrorum appositione in testimonium libertatum & immunitatum suorum tradidimus, &c.

William of Wrotham.

William of Wrotham, whome some call William of Wrothing, was warden of the cinque ports, & constable of the castell of Douer, in the time of king John, vnto whome he did faithfullie stand in all his warres and troubles, after that the king was excommunicated.

Hubert de Burow.

Hubert de Burow after earle of Kent, and chéefe iustice of England, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the time of king John. This man in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and seauentéene, as some haue, or rather one thousand two hundred and sixtéene, as other haue, valiantlie defended Douer castell. For when Lewis the sonne of Philip the French king had stronglie assaulted the castell (the monuments and mounts whereof are at this daie yet to be séene, whereof one standing on the west side of the castell is at this daie called Lewis siege) this Hubert did with no lesse honor and valor repell the enimie and defend the castell, than Lewis did besiege it egerlie, for which he deserued such fauor and recompense, as after the death of king John he was made protector of England in the minoritie of king Henrie the third. During whose constableship of Douer castell, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, or one thousand two hundred sixtie and two as some write, being about the six and fortith or seuen and fortith of king Henrie the third, he found meanes that the castell gard there, which had continued from the time of William Conqueror, vntill then, was with the assent of king Henrie the third conuerted into a paiment of monie, the land being charged with ten shillings for euerie warder, which it was bound to find: and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice and attendance for euer. At which time also he caused the same king to release by his free charter the custome of forage due to this castell, and that done, himselfe instituted new lawes amongst the watchmen & increased the number of the warders. Which his doing of changing castell gard, cannot vnder correction be attributed to him in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, bicause he was dead twentie yeares before that. For he died in the yere of grace one thousand two hundred fortie and three, being the seauen and twentith of king Henrie the third, as appeareth in my discourse of the protectors of England, in Edward the first, where is more mention made of him. This Hubert as maister Lambard noteth, was deposed from his constableship of Douer castell, which was at such time I gather as Matthew Paris mentioneth, that he fell into the kings displeasure, whereby he lost also the office of chéefe iustice of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, and the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the third: after which manie things were laid against him, the whole discourse whereof is in Matthew Paris, after this order.

First the king did instantlie require of him account of his treasure, paid at the exchéker, and of the debts due vnto him in his owne and in his fathers time. Besides which, he demanded account of all his lordships wherof he was in possession from the death of William earle of Penbroke, then the kings marshall and iustice, as well of all such as he held in England, as of such as he had in Wales, Ireland, and Poitiers. Thirdlie, of his liberties which he then had in forrests, warrens, counties, and in other places, how they were kept, or how they were sold. Fourthlie, of the fiftéenths and sixtéenths granted to the king, and of other rents paid at the exchéker, and at the new Temple, and otherwise. Fiftlie, of prises made for releasing of law, as well in lands as in moueables. These and manie other articles, whereof part concerned treason, were set downe against Hubert of Burow, the tenure wherof doo fullie appeare in Matthew Paris. Upon the exhibiting of which articles he had daie giuen him to appeare & answer them. But he fearing the kings displeasure, hauing a guiltie conscience, fled to sanctuarie into the college of Meriton or Merton, where he hid himselfe amongst the canons: but after by the means of Lucas the archbishop of Dublin he obteined some libertie.

Whereupon he went vnto saint Edmundsburie, where his wife was, who passing through Esser, lodged in the bishop of Norwich his house; at what time the same being knowen to the king, grieued thereat, he sent Godfreie de Crawcome a knight with three hundred men after Hubert, to take and bring him prisoner to the Tower. This knight comming to him in the night, Hubert waked out of his sléepe, fled all naked to a chapell there by, out of the which he was by force, and with his legs fettered vnder the horsse bellie, brought vpon a pild iade to London, and put in the Tower fettered. But the bishop of London complaining of the iniurie done to the church, by violent taking him from the chapell, the king sent him to the same chapell againe, the fift kalends of October, and after commanded the shiriffs of Esser & Hertford vpon paine of hanging, to compasse the chapell that Hubert might not escape, or receiue anie kind of sustenance from anie man. By meanes whereof Hubert did long remaine in that place, with two seruants onelie that ministred meat vnto him, such as they could get. Whereupon Hubert being in this streict, came forth of himselfe, yéelded his bodie to the shiriffes, who led him prisoner to the Tower, where he was laid in irons. After which, the king restored him all the lands which he had by the gift of his father, or that he himselfe had bought; but yet he was sent into Vise castell, there to be kept in a more large restreint vnder the suretie of Richard earle of Cornewall, & William earle of Warren, Richard earle Marshall, William earle Ferrers, vndertaking for him to the king. But after this, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and three, and the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, on Michaelmas éeue, one of the seruants of Hubert, when the kéepers of the castell were asléepe, tooke Hubert fettered, & laid him on his shoulders, got him out at the great gate, with much difficultie brought him ouer a déep and long ditch to the parish church, & then placed him

by the high altar. When the kæpers awoke, & missed Hubert, they sought for him, and in the end obteining knowlege where he was, with manie blows tooke him and his two seruants out of the church, and committed him againe vnto streicter prison in the same castell. But after (by the meanes of Robert bishop of Salisburie) Hubert was restored vnto the church the fift kalends of November. Whereat the king being grœued, commanded the shiriffe of Wiltshire to besiege the church, till Hubert should be inforced to die through hunger. But after in the third kalends of November, he was by the strength of his frends taken from the church of the Wise, put in armor, fled into Wales, & ioined with the kings enimies. Wherevpon, in the fourth kalends of June, by much intercession he was restored to the kings favor. But about six yeares after, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine, being about the 23. yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, the king afresh laieng great matters to his charge of treason against the king and kingdome; he in the end made peace with the king, and deliuered to him foure castels (by him greatlie estœmed) which were the castels of Blanch, of Grosmund in Wales, of Skenefrith, or Scheafreth (for I find both written) and of Halfield. This man first builded the decaied hospitall of the house of maison de Dieu in Douer (being a statlie and costlie pœce of worke) as appeareth yet (although wether beaten) by a scutchion; the arms of the said Hubert there grauen on the vaulted porch built long since the first foundation of the house, ouer the which scutchion is this written: *Scutum domini Huberti de Burgo quondam comitis Cantiæ, procurator: huius domus fundatoris*. Which being almost by age consumed, much troubled me to read & find it out, in this yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six.

Peter de Riuallis.

Peter de Riuallis or de Driall, was by mine account constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, which I gather out of these words of the records, which (amongst other offices that he had) do leaue to vs in memorie, that he was also *Custos omnium portuum & omnium prisarum in Anglia & Hibernia*. Now if he were in generall (which alwaies inferreth a particular) warden of all the castels in England, and of all the ports of the sea: it seemeth no doubt vnto me, but that incroching vpon all, he would make choise to obteine such as were both most of honor, strength, and commoditie, and therefore would haue to deale with Douer castell. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the treasurors of England. But as I will not affirme this man to be constable of Douer, so I leaue it to them which better can either approue or disproue him so to be.

Bertram de Creoll.

Bertram de Creoll, as haue the records of the exchéker, or Bertram de Criol, as our English histories haue, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fortie and one, being about the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the third; who bare for his arms in a golden field two cheuorons, and a quarter gules. He married Elenor by some termed otherwise, one of the daughters and heires of sir Yamond Creueceure, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Ione married to Richard of Rokeslie, of whom the lord Poinings is descended.

Richard Greie.

Richard Greie baron of Codnore, castelleine of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, being placed there by the barons against the king, did in the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, suffer none to passe vnsearched, according to that which he had in commandement. Wherevpon he tooke and seized into his hands a great part of tresure that was brought thither to be transported to the Pictauians the kings halfe brethren that were fled the realme. After which in the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, being in the yeare of our Lord a thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, the barons being in armor against the king; Richard king of Almaine brother to king Henrie the third landed at Douer (from the parts beyond the seas) where king Henrie was readie to receiue him, who brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, because neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelousie, least they should go about to infringe the ordinances made in the parlement at Oxford. To which ordinances to be performed most of the nobilitie had set their seales, with the common seale of London. But notwithstanding that this Richard Greie seemed in the beginning to be so faithfull to the barons: yet returning to his dutie, he obeied the kings pleasure. For which in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine he was by the barons remoued. The occasion whereof we find to haue bene, because he suffered frier Walascho (comming from the pope, and hauing the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staieng him, nor warning the lords of his landing, contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouision enacted at Oxford; which frier in truth was sent from the pope, to restore Athelmar or Domar the kings halfe brother by his mother vnto the bishoprike of Winchester, to the which he had bin long before elected. But the lords were so bent against Athelmar, that vpon such suggestions as they laid forth, Walascho refrained the doing of that for which he came. After which, Hugh Bigot chiefe iustice of England, hasting to Douer vsed this speech to the said Greie: Sith thou Richard wast placed by the whole realme as a faithfull warden of the ports, as a searcher of all such as go out or come into the land, and that all our trust dwelleth in thy custodie; whie hast thou suffered such a person (though he were supported by the kings grant) to enter the land, not giuing intelligence thereof vnto vs, whereby thou hast gone against the common prouision of the nobilitie, & hast impudentlie broken thine oth? Wherefore we iudge thee to be depriued from thine office, and to receiue iudgement worthie that trespas which thou hast committed to the common danger of the kingdome. By which words he was displaced from his office, and the chiefe iustice tooke the same into his owne hands. Of this man is sir John Zouch of Codnore descended.

Hugh Bigot.

Hugh Bigot chefe iustice of England, vpon the displacing of Greie, taking the constableship of Douer and the office of warden of the cinque ports into his owne hands, without the kings authoritie, but by the consent of the nobilitie, did keepe that castell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as haue the records of the exchéker: who in the yeare of Grace a thousand two hundred and sixtie, being the foure & fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, in which yeare he was made chiefe iustice, as some haue, but Matthew Paris maketh him chefe iustice somewhat before, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third by his account, for he writeth of him in this sort vnder the same yeare: *Instante verò festo natiuita-*

tis beatæ Mariæ, cùm vicecomes Northamptoniæ vestigia prædecessoris sui Willielmi de insula (quondam vicecomitis) iureiurando pluribus insontibus, stimulis agitatus auaritiæ, sequeretur, & super hoc ascenderet queremonia ad capitalem iusticiarium Hugonem Bigot, conuictus de iniurijs complurimis, captus est, & vix à laqueo liberatus, duro ac diro carceri est mancipatus. He married Jone the daughter of Robert Burnell, by whome he had issue (as some do saie) one son Rafe, of whom the erle of Sussex now liuing is descended.

Henrie Braibrooke. Henrie Braibrooke constable of Douer castell, whome some will haue so to be; but I not hauing sound authoritie therefore will not presume (vpon other mens pens, especiallie vpon the notes of parson Dorrell the corruptor of all things which he tooke in hand) either to receiue or reiect him. For I am not easilie led to beléeue that anie Braibrooke was in those daies of such credit, as to haue one of the greatest offices of credit in the realme (as the constableship of Douer castell was) committed vnto his charge.

Edward the first. Edward the eldest sonne of king Henrie the third, being then prince and after king of England by the name of Edward the first, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the ports in the time and life of his father. For the said prince Edward (after the subduing of Simon Montfort earle of Leicester) did about the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and six, being the fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, assaile the castle of Douer, and by the aid of the prisoners within (which had taken the great tower to his vse) obteined it, and there left prisoner Guie the sonne of Simon Montfort, but Guie escaped some after by corruption of his kéepers. During which time that prince Edward was constable of Douer castle, he made his deputie or lieutenant Henrie Cobham, whose sonne & heire called John, founded Cobham college: of which Henrie Cobham sée more vnder the title of the lord Cobhams. This Henrie Cobham, being lieutenant to the prince, was the first lieutenant (as far as I can learne) of Douer castle, which office hath euer since continued to our time.

Roger Leiborne. Sir Roger Leiborne knight, lord Leiborne, & lord of Leiborne castle in Kent (if my memorie deceiue me not) was in the time of king Edward the first, constable of Douer castle, & warden of the cinque ports, of whom my good and learned friend maister William Lambard doth discourse in this sort in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Léeds, pag. 264, where he treateth of the first founding of the priorie of Léeds; who after that he had ascribed the same to the Creueceurs lords of Léeds castell, goeth on with these words: Howbeit I find an heralds note (who belike made his coniecture by some cote of armes latelie apparant) that one Leiborne an earle of Salisburie was the founder of it. In déed it is to be séene in the annales of saint Augustines of Canturburie, that a noble man called Roger Leiborne was sometime of great authoritie within this shire, notwithstanding that in his time he had tasted of both fortunes. For in the daies of king Henrie the third, he was first one of that coniuration which was called the barons warre: from which faction Edward the kings sonne wan him by faire meanes to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse. Afterwards they agréed not vpon the reckoning, so that the prince (charging him with great arerages) seized his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion Roger once more became of the barons deuotion. But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsones receiued to fauor, and was made warden of the cinque ports, and lieutenant of the shire of Kent. Now though it cannot be true that this man was the builder of this priorie (for the same annales saie that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, he might trulie be termed the patrone or founder thereof, for by that name not onlie the builders themselues but their posteritie also (to whom the glorie of their déeds descended) were wont so to be called as well as they. Thus much that learned antiquarie William Lambard. Upon which, to disproue the note of the herald, it is too plaine that neuer anie Leiborne was earle of Salisburie. For the erldome of Salisburie did alwaies, almost euen from the conquest, remaine in the names and families of Patrike, Longspée, Montague, Neuill, and one woman a Plantagenet euen vntill our time. But here might grow the error to make Leiborne erle of Salisburie, being deceiued with the affinitie of the armes; for that the earls of Salisburie, the Longspées, and the Leibornes gaue all one armes; different onlie in colours; for Longspée bare azure six lions or, three, two, and one: and Leiborne bare argent six lions sable, three, two, and one. The house of Leiborne hath béene great and of good continuance, and matched with noble houses. For John Hastings (the father of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of the name of Hastings) maried Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiborne, which Julian died in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the third, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and seuen. Besides which also touching the Leibornes, of whom I suppose that Leiborne castell in Kent was named, I haue séene a charter of one Robert Leiborne, made to the house of nuns in Clerkenwell in this sort: *Sciant præsentes & futuri, quòd ego Robertus de Leiborne dedi Deo & ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de fonte clericorum, & sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus, pro salute animæ meæ & antecessorum meorum, in puram & perpetuam eleemosynã duodecim denarios de Gablo Michaelis filij Hereberti de Luitona. Hanc autem donaitonem & concessionem ego Robertus de Leiborne & hæredes mei debemus warantizare prænominatæ ecclesiæ & sanctimonialibus contrà omnes homines. Vt hæc mea donatio rata & inconcussa maneat, sigilli mei appositione & subscriptorum virorum testimonio eam cõfirmaui; his testibus, Gilone de Badlesmere, Iuone Patric, Radulpho de Hadling, &c.* Which charter I haue set downe, to proue the antiquitie of the name of Leiborne. For this charter being without date, was made (as I gather) for this time in the reigne of Henrie the second, or in the begining of king Richard the first his gouernment.

Stephan Pinchester. Stephan Pinchester, the sonne of Stephan Pinchester (which died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and eightéene, falling in the second and third yere of king Henrie the third) was a man of great valor, well estéemed of the king and of his countrie, by reason whereof he was aduanced to places of great honour, fauour and trust. For he was constable of Douer castell in the two and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and seuen, or one thousand two hundred three score and eight. For the said two and fiftith yeare of that king, fell partlie in that one, and partlie in the other yeare of our Lord, begining the yeare at the annunciation of the virgine, which office he long continued and possessed 6, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, and in Michaelmas terme in the nine and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred foure score and thirtéene, at what time Giuolo de monte regali was his seruant,

uant, or perhaps his lieutenant. This man repared the castell of Allington, situate vpon the riuer of Medwaie in Kent, which castell standeth not farre from Medwegstow, now called Maidston, supposed by William Lambard in his perambulation of Kent to be called Duroprouis, and by maister Camden, in his Britannia vnder the title of Kent pag. 168, to be Vaginaca mentioned in the itinerarie of Antonine. Which Pinchester also caused the booke of Domesdaie, belonging to the castell of Douer, to be made, a thing altogether vnperfect, & reaching no further than to the time of Hubert de Burow. Besides which, in the same two and twentith of that king, he renewed a particular charge of ships to be found by euerie one of the seuerall ports and members of the same, as appeareth by record therof made in French; the orders whereof are set downe in the perambulation of Kent, pag. 96, vnder the title of the Cinque ports. He maried Margaret the daughter of John de Burgh, by whom he had issue a daughter called Ione maried to Henrie Cobham of Randall knight, as appeareth in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Randall.

Robert de Burgersh.

Robert de Burgersh or Burwash, was constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque ports in the thirtie and fourth yeare of king Edward the first; in which yeare he was sent ambassador into Gascoigne to the court of the pope, about the affairs of the king. He had issue Stephan Burgersh, as appeareth before in a note set downe in the lord Cobhams of Cobham, vnder Henrie Cobham the first baron of Cobham. Touching this name of Burgersh, I find in a vault in the church of Canturburie, being called our ladie Undercroft, an ancient monument of stone, in which a woman of that name was buried, pretending great antiquitie; on which lieth a ladie in rich habit, with this writing round about the tome twise set downe: Pur Dieu pries pur l'aime Iohanne de Burwash, que fuit dame de Monsieur. At which word it staieth, and againe reciteth, Pries Dieu pur l'aime, &c. Which to explane more fullie, I will not refuse to dow in this sort, taken *Ex veteri martyrologio & capitulari libro ecclesiæ Cătuarien sis:* in which is set downe in the yeare of Christ, one thousand foure hundred and fiue; *Obijt Ioanna de Mohune domina de Dunster:* being the same Ione there buried.

Henrie Cobham.

Henrie Cobham knight, the first baron of Cobham, was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the second, as more largelie appeareth here following, vnder Robert de Kendall which succeeded this lord Cobham in the office of the cinque ports. Of this Henrie Cobham see more in my former discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham.

Robert de Kendall.

Robert de Kendall so called, because (as I for this time take it) he was there borne, and was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Edward the second, as appeareth by this record of Pellis exitus, hauing this entrance therof in Michaelmas terme, in the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred and ten. *Henrico de Cobham nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custodi quinque portuum* 80 *libras,* 15 *solidos* 7 *denarios & obulũ liberat. eidem, die* 17 *Nouembris in duabus tallijs sibi factis, eodem die, pro tot denarijs sibi debitis à* 16 *die Octobris, anno regni domini Edwardi patris domini regis nunc* 34, *vsque* 16 *diem Decembris, anno regni domini regis nunc primo, quo die idem dominus rex custodiam prædictam Roberto de Kendall cõmisit, per breue de liberate, datum apud Boger in Scotia,* 6 *die Octobris præsenti* (which was the said fourth yeare of Edward the second) *per præceptum thesaurarij, & persoluitur breue.* In which office this Robert continued vntill the twelfe yeare of the same king Edward the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and eightéene, but was liuing in the twentith yeare of the same king, as appeareth by records of the exchéker of Pellis exitus, where monie was paid vnto him by the name of Robert Kendall *Nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custodi quinque portuum.*

Bartholomew Badlesmer (the sonne, as I for this time gather, of Giles de Badlesmer slaine, as hath Ioannes London in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, falling in the 43 and 44 yeare of king Henrie the third, in the warres betwéene the English and the Welsh) was *Præfectus*, shiriffe, or lieutenant of Kent, and is vntrulie termed by some erle of Kent, by others more rightlie named baron of Leeds: but by the records of the exchéker most trulie called a baneret. Which name I haue obserued by manie of those ancient records, to haue béene attributed to such persons, as chronicles and heralds haue dubbed with the names of barons. This Bartholomew Badlesmer, being in the warres of Scotland with king Edward the second, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fourtéene, falling in part of the seuenth yeare, and part of the eighth yeare of the said Edward the second, did by his demeanor in those wars, occasion Ioannem Londonensem to write of him in this sort.

Bartholomew Badlesmer.

Quadam verò nocte ante futurum in crastinum vtriúsque exercitus congressum, inter comitem Glouerniæ & Herefordiæ (quis eorum primam aciem contra Scotorum exercitum obtineret) animosa contentio mouebatur. Porrò in crastino comes Hereford (cuius interest primam habere aciem ratione constabulariæ Angliæ) Scotos aggrediens, eorum exercitum viriliter penetrauit. Quo sic reuerso, comes Glouerniæ aliquid arduum, & quasi probitate dignum facere satagens, præcipitãter in Scotos minùs cautè insiliens, &c: in fronte sui exercitus (qui vulgariter dicitur Sheltrun) infigitur aculeis, & sic confossus de sella sua violenter eripitur. Qui protinus exclamans, quendam militem suum armis strenuem, consilio prudentem, sibi præ cæteris familiarem, & tanquam singulare perfugium, de quo specialiùs confidebat, videlicet Bartholomæum de Badlesmer nomine, in auxilium aduocauit. Sed ille pelli suæ timens, & magis saluti propriæ quàm domini sui defensionem qualitercúnque prospiciens, fugam arripuit, & ad dominum regem à latere properabat. Dictus verò comes auxilio destitutus, à Scotis ibidem miserabiliter est interemptus.

Humfreie de Bohune earle of Hereford.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

Which matter I haue béene the willinger to set downe at large out of Iohn de London monke of Canturburie, because there be manie good notes to be gathered out of the same; besides that which concerneth Badlesmer. For, as it is there set downe, that Badlesmer was the knight and souldior belonging to the earle of Gloucester, that his conditions be there described, that he was wise in counsell, valiant in armes, and helples to his friend in extremitie: so there is more to be gathered thereout. First, that it belongeth to the constable of England by vertue of his office, to lead the vantgard in the battell: secondlie, that contention fell betwéene the earle of Hereford and the earle of Gloucester: and lastlie, at what time, how, and vpon what occasion the earle of Gloucester was slaine. After which, this Bartholomew growing in fauor with king Edward the second, the king did make him capteine of

Bristow castell, and gaue vnto the said Bartholomew one hundred pounds by yeare out of the exchequer, as appeareth by the records thereof, in the Pell of Exitus of Michaelmas terme, of the twelfe yeare of the same king, falling in the yeare of our redemption after the account of England, one thousand three hundred & eightéene; where it is thus recorded. *Bartholomæo de Badlesmer, cui rex concessit centū libras percipiendum annuatim ad scaccariū, ad festa Paschæ & Michaelis per æquales portiones, quoúsque manerium de Chatham cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, quod Guido ferre tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & manerium de Langhton cum pertin. in com. Sussex ac hundred de Sheplake, quæ Ioannes de Vluedale tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ de hæreditate regis, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Guidonis præfato Bartholomeo, & hæredibus suis virtute concessionis regis, sibi inde factæ remanere debeat, &c.* Much about which yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred and eightéene, the same king Edward gaue the castell of Læds in exchange (for other lands, called Ingerslæ) to the same Bartholomew, and to his heires for euer: being about that time also, as I now take it, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports: hauing by the kings gift (in the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second) the wardship and mariage of the lands and heire of John de Northwood in Kent; for which he yearelie accounted to the king of threescore and six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence; paieng also the like yearelie sum for the wardship of the lands and mariage of John the sonne and heire of John Godshall, or Goshall of Esser.

This Bartholomew thus still increasing in the kings fauor was dailie aduanced to greater honors and offices: for besides the great reuenues wherewith the king indued him, the king also (to haue him nére about him in his court) made him steward of his household, as appeareth by these words of an annonymall chronicle M.S. which reciting the change of officers speaketh in this sort. *In huius recursus varios temporis labentis, & nociui regni, primorum officialium status libera dispositione rex transmutauit. Nam domino Iohanne de Sandal episcopatus honore Winton. ecclesiæ & gloria, thesaurario moriente priuato, dominum episcopum Exonien. rex loco defuncti subrogauit, ad culmen cancellariæ episcopum Norwicen. promouit. In regimine quoque senescalliæ dominum Bartholomæum de Badlesmer stabiliuit. Custodem verò sui capitis in officio camerariæ constituit. dominum Hugonem Spenserum iuniorem, &c.* In which thirteenth of the same king Edward the second, the king & his quéene Isabell going to Douer, to the end that the king should do his homage to the French king; this Bartholomew being now the kings steward, receiued them into his castle of Chilham with most glorious shew, where he deintilie feasted the king and all his traine, and at their departure bestowed liberall gifts vpon euerie noble man according to their degrées. After which, when the king was come to Douer, he deuised with the nobilitie to staie his iournie into France, and to excuse the doing of his homage by sending ambassadors thereabout. Wherefore sending Edmund of Woodstocke his brother, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, this Bartholomew Badlesmere, and Adam de Hereford bishop of that place, to Rome; they were honorablie by the waie receiued of the king of France, and so went to Rome; where hauing dispatched their ambassage, & obteined licence to depart, they brought backe with them Henrie Burgherssh nephew of sir Bartholomew, to whom the pope had giuen at their request the bishoprike of Lincolne, although the chapter of that house had chosen a diuine to haue that sée, before the election, or rather reseruation of the pope of this man. Which the pope the rather did at the request of these ambassadors, because they should not be impediments to stand against Reginald his procurator in England, vnto whom he had giuen the bishoprike of Winchester after the death of John Sandall against the intreatie of the king and nobilitie of England. But although this Bartholomew was thus by the king honored and aduanced: yet shortlie after this, shewing himselfe both vnthankfull for such benefits, & vndutifull for his obedience, did (in the yere of our redemption one thousand threescore twentie and one, which fell in part of the fourteenth & fiftéenth yeres of that king) ioine in couenant with Thomas earle of Lancaster, and other euill disposed persons, rebelling against their prince. Whereupon (in despight of the kings commandement) he came from Tilleburge or Tilberie in Esser vnto Hengham in Kent, where he was with great pompe receiued of his followers, from whense going to his castle of Læds (which he had stronglie furnished) he departed from thense with a great traine, and entred his castell of Chilham; who after a little abode there left the same, and came vnto Canturburie with ninetéene knights attendant vpon him; so great a person was he, both for honor in the court, and fauor in the countrie: all which persons with their retinue were armed vnderneath their vpper garments. After their entring into Canturburie, some of his people, which were the esquiers attendant vpon him, did with their swords drawne enter Christs church, and came to the shrine of Thomas Becket. Which action in that order performed, troubled and disquieted the whole citie, and occasioned some of the better sort to giue intelligence to the king of the behauior of him and his people in that place. On which daie of whose entring into the same citie, John Cromwell and his wife came vnto him, craued his aid and friendship, obteined the same, and with him went vnto the rebellious barons soiorning now at Oxford. Afterward the king (as it séemeth, not yet fullie resolued that this Badlesmere besides all reason & dutie would be his enimie, but rather supposing that he ioined with the rebels to vndermine their deuise, and for that cause desirous to make full triall of the said Badlesmere) did send Isabell his wife quéene of England vnto the castle of Læds. Which being knowne to Badlesmere, at that time remaining with the barons at Whitneie in Oxfordshire, he sent certeine souldiors to the same castle, appointing Thomas Aldon to be constable and chiefe ouer the castle and them: giuing streict charge to the same Thomas that they should not open the gates vnto the quéene, but valiantlie resist hir, and defend the castle. The quéene therefore minding hir pilgrimage to Canturburie, and so by the waie to sée Læds, being ouertaken with night, sent hir marshall to prepare for hir lodging. But hir officer being denied anie helpe or satisfieng of hir request, they within the castle proudlie answered, that neither the quéene nor anie other should enter into the same castle, without letters from the lord of the castell. Which answer being forthwith brought vnto the quéenes eares, she came hir selfe in person to demand entrance, but could obteine no hope thereof, for which cause she was driuen to séeke hir lodging in an other place. This matter being grieuouslie taken by hir, she returned to the king, and complained of the iniurie and disgrace which she had receiued. By which speéches the king incensed to further anger, and assembling an armie of manie thousands, did come in person to the same castell, streictlie charging the castillians to deliuer the same to him: but they obstinatlie and rebellioustie withstood him, and would not

Ex libro dedicato Margaretæ reginæ, which was the wife of Edward the first, and liuing at this time.

Walsingham and his followers call the captaine of the castle, Thomas Culpeper.

Regist. Roff.

not surrender the castell. Now Bartholomew Badlesmere, hauing intelligence that the king laie in siege before the castell of Læds, moued the barons that they would with their power go to Læds, to remoue the armie which the king had before the castell. Wherevpon the barons came to Kingstowne vpon Thames; but there better considering of that matter wherevnto they had before so vnaduisedlie condescended, they would not go anie further in that iourneie.

Wherevpon Badlesmere being abashed and confounded, departed from them. Which being knowne to those that kept the castell of Læds, now perceiuing themselues to be in great extremitie, hopelesse of anie succor, and in danger to be all destroied by the kings power, they yéelded themselues to the kings mercie, which was not so great vnto them (considering that he was driuen to such extreme dealing by their malicious minds) as that he pardoned anie of the chiefest, but sent the wife of Badlesmere, his onelie sonne Giles, the daughters of the said Badlesmere, Bartholomew Burgersh and his wife, with Thomas de Aldon constable of that place, prisoners vnto the Tower of London. On the first daie of November he sent two knights to the castell of Chilham, with commission to enter the same; who comming to the castell demanded entrance accordinglie, in the behalfe of the king their maister. To whom Henrie de Valois knight and then constable of the castell answered, that he would not kæpe the castell against the king, and so surrendered the same into their hands, *Cuius deputatus* (as saith the historie) *erat comes Dathels* or *de Athels*, to whom the castell was deliuered, with all things in the same, which were belonging to Bartholomew Badlesmere.

After which, Walter Culpepper bailiffe of the seuen hundreds, was the second of November miserablie intreated, drawne at a horsse taile, and hanged. Wherevpon, Thomas Culpepper and others which were with him in the castell of Tunbridge, hearing of the kings approch, left the castell and fled to Hugh Audleie then being with the barons. Then were Geffreie de Saie, William de Dine or Diue, the kings iustices sent into Kent, to inquire of the fauorers of Badlesmere, and to do iustice of Hugh Spenser reuoked. At what time, Thomas earle of Lancaster, who was the capteine of the barons, and fallen in displeasure with Badlesmere, would not giue aid vnto the barons, so long as Badlesmere was in their societie: for which cause Badlesmere was forsaken by the barons, & stronglie pursued by the king. Who (after the barons had burned one of the gates of Bridgenorth) granted vnto them a dissembled pardon, with their adherents, Bartholomew Badlesmere excepted. Shortlie after which, Badlesmere was apprehended, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and two, being in the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the second, was condemned at Canturburie by the iustices aforesaid. Wherevpon, he was on the eightéenth kalends of Maie, drawne from Canturburie (as hath Ioannes Londonensis) vnto the gallows standing at the Blene; where he was hanged as a traitor: after which, his head being striken off, and fastened vpon a pole, was caried to Canturburie, and set vpon a gate of that citie called Burgate.

This Bartholomew maried Margaret, the daughter & one of the heires of Thomas de Clare, seneschall of the forrest of Essex, by whome he had issue Giles his sonne & heire; who with his mother, as before is said, being committed prisoner to the Tower, was afterward in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred twentie and foure, with his mother in like sort pardoned, set at libertie out of prison, & restored to the kings fauor; beside which sonne, he had foure daughters, who after being heires to their brother Giles, and their father Bartholomew; one of them called Elisabeth, was maried to William Bohune earle of Northampton. I haue read touching the antiquitie of this man of Badlesmere of one Peter de Batlesmere, witnesse to an ancient dateles deed. Wherein Brianus the sonne of Randulph (father to Jordan Biaset the baron, which gaue fourtéene acres of ground to build the monasterie of Clerkenwell nére London) did giue twelue acres of arable land in Stæple vnto the nuns of Clerkenwell. Which thing I thought good not to omit in this place, speaking of Bartholomew Badlesmere: as I must not ouer the name of Gilo de Badlesmere, witnesse vnto a like dateles deed, made by Robert Leiborne, to the same Clerkenwell, the effect whereof is set downe before, vnder the name of Roger Leiborne constable of Douer Castell. *Liber Clerkenwell.*

Edmund of Woodstocke (so surnamed of the place where he was borne, not farre from Oxford, being the sonne of Edward the first, by his second wife Margaret the daughter of the king of France) was borne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred, on saint Oswalds daie: but as saith William Paginton, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and one, was constable of Douer castell in Michaelmas tearme, in the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the second his nephue, who aduanced the same Edmund to the earledome of Kent in the same fiftéenth yeare of his reigne, the eight and twentith of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie & one. At what time it appeareth to me, that then first began the pensions out of the exchéker, to be giuen to euerie noble man in place, & for honor of the erldome. For whereas in times past, he which was created an earle, had for his creation and maintenance in honor the third penie of the reuenues of that shire comming to the kings hands: now the created earle had in lieu thereof a pension out of the exchéker. For thus I find recorded in the Pellis of Exitus of Michaelmas tearme, the fiftéenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second. *Edmund of Woodstocke.*

Dominus rex 28 *die Iulij proximè præterito, gladio cinxit in comitem Cantiæ* (Edmund the kings brother) *& ei concesit, &c:* 30. *lib. de exitibus comitatus Cantiæ percipiend. per manus vicecomitis comitatus illius, qui pro tempore fuerit, sub nomine & honore comitatus Cantiæ: ac firma alia & hundreda diuersa: habend. ad totam vitam ipsius comitis, inter quæ illas* 500 *lib. annuas ei assignauit, quas abbas & conuentus de Ramesey reddunt de firma nundinarum sancti Iuonis, &c.* The occasion which moued the king so to create him earle of Kent, I haue read set downe in one anonymall chronicle in this sort. *Rex molie-batur confusionē Bartholomæi de Badlesmer, & ne maximus fieret præ cæteris, sicut solebat Edmundum de Woodstock fratrē suū comitē Cantiæ fecit.* Of which earle I will not speake anie more at this time, bicause I haue more liberallie treated of him amongst the protectors of England.

Hugh Spenser the yonger was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, being on the seas, and kéeping the cinque ports (by witnesse of our chronicles) in the time of Edward the second, as to his office appertained. He was in great fauour with king Edward the first, and made earle of Glocester by king Edward the second. He married Elenor the eldest sister, and one of the heires *Hugh Spenser.*

heires of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester and Hertford, by whom he had issue Hugh that died without issue, Edward lord Spenser, and Gilbert, with Isabell wife to Edward Fitzallen erle of Arundell; he was at Hereford executed, by drawing hanging and quartering, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in the last yeare of Edward the second.

William Clinton. William Clinton, the sonne of John lord Clinton, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twentith yeare of Edward the second (if they haue not mistaken that king for Edward the third) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie & six, in which yeare the same king was deposed, and Edward the third his sonne aduanced, who continued his office manie yeares, as in the fift, sixt, tenth, and thirteenth of Edward the third. Which Clinton was in Easter tearme in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, sent into France, and so to Rome, in the companie of John archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of Doze, and sir William Trussell, and is the same person named in a booke belonging to the house of Rochester (which booke my good freend and rare antiquarie maister Lambard hath rightlie intituled by the name of *Registrum Roffense*) who with Robert de Walkefar was dispatcht into Kent to Canturburie, there to heare and determine the breach of the peace in Kent. To whome the king (as appeareth in the records of the excheker of the Pellis exitus) in Michaelmas terme, of the tenth yeare of king Edward the third, had giuen three hundred markes by yeare, for the sustentation of Laurence Hastings, the sonne of John Hastings, as long as the said Laurence should be in his custodie: which Laurence was afterward the first earle of Penbroke by the name of Hastings. After which, in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, he was created earle of Huntington, of whome in the thirteenth yeare of the same king I find this registred in the register of Rochester before named. The Frenchmen infesting the sea coasts betweene Dowell and Cornewall, there was a councell holden to place a watch to repell the enimie from the sea side, whereunto few regarded to come, although manie popular knights and soldiours were by distresse inforced to come thither. Wherefore the lord William Clinton, earle of Huntington, and constable of Douer castell, assembling a great force of armed men in the countie of Kent to resist the enimies, did bestow manie things of his owne, and sustained greater trauell in labouring thereabout. For when the Frenchmen came to burne Sandwich, the erle with his companie entred the ships which were at Sandwich to subdue their enimies. Whereupon, when the French perceiued therby that they could doo no good, they turned their sailes, and cast anchor at Heath. Whom when the earle with his companie did pursue vnto Romeneie, they forthwith fled, & so from Easter vnto Lammas he continued armed with his people, valiantlie keeping the coasts of England against the enimies. After which, in the yeare following, which was the fourteenth of Edward the third, he attended the king, scowring the seas; as saith the same author, whose words although they be long, I shall not greeue to set downe in such barbarous sort as I find them.

*Rex transfretare coactus in crastino sanctæ Trinitatis cum paucis nauibus, videlicet 16, ad plus cùm nauigare disposuisset, noua recepit, quòd rex Franciæ vnam classem ducentarum nauium magnarum cum multitudine armatorum apud Sclusam miserat, ad prohibendum ingressum Flandriæ, siue ad capiendum eum siue ad occidendum. Quo audito, rex Angliæ totam costeram maris vsque ad Lin, personaliter perscrutans, omnes naues magnas bene paratas in rebus & personis apud Herwich sumptibus patriæ celeriter venire fecit. Comes verò Huntington ex parte sua omnes nautas quinque portuũ parari fecit, & scripsit omnibus amicis suis pro hominibus armorum auxilium ferre. Vnde factus est quod * episcopus Rossensis misit octo homines armatos sumptibus suis apud Sandwichum, ad conducendum regem vltra mare.* And so in the end the king passed into the parts beyond the seas in the sight of the French kings armie, which durst not aduenture to set vpon them. After which, to go forth with the words of the historie: *Die sabbati, videlicet in festo sancti Iohannis Baptistæ inito concilio, sole, vento, & tida cum aqua regi Angliæ fauentibus, ductu piratarum, Anglici Francis grandem insultum dederunt: comite Huntingdoniæ & domino Roberto Morley admeralliis siue capitaneis dantibus insultum primum: cateri verò naues viriliter sequentes cum Francis congredientes, multos occiderunt, volentibus se reddere pepercerunt, & fugientes de nauibus in mare saltare vi armata compulerunt: sagitarij hoc tamen fecerunt.* Besides this, there was a certeine ship of Diepe, whereinto were fled foure hundred men of Normandie, who on a night caried awaie from the fleet of England a certeine ship of Sandwich, in which were the men of the prior of Canturburie. Which this earle of Huntington and warden of the cinque ports perceiuing, forthwith he turned the ship wherein he was, and directed it towards them: *Et* (as the same author further saith) *cùm eos attigisset, tota nocte vsque manè ad solis ortum præliantes acerrimè, pulsis nauibus ambabus vsque ad terram, & deuictis 450 nautis, nauem de Diepe combustam reliquerunt.* In the which conflict there were slaine sir Hugh Airet admerall and one other great man of Flanders called John Veiuell, with manie other great and small to the number of fiue and twentie thousand persons: at what time there was also taken a hundred and three score ships which remained with the English, who exceeded not aboue sixteene thousand men. After this honorable victorie by this earle, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, Robert Auesberie writeth of certeine letters of the French, conteining the destruction of this realme, which this earle deliuered vnto the archbishop of Canturburie; the words of which author are these: *In vigilia assumptionis Mariæ virginis anno Domini 1346, reuerendus pater dominus Iohannes de Stratford Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ante processionem generalem pro pace & domino rege Anglorum, tunc in Francia militante, à clero & populo London illa die solenniter facienda, verbum Dei ipsius clero & populo London illa die solenniter faciendum ad crucem Pauli London prædicans, exponens inter cætera publicauit, quòd nobilis vir comes de Huntington, qui cum domino rege Anglorum in conflictu habito apud Cadamum, fuerat febribus fatigatus, in Angliam tunc reuersus, litteras quasdam inuentas in Cadamo, continentes præsumptuosam Normannorum confœderationem seu ordinationem, ad subuersionem ipsius regis & regni Angliæ, per concilium domini Philippi de Valois ordinatas & callidè adinuentas sibi tradidit vulgariter exponendas.*

* Haimo de Heth.

Robert. Auesb.

All which matter with the letters he openlie declared (as is before said) at Paules crosse, to moue the people feruentlie to praie for, and willinglie to aid the king. He liuing in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, founded the priorie of Maidstocke, married Julian the daughter and heire of Thomas lord Leiborne, by whome he had a daughter (as some suppose) Elisabeth: whereas the office taken after his death (in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third) saith that John Clinton, the son of John Clinton brother vnto this erle, was heire to the same earle.

Bartholomew de Burgersh. Bartholomew de Burgersh baneret, was constable

constable of Douer castell & warden of the cinque ports, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third (as some note) and in the foure and twentith and six and twentith yere of the reigne of the same king, being first in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third steward of Penteif; and the same yeare (or rather the yeare before) in Michaelmasse terme he was sent into France in the companie of William bishop of Norwich; and likewise was dispatched ambassador vnto Rome about the same time, whereof I doo find this note in the same Michaelmas terme in the records of the exchéker being in forme as followeth: *Bartholomæo de Burgersh militi, eunti nuper in negotijs domini regis ad curiam Romanam, videlicet pro dispensatione habenda inter ipsum dominum regem & reginam Angliæ consortem suam, &c.* Who being thus imploied in the affaires, and by the wise cariage of himselfe therein, growing more and more in the kings fauor, was for the especiall trust which the king reposed in him, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Grace one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, sent with the earle of Lancaster, the barons of Stafford, Greistocke, and Furneuall about the feast of all saints to Gascoigne, to appease the furious vprore which John de Valois sonne vnto the French king had made in that dukedome, greatlie spoiling the same. Which thing being well performed, he was after in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fiftie, made one of the first knights of the garter, at the erecting of that honorable order. Wherwith being honored, (to make it appere to the world that the same was not vnworthilie laid vpon him, but most iustlie for his martiall prowesse, who still followed the warres) in the fiue and twentith and six and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred & fiftie, he went twise to Calis in the companie of William bishop of Norwich. After which, in the nine and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred fiftie and fiue he passeth to Burdeaux with the Blacke prince, and followed his armie, as a companion with him in all his conflicts and battels: which in the same yeare this Bartholomew, John Chandois, and James Audleie with foure & twentie knights comming to the taile of the French armie, flieng awaie, tooke two & thirtie knights and gentlemen prisoners, amongst whome was the erle of Romenne. After which it séemeth that he liued not long, for in the Michaelmas terme in the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third there is mention made of the executors of Bartholomew Burgersh constable of Douer castell.

Roger de Mortimer. Roger de Mortimer was constable of Douer castell in Michaelmas terme, in the one and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, being the same man (as I suppose) which was the sonne of Edward Mortimer lord of Wigmore, and as the Welsh historie reporteth, pag. 317, by king Edward the third, in the 29 yeare of his reigne restored to the earledome of March; or els was Roger Mortimer vncle to Roger earle of March. But because time serueth not to decide which of them it was, I leaue it to others.

John Beauchampe of Warwike knight, was constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque ports, the first daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score & one, and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, to whome succeeded Robert Herle knight.

Robert Herle knight, liuing in the one and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, being the sonne and heire of William Herle lord of Kirkbie, who died in the one and twentith yere of Edward the third, was in the fiue and twentith yere of king Edward the third, capteine of Calis, and also constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and two, as appeareth by the records of *Pellis exitus*, where it is thus entred in the first daie of December in the *Pell* of Michaelmas terme of the same six and thirtith yeare. *Roberto de Herle militi, custodi castri Douer & quinq; portuum, ad totam vitam suam eodem modo quo Iohannes de Bello campo de Warwike dum vixit illam habuit.* Which Robert (being lord and baron of Kirkbie) died without issue in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, leauing Margaret his sister to be his heire. Of which Margaret, being married to Rafe Hastings, the now liuing earle of Huntington Henrie Hastings is descended.

Rafe Spigornell. Rafe Spigornell knight was constable of Douer castle, & warden of the cinque ports, in the fortith and fortie fourth of Edward the third, to whome the same king gaue fourtie pounds in reward, because that he brought a crowne of gold adorned with pretious stones, as a token from his daughter in law the princesse of Wales: whereof I haue séene this note in the *Pellis exitus* of Michaelmas terme of the six and thirtith of the same Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and two, and the fouretenth of October: *Radulpho de Spigornell militi, in denarijs sibi liberatis in persolutionē 40 libra. quas dominus rex sibi liberari mandauit de dono suo, pro eo quòd idē Radulphus apportauit domino regi quandā coronā de auro & lapidibus pretiosis, de dono dominæ principissæ de Wallia, &c.* Now for proofe that he was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, succeeding Robert Herle, I find this note entred in the records of the exchéker, in Easter terme, in the foure and fourtith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third: *Radulpho de Spigornell militi, cui dominus rex castrū de Douer & quinque portus cum pertinentijs custodiendum ad totam vitam suam eodem modo, quo Robertus de Herle dum vixit custodiam illam habuit, percipiens per annum 300 libras prò sustentatione sua, ac capellanorum, ac vnius carpentarij in dicto castro commorantium, & pro robis eorum, &c.*

Richard de Penbrig was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and eleuen.

William lord Latimer. William lord Latimer of Corbie knight, the sonne of William lord Latimer, and Elisabeth his wife, owner of Stratton in Bedfordshire, was constable of Douer castell in the seuen and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and thirtéene, in which office he continued in the fiftith yeare of Edward the third, whose lieutenant was William de Tidecombe. Which lord Latimer, being in great credit with the king, performed manie notable things, wherof mention is made in our chronicles. For which (as appeareth by record of the exchéker of the second part of Michaelmas terme, in the one and thirtith yere of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and eleuen) it is set downe, that the king gaue to this William Latimer one hundred marks a yeare out of the exchéker, the words

of

of which record be these: *Willielmo de Latimer, cui dominus rex* 100 *marcas annuatim ad scaccarium percipiendum pro bono seruitio per ipsium eidē domino regi impensum, quoúsq; terræ quas Elisabeth, quæ fuit vxor W. Latimer mater prædicti Willielmi tenet in dotem, & aliàs ad terminum vitæ de hæreditate dicti Willielmi ad manus eiusdem deuenerint, &c.*

Of the actions of which William, warden of the ports, I meane in some part here to intreat, besides that which I haue spoken of him in my discourse of the protectors of England, pag. 1076. This man in the eight and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and seuen, being in the warres of Britaine, in the feast of S. Michaell, Charles Blois, (betweene whom and Iohn Montfort there was contention for the dukedome of Britaine) did with an armie of three thousand and six hundred suddenlie come vpon Iohn Montfort and the lord William Latimer, whilst they did besiege the castell & towne of Dolwraie, hauing scarse one thousand and six hundred of all sorts, both Britains and English. Whereupon the armies going togither without anie deliberation, there were slaine on the part of the duke Montfort onelie seuen men, and on the part of the intruder, Charles Blois himselfe, the lord of Richford, and William Uange knight, and almost one thousand esquiers; at what time there was also taken on the part of the said Charles two earles, twentie lords, and fiftæne hundred valiant armed souldiors. After this, being the kings chamberlaine, he was (in the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and sixtæne) with the duke of Lancaster by parlement remoued from the king, and others placed in their roomes. But after, the duke of Lancaster obteining fauour to be protector of the kingdome, restored this William Latimer, sir Richard Sturie and others, to the kings fauour and to their former offices. Which lord Latimer, after the death of Edward the third, continuing in the yong king Richard his fauour, was before the coronation of the said king Richard, in the first yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuentæne, sent with sir Simon Burleie to the Londoners, to set an agreement betweene them and the duke of Lancaster: whereof I will speake more hereafter in the treatie of sir Simon Burleie, warden of the cinque ports. After which, in the same yeare, the Englishmen hearing of a multitude of Spanish ships, which for want of wind were deteined at Scluse, determined to enter the sea with a great power, desirous to requite the wrongs which the Spaniards had done vnto them the yeare before, in aiding the Frenchmen. Wherefore the English hauing assembled an armie by sea, Thomas of Woodstocke erle of Buckingham, William lord Latimer, the lord Fitzwater, sir Robert Knolles, and manie valiant persons were made capteins thereof, who going to sea, felt the crosse of aduerse fortune in the midst of the waues. For by force of extreame tempests, their ships were dispersed, broken, drowned, and almost all lost. After which, in the end gathering their nauie together, they returned into England, where anew refreshing and rigging their ships, they tooke another iorneie to the sea and found better successe. He married Elisabeth the daughter of Edmund erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue William which died a child, and Elisabeth his sole heire married to Iohn lord Neuill, of whome sir Fulke Greuill now liuing is descended.

Walsingham.

Edmund Plantagenet.

Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Langleie, the sonne of king Edward the third, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and fiftith of Edward the third, which office he continued in some of the first yeares of the reigne of king Richard the second, as in his first and second yeare, &c. This Edmund, being in his fathers life made erle of Cambridge, was in the time of his nephue king Richard the second, created duke of Yorke, of whome I haue more intreated in my discourse of the dukes of England, pag. 1231.

Robert Ashton.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, sometime treasurer of England, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first and seuenth yeres of king Richard the second, falling in the yeares one thousand three hundred foure score and two, and one thousand three hundred foure score and three of our Lord, who gaue the great bell to the church in Douer castell, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the treasurors of England, pag. 1247. He lieth buried in the foresaid church of Douer castell with this epitaph: *Hic iacet Robertus Ashton miles, quondam constabularius castri Douer, qui obijt* 2 *die Iannarij, an. Dom.* 1384 *cuius animæ propitietur Deus*

Simon Burleie.

Simon Burleie knight of the garter, and banneret, the sonne of sir Iohn Burleie knight, which liued in the first of Aprill, in the fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and six, was constable of Douer castell, as by this short discourse of him it should appeare. Before the obteining of which office, he was on the two & twentith of June, being the daie after the death of king Edward the third, and the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of our lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuentæne, sent with William lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, & sir Richard Adderburie to the Londoners, who the two and twentith daie of Julie before, had sent Iohn Philpot a worthie citizen of London, to touch the death of the late king Edward, and to request the kings fauour about the controuersies then depending betweene the duke of Lancaster and the citizens of London. Which sir Simon Burleie and the rest comming to London, deliuered to the citizens from the king, that as they brought them heauie newes of the kings death: so they were also to shew them glad tidings of the yong kings good disposition towards them, who had chosen their citie, and would come vnto them as they had required. Besides which, the king had spoken vnto the duke, who had submitted himselfe vnto the kings pleasure in all things. Wherefore they willed the citizens to doo the like, but they refused the same. Yet at length (after a long discourse had amongst them therabout, for six houres and more) they agreed that if this sir Simon Burleie and the rest would enter into bond, that this their submission should not tend to anie temporall losse or corporall hurt, that they would willinglie agree to the kings command; whereupon these knights gaue their assurance accordinglie. With which securitie the citizens coming to Shene, the king called them before him, and they acknowledged willinglie in all things to submit themselues to the kings pleasure. Which done, the king and nobilitie tooke their iorneie to London towards his coronation, whose horse sir Nicholas Bond going on foot did lead: at what time also this sir Simon Burleie did carrie the sword before the king. Which sir Simon still continuing in the kings fauour, and dailie growing to greater honour, was in the seuenth yeare of king Richard, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score & foure, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, holding that office during his life, as I for this time doo gather. For he was constable in the

Walsingham.

seuenth and eight yeare of Richard the second, hauing besides that the office of the kings chamberlaine, and manie other great dignities.

Before which, on the foure and twentith of March, in the tenth yeare of the king, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and seauen, Richard earle of Arundell admerall for that time, and Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham went to the sea, and tooke about one hundred ships laden with wines, conteining one thousand nine hundred tuns of wines. After which he tooke West in Britaine, and returned into England. Which deeds of the earls being enuied by such as were with the king, as the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, this sir Simon Burleie, and Richard Stirie or Sturie, deprauing the earle to the king, said: that he had performed no worthie exploit, but onelie inuaded a few merchants, whose amitie it had beene more fruitfull to haue preserued, than so to haue stirred vnintreatable hatred. Of all which persons, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burleie, and the rest thus in generalitie writeth Walsingham. *Hi nimirū milites plures erāt Veneris quàm Bellonæ, plus valentes in thalamo quàm in campo, plus lingua quàm lancea præmuniti, ad dicendum vigiles, ad faciendum acta Martia somnolenti. Hi igitur circa regem conuersantes, nihil quod deceret tantum militem informare curabant, non dico tantùm armorum vsum, sed nec ea quæ maximè reges generosos decent in pace, videlicet in venationem, vel aucupationem, aut his similia, quibus regni honor crescit.* Thus much by Walsingham.

By which demeanour of this Simon Burleie, he grew in such hatred with the nobilitie, that at a parlement kept at Westminster in Februarie, he was about the first of Maie following, in the eleuenth yeare of the king, and in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred fourescore and eight, beheaded: notwithstanding that the earle of Derbie laboured all he could with the nobilitie (which had taken armes against the king, for supporting of this Simon Burleie and others) to saue his life. For which intreatie there fell great dissention betweene the earle of Derbie and the duke of Gloucester. This sir Simon Burleie being a man of great possessions in Kent, was lord of manie manors there; and namelie of the manors of Elham, and Colbridge; whereof he did with force dispossesse the tenants, as appeareth by these letters patents of king Richard the second: the which although they be long, yet for that they conteine manie matters touching the said sir Simon Burleie, and also the names of manie principall persons and officers in the realme liuing at that time, I shall not greue to set downe in this sort.

The letters patents of Richard the second, *wherein he granted manie parcels of land* in Kent with the manors of Elham and Colbridge, *to the deane of saint Stephans chapell of Westminster*, founded by king Edward the third, as by the same letters patents plainelie appeareth.

RIchardus Dei Gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd cùm dominus E. nuper rex Angliæ, auus noster defunctus, collegium liberæ capellæ nostræ sancti Stephani infra palacium nostrū Westmonasterium de vno decano, & 12 canonicis, 13 vicarijs, & alijs ministris ad diuina seruitia ibidem pro animabus progenitorum, & successorum ipsius aui nostri in perpetuum faciendum nuper fundasset, & per litteras suas patentes (quas confirmauimus) concessit eidem decano, & canonicis, & eorum successoribus pro sustentatione sua, quingentas & decem libras, percipiend. annuatim de præfato auo nostro, & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, quoúsque eis de terris, aut tenementis, seu alijs rebus immobilibus valorem summæ prædictæ per annum attingentibus, per prædictum auum nostrum, vel hæredes suos fuisset prouisum; postmodúmque idem auus noster per alias litteras suas patētes dedisset & concessisset chariſſimo auunculo nostro duci Aquitan. & Lancastr. tunc regi Castellæ & Legionis, Simoni tunc archiepiscopo Cant. Iohan. episcopo Lincolniæ, Henrico tunc episcopo Wigorniæ, Willielmo tunc domino de Latimer, Iohanni Kneuet tunc cancellario, Roberto de Ashton tunc thesaurario, Rogero de Beauchampe tunc camerario, Iohanni de Ipres tunc seneschallo hospitij, & Nicholao Carew tunc custodi priuati sigilli eiusdem aui nostri, certa castra, maneria, dominia, terras, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, quæ dictus auus noster adquisiuit de quibusdam personis in com. Cant. ac alijs diuersis comitatibus in Anglia, vnà cum toto stauro, bonis, & catallis in eisdem castris, manerijs, terris, & tenementis adtunc existentibus. Habendum & tenendum eidem duci, & alijs personis & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, absque aliqua conditione eis declarata, super liberationem chartæ prædictæ, quæ de recordo existit, vt dicitur siue antea, aut super liberationem sesinam inde eis factam, prout coram nobis, ac dominis, ac paribus regni nostri, aliàs in parlamento nostro palam fuerat declaratum, prout sumus informati. Qui quidem auus noster post dictum feaoffamentum sic factum in testamento suo ordinauit, quòd dictum collegium, & aliæ domus religionis, quas fundauit, dotatæ essent, & feoffatæ de manerijs, terris, & tenementis, redditibus & reuersionibus prædictis cum pertinentijs tenendis separatim in perpetuum. Post cuius mortem prædicti, dux, Iohannes episcopus, Henricus, Robertus, Iohannes de Ipres, & Nicholaus, plenam notitiam vltimæ voluntatis dicti aui nostri habentes, volentésque eandem voluntatem, ac ordinationes, & promissa sua prædicta, penes prædictum decanum & canonicos, & successores suos adimplere, prout in testamento suo expressè fuerūt onerati, maneria, terras, tenemēta, redditus, & reuersiones prædicta, inter dictum collegiū & alias domos religionis prædict. secundum discretionem suam departit. fuerunt, & æqualiter proportionauerunt, ac per scriptum suum indentatum concesserunt, & ad firmam demiserunt præfatis decano & canonicis, & eorum successoribus parcellam maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, & reuersionum prædictorum tanquam ratam suam eorundem prout intelleximus; videlicet, maneria de Esthatisford, cum Bartone, Bucwell, Eseling Meere, Langley iuxta Ledes cum aduocationibus ecclesiarum, francheſijs, warrennis, & omnimodis dominijs ad ea pertinent. ac quandam parcellam prati in Einsford in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, vnà cum toto stauro vivo & mortuo in manerijs, terris & tenementis prædictis tunc existent. Nec non reuersiones maneriorum de Elham, & de Colebridge, cum pertin. in dicto com. Cantiæ, quæ Willielmus Streat iam defunctus, tunc tenens ad terminum vitæ suæ, ac etiam reuersionem manerij de Winchfeeld cum pertinentibus in comitatu Southhampton, quod Iohannes Kimberley tunc tenuit & adhuc tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ. Habend. & tenend. præfato decano & canonicis, & successoribus suis a festo sanctæ Paschæ, anno regni nostri quinto, vsque ad finem quadraginta annorum, ex tunc proximè sequentium, ad intentionem quòd dicta manerIohn of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the third.

Simon Sudberie archbishop of Canturburie.

Iohn de Buckingham bishop of London.

Eseling otherwise called Northcourt, is now in the possession of Martin Iames of Smarden in Kent esquire, and the other lands in the possession of other men.

ria, terræ, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, cũ omnibus pertinentijs suis, eisdem decano & canonicis priùs concessa, eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis, infra eundem terminum ad manum mortuam data forent & assignata, tenenda in auxilium sustentationis suæ, ac in partem dotationis suæ prædictæ in perpetuum, prout per dictum scriptum indentatum pleniùs apparet. Virtute cuius dimissionis ac attornamenti tenentium præfati decani & canonici inde sesiti fuerũt, vt de termino suo prædicto & possessionem suam tam dictorum maneriorũ de Elham & Colbridge, post mortem prædicti Willielmi Streat quàm omnium aliorum maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ per tempus non modicũ continuarunt, quoúsq; ipsi per Simonem de Burleie chiualer defuncti inde indebitè expulsi fuerunt, vt asserunt, cui quidem Simoni ad minùs veram suggestionem suam omnia prædicta maneria, terras, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum eidem Simoni & hæredibus suis in perpetuum per litteras nostras patentes concessimus, prout in eisdem litteris pleniùs continetur. Quæ quidem maneria, terræ, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, ratione iudicij versus ipsum Simonem in parlamento nostro apud Westmonasterium anno regni nostri vndecimo, tento, reddita in manus nostras tanquam nobis forisfacta, sesita, & ad centum & vndecim libras per eschaetorem nostrum in eodem comitatu Cantiæ extensa fuerunt: subsequentérque ad supplicationem prædictorum decani & canonicorum, pro maiore securitate sua per litteras nostras patentes concessimus Iohanni Sleford personæ ecclesiæ de Balsham, Iohanni de Appulton, Thomæ de Oxted capellano, Iohanni Darg capellano, & Richardo Bret capellano, custodiam maneriorum, terrarum, tenemẽtorum, & reddituum prædictorum, cum pertinentijs in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum vsque ad finem triginta annorum ex tunc proximè sequentium, omnimodis exitibus, bladis, fœno, commoditatibus & alijs proficuis, & quibuscúnq; aisiamentis maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus, præfato decano & canonicis & successoribus suis exceptis & reseruatis. Quæ quidem emolumenta per alias litteras patentes eisdem decano & canonicis priùs concessimus, sicut dicunt. Nos considerantes benignum propositum & piam intentionem prædicti aui nostri, de gratia nostra speciali in complementum vltimæ voluntatis suæ, dedimus & concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, præfatis decano & canonicis tam dicta maneria de Asshetisford, cum Barton, Buckwell, Eseling Meere, & dictam parcellam in prato Einsford cum toto stauro vivo & mortuo ibidẽ existent. quàm dicta maneria de Elham & Colbridge cum aduocationibus ecclesiarum, fœdis militum, parcis, warrennis, piscarijs, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eschaetis, redditibus, leetis, seruitijs, francheſijs, custumis, priuilegijs, & omnibus alijs rebus & proficuis, ad dictum manerium & pratum, vel ad aliquam parcellam eorundem quouis modo pertinentibus siue spectantibus; habendum & tenendum eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis in perpetuum. Concessimus insuper & licentiam dedimus, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quantũ in nobis est, prædictis duci & episcopo Lincoln. quòd ipsi concedere possint, quod manerium de Winchfeeld, vnà cum aduocatione ecclesiæ eiusdem manerij, quæ prædictus Iohannes Kimberley sic tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Iohannis Kimberley ad præfatos ducem & episcopũ Lincoln. eo quòd alij coniunctim sœffati sui dies clauserunt extremos, reuerti deberent post mortem ipsius Iohannis Kimberley, remaneant præfatis decano & canonicis, &c. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras, &c. Teste meipso apud villam Salop. sexto die Februarij, anno regni nostri 21.

This patent thus reciting the death of Simon Burleie, amongst other matters putteth me in mind to saie what followed vpon the death of that man, so intirelie beloued of the king: who (not ceassing to call his death to remembrance, and waiting opportunitie to reuenge the same) did in the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and seuentéene, giue licence to sir Iohn Bussie, to accuse Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie, and sometime chancellor to this king Richard the second of threefold treason: whereof the third article was, that by the said traitorous vsurping (meaning of the duke of Gloucester, of Richard earle of Arundell, and other noble men, vsurping the gouernement of the realme, by a commission granted vnto them therefore by the said archbishop, then chancellor) sir Simon Burleie, and sir Iames Barnes knights, faithfull men vnto the king, were traitorouslie murthered and put to death. Wherevpon the king, although for a time he fullie granted not that the motions of sir Iohn Bussie tooke place, yet afterward in reuenge of the death of sir Simon and others his frends, the archbishop was banished, the duke of Gloucester murthered, the earle of Arundell beheaded, and the two Cobhams in like sort forbidden and exiled England. So hard it is for the greatest power of the nobilitie to contend with their prince, who being the god of the earth, and carieng the sword, can and will either by force, policie or authoritie iustlie with the same distribute the reward of rebellion.

This sir Simon died without issue, leauing his brother sir Roger Burleie his heire, of which sir Roger these persons now liuing are descended. Sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, Philip Howard earle of Arundell, Edward de Uere erle of Orford, and Iohn Thin of Longleat in Wiltshire esquier, the sonne and heire of sir Iohn Thin of Longleat knight, the sonne and heire of Thomas Boteuile (otherwise surnamed Thin) and of Margaret his wife, the daughter of Thomas Einus esquier and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of Iohn Gatacre esquire and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of sir Iohn Burleie knight, sonne vnto this sir Roger Burleie knight (in the chronicles and bookes of the law called Beuerlæ) brother to this sir Simon Burleie, as is before said. To which also may be added, as descended from this sir Roger Burleie these worshipfull persons now liuing, that is to saie Corbet of Læ, Ploiden of Ploiden hall, Pitton of Shropshire, Littleton, Einus, and others; whereof I haue not as yet the full and true descents, and therefore cannot lineallie conueie them, as I haue done some of the others before recited.

Sir Iohn Denros knight, of diuerse chroniclers diuerslie named (for by some he is called Deuereux, by some de Euros, and by others de Euers) was constable of Douer castle and warden of the cinque ports, being sometime appointed to the custodie of Calis, as appeareth by Walsingham in these words, pag. 243. *Anno dominicæ incarnationis* 1380, *qui est annus* 3 *Rich.* 2, *hoc tempore circa festum natalis Domini redijt à Calisia dominus Gulihelmus de Monteacuto comes Sarum, qui annualem custodiam egerat illius villæ, cui subrogatur dominus Iohannes Enros miles, ab antiquo xercitatus in armis.* After which, for his worthinesse, he was made constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque

Sir Iohn Denros.

ports, which office he held in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second in Michaelmas terme, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, as appeareth in the records of Pellis exitus of that terme; where mention is made that the king gaue him yearelie during his life, to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, foure score and eight pounds six shillings and eight pence out of the exchéker for the sustentation of himselfe, of a chapleine, of seruitors, of wardens, and one carpentar, in the same castell of Douer; which office of warden of the cinque ports he likewise held in the fourteenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and nine. To this man (as some haue) was Gefferie Clinton esquier lieutenant. Besides which office of the wardenship of the ports, he was the kings steward, and possessed both those offices at the time of his death, which suddenlie fell vpon him after the manner of an apoplexie in the feast of S. Peters chaire: to whom (as hath Walsingham) Thomas Persie, brother to Henrie earle of Northumberland, and vicechamberleine succeeded in the office of steward; and John Beaumont, by some (but not rightlie) called Thomas, obteined the honor to be warden of the cinque ports.

John de Beaumont.

John de Beaumont was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the sixteenth, seuentéenth, eightéenth, & nineteenth of the deposed king Richard the second.

Duke Edmund.

Edmund duke of Aumerle and Yorke was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, which office it séemed that he continued all the time of the gouernement of the same king Richard, vntill his deposition by Henrie the fourth, who comming to the crowne, not onelie deposed the king, but also remoued this duke of Yorke from the wardenship of the ports and Douer castell, placing sir Thomas Erpingham therein, as some haue. In which yeare of the one and twentith of that king, Arnold Sauage knight was lieutenant of the castell to this Edmund duke of Yorke, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, page, 1231.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

Sir Thomas Erpingham knight was constable of Douer castell, in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and two: in which office he continued vntill the tenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and nine, who amongst others (as hath Walsingham) was one, before whome king Richard the second, in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine, resigned his kingdome, and released his subiects of their oth of obedience vnto him.

Prince Henrie.

Henrie (eldest sonne to king Henrie the fourth, being prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall and erle of Chester) was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie his father. Of this Henrie prince of Wales I néed not speake anie more, because he was after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fift.

John Beaufort.

John Beaufort, marquesse Dorset, whome some appoint to be constable of Douer castell; in the reigne of king Henrie the fourth: which John I suppose for this time succeeded Henrie prince of Wales.

Thomas erle of Arundell.

Thomas erle of Arundell was constable of Douer castell, & warden of the cinque ports, in the second and third of the most valiant king Henrie the fift. This man being at the same time also treasuror of England, occasioned me to saie more of him in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England, pag. 1250, whereunto I doo refer thee.

Humfreie duke of Glocester.

Humfreie duke of Glocester was constable of Douer castell, and lord warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, then being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two: which office he continued in the two and twentith yeare of the after deposed king Henrie the first; falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure. Of this man is more spoken in my protectors of England, pag. 1078, & in my discourse of the dukes of England, pag. 1233. Beside which that is there set downe, I thinke it not amisse in this place to recite somewhat of him.

This duke, in the seauenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, accompanied with the earle Marshall, and a goodlie troope of other men; was by the king being in the wars of France, sent to laie siege to the towne and castell of Puezie, which the duke (after manie assaults) tooke by force, but the castell thereof was not yelded vntill the thirteenth daie of Maie following: shortlie after which he also tooke the towne of saint Germans. About the feast of Simon and Jude, in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, there arose greeuous contention betweene this duke protector of England, and Henrie Beaufort his vncle bishop of Winchester; whereby great force was assembled one both parts. But that dissention was afterward somewhat appeased, by the meanes of the prince of Portingall, who rode eight times in one daie betweene the armies of these two great persons.

Sir James Fines.

Sir James Fines knight, lord Saie, the sonne of sir William Fines, was chamberleine to the king, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and twentith and seuen and twentith of king Henrie the first: of whome I haue more liberallie discoursed in the treasurors of England, as may appeare, pag. 1251; and of whome I will also further hereafter intreat in the edition of my other trauels.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham was constable of Douer castell in the seauen and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, which office he continued in the seauen and thirtith of the reigne of the same king; further holding the same office (as I for this time suppose) vntill his owne death, which happened in the eight and thirtith yeare of that king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, or thereabouts; of whom is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Richard Neuill.

Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Salisburie lord Aburgauennie, great chamberlaine of England, and deputie of Calis, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one: of whome I will speake somewhat, before that he came to be aduanced vnto this honorable place of warden of the cinque ports. This earle, taking part against the king, followed the faction of the familie of Yorke against the house of Lancaster; and in the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, on the twentith daie of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, lieng at Watford or Wadeford beside S. Albons

bons, did come to the part of Richard duke of Yorke, who with his companie pitched his campe in Keiefield besides saint Albons; at what time the king fixed his banner and power in a place called Gosslew, sometime called Standforth in saint Peters street in saint Albons. Whereupon a battell being had, the king was taken, to whome the duke of Yorke, this earle of Warwike and diuerse other came, submitted themselues, craued pardon, and went with the king to London, where the king and this earle were lodged in the bishops palace. Shortlie after which, a parlement began the ninth daie of June, & the said earle was made capteine of Calis, who after he had sometime remained there, he left the same; and on the seuentæenth daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and seuen, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, came from Calis to London with a great band of men, all attired in red iackets with white ragged staues vpon them, and tooke vp his lodging at the Greie friers. This done, the king and quæne comming to London on the seuentæenth daie of March following, there was on the fiue and twentith daie of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred fiftie & eight, a feined reconciliation betweene the king, the quæne, and the duke of Yorke, this erle of Warwike, and others; who at a generall procession made in S. Paules church in London were thus placed to go in the same procession. First the king in his roiall habit with his crown kept the state, before whom went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, and the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and this earle of Warwike, and so one of one faction, and another of the other sort. And behind the king, the duke of Yorke led the quæne, whome the other states and companie followed orderlie.

But these hot coles of dissention for a time thus coldlie couered with cinders, did in the end breake forth againe. For shortlie after this, in the same yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and eight, in the seuen and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, when the king and quæne were lodged at Westminster, there did on the ninth daie of Nouember a heauie quarrell arise betweene this earle of Warwike, and such as were of the kings house, growing to such malicious furie, as that they would haue taken awaie the life of the earle, who hardlie escaped their hands to his barge. But hauing so recouered himselfe out of danger, he sailed to his charge of Calis. Then not being there suffered fullie to settle (for what will not malice and desire of reuenge seeke to doo in prosecuting the effect of his intent) the duke of Summerset, by the quænes persuasion, and the kings authoritie, which was alwaies vsed as it pleased the stronger part, was aduanced vnto the gouernment of Calis, and a priuie seale directed to this erle of Warwike to giue place vnto him. But the earle, whose valiant mind could neuer stoope to his enimie, nor brooke anie iniurie by his superior, no not by his king, refused the same as well for that the duke was then his enimie, and placed by that faction which he hated; as for that the erle was appointed to that place by parlement; which caused him to thinke that he ought not to be remoued by anie other authoritie but such as came from a parlement: whereupon by force and will he kept the same office. After which, in the moneth of October, in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie & nine, comming from Calis, he ioined with the duke of Yorke, and with the earle of Salisburie, who all togither directed a letter vnder their hands to the king from Ludlow, dated the tenth daie of October, excusing them of all their misdemeanors. But they not finding things to succeed to their minds, seuered themselues, and this earle of Warwike returned to Calis, where he still remained: but yet not in such safetie for himselfe and his liuing as he desired. Who after that he had thus presumptuouslie lifted vp his hand against our annointed king (an action of plaine rebellion, with what shadow soeuer he and his complices couered the same) was shortlie after, amongst others, at a parlement holden the same yeare attainted of high treason: wherby his liuings being taken from him, he prepared for preie and spoile. For the obteining whereof he rigged a great nauie, kept the narrow seas, fought with the Spaniards, killed manie of them, and tooke their great vessels, with one carricke of Jeane, by which he obteined great riches. Whereupon in the yeare of Grace a thousand foure hundred and sixtie, being the nine and thirtith and last yeare of the deposed Henrie the first, the duke of Excester admerall was sent with a great nauie to distresse this earle of Warwike; but he durst not set vpon the earle now returning from Ireland, where he had bin to haue conference with the duke of Yorke. These things done, and king Henrie the first deposed by king Edward the fourth, the same king Edward, the seuenth of Maie, in the first yere of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1461, made this earle (as is before said) constable of Douer castell: who being thus honored with the same, did (on the tenth daie of Maie following) constitute Otwell Worslie his lieutenant of Douer castell, as appeareth by a deed which I haue abridged in this sort.

The grant whereby Otwell Worslie *is made lieutenant of Douer castell* by Richard erle of Warwike.

Richardus comes de Warwike, dominus de Burgauenni, magnus camerarius Angliæ, capitaneus villæ & castri de Calis ac marchiarum circumuicinarum locum tenens, necnon constabularius castri Douorensis, custos & admerallus quinque portuum: omnibus, &c. Cùm nuper christianissimus princeps ac metuendissimus dominus noster Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ quartus, per litteras suas patentes datas septimo die Maij, anno regni sui primo Angliæ, prout in eisdem litteris, &c. Nos, &c: de fidelitate, &c: dilecti & fidelis seruientis nostri Otwelli Worsley armigeri ad plenum informati, &c: præfatum Otwellum locum tenentem nostrum castri prædicti, ac portuum prædictorum substituimus, &c. Datum decimo die Maij prædicti, anno prædicti domini regis Edwardi quarti primo.

After which, about foure yeares, to wit, in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, this earle of Warwike did by the like grant dated the first daie of Julie, being the fift yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, substitute John Guilford knight his lieutenant of Douer castell and the cinque ports. Thus this much of this earle for this time, of whome I will make a full discourse hereafter, not hauing leisure now to deliuer both what I know, and haue collected touching him: onlie at this time more setting downe, that he married Anne sister and heire to Henrie Beauchamp duke of Warwike: by whome he had issue two daughters, Isabell married to George Plantagenet duke of Clarence; and Anne married first to Edward prince of Wales sonne to king Henrie the first: after whose death she was married vnto Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester, after king, by the name of Richard the third.

William Fitzallen earle of Arundell, the son William Fitzallen.

of Iohn earle of Arundell, and of Elenor the daughter of sir Iohn Berkleie knight, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the nineteenth, twentith, and two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth; but after being displaced, he left the same to another.

Richard duke of Glocester. Richard duke of Glocester vncle vnto king Edward the fift, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the first and last yere of the reigne of the same yong but neuer crowned king Edward the fift. This Richard was after king of England, by the name of king Richard the third, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869, and of the protectors, pag. 1080.

Henrie duke of Buckingham. Henrie duke of Buckingham constable of England, was also constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, after that the duke of Glocester had atteined the crowne; which office he kept vntill the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and three, in which he was beheaded in the first yeare of the same king Richard the third. Of this man I haue spoken more liberallie in my treatise of the constables of England, set downe before, pag. 874.

William earle of Arundell. William earle of Arundell, as I gather the second time made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the first of king Henrie the seuenth, after that the same king had slaine king Richard the third at Bosworth field. Which William married Ione the daughter of Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, by whome he had amongst manie other children, Thomas earle of Arundell, and Ione maried to George Neuill lord Aburgauennie.

Henrie prince of Wales. Henrie prince of Wales, duke of Yorke, and marshall (as some saie) of England, and the kings lieutenant in Ireland, being second sonne to king Henrie the seuenth, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, about the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth: of whome, being after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight, we meane not here to speake anie more.

Arthur Plantagenet. Arthur Plantagenet, bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, was (as I haue read) made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports in the time of king Henrie the eight, and was at Bridewell in the right of his wife the ladie Elisabeth daughter & heire to Iohn Greie vicount Lisle, created vicount Lisle, in the fiftenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three. Which doone, in the three and twentith yeare of the same king, he attended on the king, when he met the French king betweene Bullogne and Calis. Then in the foure and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, he serued as pantler, of right belonging vnto him, when the ladie Anne Bullen was crowned. Which Arthur being committed to the Tower for matters of treason, where he a long time remained, being after cleared and to be set at libertie, conceiued such great ioie thereof, that he died presentlie thereupon in March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, being the three and thirtith of king Henrie the eight. He married as before is said, and died without issue.

Sir Edward Poinings. Sir Edward Poinings knight, the sonne of Robert Poinings was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the seuententh yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and one; which office he continued, vntill the fiftenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, falling about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three. During which his constableship of Douer castell, he had two lieutenants, whereof the first was Rafe Tuckeie of Bere esquier: after whose deth succeeded Iohn Cowpeldike esquire. But before this sir Edward Poinings was constable of Douer, he was in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and foureteene, about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, made capteine, or (as some haue) deputie of Ireland, and sent with Henrie Deane chancellor of that Iland, amongst the Irish, to purge the realme of such as fauoured Parkin Warbecke; but when he could not bring things to passe there as he would, he caused the earle of Kildare, whom he suspected to be an hinderance vnto his purpose, to be brought into England, but the earle purging himselfe was returned into Ireland and made deputie.

After this, in the 12 yere of Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of Christ 1497, he was with the earle of Kent Iohn Lord Cobham, and sir Richard Guilford at Blackeheath field, where Iames lord Audlie, and the Blacke Smith were ouerthrowne. Next, when king Henrie the seuenth died, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and nine, he was (when K. Henrie the eight came to the crowne) made one of the priuie councell. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ten, being the second yeare of king Henrie the eight; this sir Edward Poinings, being knight of the garter, and controllor of the kings house, was as capteine generall sent with one thousand and fiue hundred archers to helpe Margaret duches of Sauoie, and regent of the low countries, against such as molested hir gouernment. Which ladie receiued him with great honor, and so they ioined themselues with hir armie; which after manie other exploits performed, came at length to a towne called Strawlie, of great defense, and double ditched, where they planted their siege: at what time sir Edward Poinings, who euer was in the fore-ward with his armie, caused such spedie trenches and passages to be made, that within three daies after the towne was surrendered, and sir Edward Poinings with the admerall of Flanders and others entered the same. This doone, they besieged Uenlow, & when the English were quiet, and that sir Edward Poinings was at dinner with monsieur de Romie, they of Uenlow issued out, set vpon the English, hurt some, and tooke two prisoners; whome after the English rescued, & got the victorie of their enimies. This doone, they left the siege of Uenlow, and sir Edward Poinings departed to the court of Burgognie, where he was honorablie interteined, and richlie rewarded. Wherewith he passed into England, not hauing lost one hundred men in all that iourneie.

But within three yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, this noble knight went with the king to the warres of France, commonlie called the winning of Turwine & Turneie: at what time in the battell there, sir Edward Poinings with six hundred men kept on the kings right hand, as the king went out of Calis to the siege of Turwine: and when Turneie was taken, this knight was made the kings lieutenant of that towne, hauing the custodie thereof committed vnto him; who valiantlie kept it in good order and iustice. After this, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight, he attended vpon the king of England, meeting the French king at Ard. Shortlie after which, he returned into England, & died in the Lent following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, suspected to be poisoned

poisoned in the banket at Ard. Who in his life time hauing two hundred pounds pension yearelie of the emperor, going out of the house of Burgognie, began to build a most statelie house at Ostenhanger, now commonlie called Westenhanger; which being by him left vnperfected, did after come to the hands of hir maiestie, who gaue the custodie thereof to sir Thomas Sackeuill lord Buckhurst; and is now in possession of Thomas Smith of London esquier, customer of the same citie: whose wealth in short time hath raised him to great reuenues of lands in the countie of Kent, and likewise elsewhere. This sir Edward Poinings did marie Isabell the daughter of sir John Scot of Kent knight, by whome he had issue.

Henrie Fitzroie.

Henrie Fitzroie earle of Richmond, & duke Summerset, the bastard sonne of king Henrie the eight, (by the ladie Tailboise) in the absence of this sir Edward Poinings, was constituted constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whom I haue spoken more in my discourse of the dukes of England, pag. 1237.

Sir Edward Guilford.

Sir Edward Guilford knight (the eldest sonne of sir Richard Guilford knight, & brother to sir Henrie Guilford knight of the noble order of the garter, controllor of the house, and one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight) was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whome I am to intreat, after that I haue set downe this note of his father sir Richard Guilford: who assisting king Henrie the seuenth in the atteining of the crowne, was after controllor of the house, and one of the priuie councell to the said king Henrie the seuenth. Which sir Richard did after take his iourneie into the Holie land, where he died, and was buried besides the temple or church of our sauior in Jerusalem; of whom I thought good not to omit this speach, because that he was father to three such worthie gentlemen; as were sir Edward, sir Henrie, and George Guilford, of all which we onelie meane to intreat.

This sir Edward Guilford constable of Douer castell, which office he continued vntill the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, which sir Edward dwelling at Halden in the countie of Kent, in the parish of Rowlenden, was also one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight, as was also his brother sir Henrie Guilford, as is before touched. This sir Edward, being marshall of Calis, did with fiftie men of armes richlie beseene, and one hundred archers on horsseback, receiue the emperor Charles the fift at the Turne pike, in the lordship of Barke, and brought him to Calis, on the fiue and twentith of Maie, anno the fouretéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two. After, in the same summer, whilest the wars were vehementlie pursued betweene the English and French on both parts; the capteine of Bullogne called Faiet, sent scoffing letters to the garrison of Calis, affirming that if the Calisians would issue out, he would incounter them halfe waie with foure thousand men. Whereupon this sir Edward Guilford as yet marshall of Calis, whome the capteine of Bullogne called the firebrand, because it was his cognisance, set forth from Calis the 11 daie of June, with one thousand two hundred, sending a purseuant to the capteine of Bullogne, to ascerteine him that he was come with his firebrand, and willing him to keepe promise, which the officer did accordinglie: but monsieur the French bragger came not. Wherupon sir Edward Guilford came to Horgison, where he yet a while remained, expecting the comming of the capteine of Bullogne.

But when he saw that Faiet failed his word, he set fire on Horgison, burnt the villages about them, foraged the countrie, and returned with a preie of beasts and other pillages. The next daie following, this sir Edward deliuered a prisoner freelie without ransome, on condition that he should tell the capteine of Bullogne that he had béene at Horgison with his firebrand: which message the prisoner did accordinglie; in recompense wherof, the capteine of Bullogne brake his head. But sir Edward not contented with this, but still loking for monsieur Faiet, did on the fiue and twentith of June, ioine with sir William Sands treasuror: and they togither hauing a troope of one thousand & foure hundred men, issued out of Calis, went to the French pale, set fire on Whitsandbaie, and tooke the church, wherunto the people were fled, and caried manie prisoners to Calis. Againe, in the same yeare, about the two and twentith daie of August, in the battell which the lord admerall led into France, sir Edward Guilford was appointed capteine of the horssemen, by whome the currers and bewers of the countrie were placed and named. Then in the yeare following, in the end of August, in the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three, this sir Edward was againe appointed to assist Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, going with an armie roiall to make war in France: at what time also, as he had béene before in the armie of the admerall, so was he now againe made capteine of the horssemen, still continuing the office of marshall of Calis. During the continuance of which wars vnder the duke of Suffolke, he with the campe about the thirtéenth daie of Nouember, remoued two miles from the castell of Bowhen, which was iudged impregnable: at what time there was a great frost which continued long.

Notwithstanding which, sir Edward Guilford capteine of the horsemen, viewed the castle of Bowhen or Boughan, which he supposed might be woone; notwithstanding that the castell was inuironed with marishes, which by our mens iudgements made it inuincible. But sir Edward perceiuing the frost so strong, said that they might well besiege it. Whervpon obteining licence of the duke therfore, he set forth with the ordinance ouer the marish, which being espied by such as were in the castell, they were greatlie dismaid. At length sir Edward Guilford discharging three great shot against them, the castillians requited them with the like. After, as the English gunners were preparing to the batterie, the capteine perceiuing that his castell could not beare it out, yéelded the same to the behoofe of the emperor and the king of England. Thus leauing this knight (who had for his lieutenant of Douer castell, after the death of Cowpledike, Richard Déering esquire) continuallie increasing his fame in wars, and his honour in peace, with great fauour of the prince for his worthie deserts. We saie that he married Elenor, the daughter of Thomas West lord Laware, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, married to John Sutton of Dudleie after duke of Northumberland: which noble knight sir Edward Guilford died and was buried at Halden before named.

George Bullen.

George Bullen knight, lord Rochford, the sonne of Thomas Bullen earle of Wiltshire, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six & twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiue and thirtie, in which office he continued vntill the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the same

same king, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, hauing for his lieutenant of Douer castell the forenamed Richard Dering.

Thomas Cheineie. Thomas Cheineie knight, after the death of the lord Rochford, was in the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports: which office he continued in some part of the time of foure princes, longer (as far as my memorie serueth) than anie of his predecessors had done before him. For he held the same in the time of king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéene Marie, and some small time in the begining of the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, in whose first yeare by death he left the same; hauing for his lieutenants the foresaid Richard Dering and William Cripse esquire. And yet this sir Thomas Cheineie, possessing that office about the space of eightéene yeares, did not inioie it so long as the worthie lord Cobham his successor hath possessed it. For the same lord Cobham (as after shall appeare) hath honorablie inioied the same by these eight and twentie yeares. But passing ouer that, we are here to talke of sir Thomas Cheineie: who being a toward yong gentleman, and full of courage, but not yet knighted, obteined of the king in the first yeare of Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foureteéne, to passe ouer with the duke of Suffolke and others into France, to answer a iusts proclamed at Paris, and challenged by Francis duke de Valois, at the coronation of Marie quéene of France, daughter of king Henrie the seuenth, and wife to Lewis the twelfe of that name: at what time this sir Thomas Cheineie behaued himselfe right valiantlie. Who being after a knight, and the kings ambassador in France, did in the foureteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, send letters to the king his maister being at Calis with the emperor: in which were conteined, that sir Thomas Cheineie had moued the French king to peace with the emperor, and restitution of the Englishmens goods, which he had wrongfullie deteined and spoiled: but the French king denied it. At length sir Thomas Cheineie with Clarenceaux, who denounced war against the French king, hauing a safe conduct from the French, departed, and came to Bullogne, where he was staied, vntill the ambassador of France which had laien at Calis, were cléerelie deliuered out of Calis.

Then in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, this sir Thomas Cheineie being of the kings priuie councell, was sent by the king his maister to the French king as an ambassador congratulatorie, in that the king of England greatlie reioised at the libertie of the French king, & the end made betwixt him & the emperor, who had taken the French king at the battell of Pauie. After which, in the one & thirtith yeare of the same Henrie, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, he in the Christmasse time receiued at Deale vpon the Downs the ladie Anne of Cleue landed in England to be maried to king Henrie the eight, from whense this lord warden of the cinque ports, with diuerse dukes and ladies, brought hir to Douer castell, where she for a time did rest hir selfe. Beside which in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, he with the earle of Surreie, sonne and heire to the duke of Northfolke, did take a towne in the dominion of France called saint Requiers.

Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being the third yeare of king Edward the first, he amongst others of the councell, (for now he was one of that number, and tresuror of the household) set his hand vnto a letter directed to the maior and citizens, wherein certeine of the nobilitie praied their aid against the duke of Somerset protector of the realme; which done, in the first yere of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, this sir Thomas Cheineie, in a muster of horsemen before the king at Grénewich of the nobilitie, did shew himselfe equall in number of horse with the most of them, hauing of his retinue a hundred persons well horsed vnder his banner of the rose, with the sun beames. But king Edward not liuing long after, this lord warden did in the seuenth and last yeare of the same king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, among others of the councell set his hand to a letter sent vnto quéene Marie, wherein quéene Jane was allowed quéene; and quéene Marie sister to king Edward reiected from the crowne. After which being in the Tower (with quéene Jane whome they had proclamed) and misliking of the successe of things which they had attempted, he with others sought to get out of the Tower, to consult in London with such others of the councell as were there assembled, but he could not haue anie passage from thense. Yet in the end quéene Marie preuailing, and he escaping without anie danger for that which he had done against hir, he did in the first yere of the reigne of the same quéene oppose himselfe against Wiat, and such as succoured that rebellion. Wherefore he not onlie sent defiance vnto the said Wiat, but also came to Rochester with his power against him, at what time he shewed himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto quéene Marie: notwithstanding all whatsoeuer before done by him against hir. He maried two wiues, the first was Fridelwide, the daughter and one of the heires of Thomas Frowicke knight, chefe iustice: by whome he had issue John Cheineie (slaine at Putterell, after that he had maried Margaret the daughter of George Neuil lord of Aburgauennie) Katharine married to Thomas Kempe knight, Francis married to Nicholas Cripse, the sonne of sir Henrie Cripse knight and Anne married to sir John Perot knight. His second wife was the daughter and heire of Broughton knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after in the fourtéenth yeare of the quéene now liuing, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seauentie and one, called by writ to be one of the barons of the parlement house, by the name of the lord Cheineie of Tuddington in Bedfordshire. This worthie knight sir Thomas Cheineie died in the first yeare of the reigne of the noble quéene Elisabeth, and was buried at Minster in the Ile of Sheppeie, whereof he was the greatest lord.

Sir William Broke. Sir William Broke knight, lord Cobham, was made constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and chancellor of the same, after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie, in the first yeare of the quéenes reigne that now is; being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine: of whom because I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he hauing possessed this place by the space of eight and twentie yeares, being much longer time than anie of his predecessors, hath (in executing that office) caried himselfe with such honor and loue, that he worthilie deserueth, and his countrie hopeth he shall inioie the same manie following yeares, to his owne honor, and his countries benefit: whome I will here leaue in his princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new augmented chronicles of Holinshed, with the succession of the lord wardens of the cinque ports.

¶ In

The note of Reginald Scot esquier concerning Douer hauen.

¶ In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, certeine of the lords of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell made an appointment to haue met at Douer, to surueie a notable peece of worke there latelie performed about the hauen, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Neuertheless the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties priuie councell, repairing thither (accompanied with diuerse knights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is alreadie done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a hauen in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in anie record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imploied hath not beene vnnecessarie, may appeare by the reasons insuing.

Considerations while the building of Douer hauen is here recorded.

First, Douer hath beene euer reputed the keie and locke (as Matthæus Parisiensis reporteth) or (as rather he should haue said) the verie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for frend or fo, and also the readie passage vnto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whense it is not distant aboue thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in fiue or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most conuenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or forren frend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skilfull mariners) more beneficiall and commodious for the nauigation of England, than an excellent hauen placed anie where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconuenience of piratie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there haue present succor and refuge, and both spedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid haue moued some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harbourough or hauen in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderfull contentment of all their subiects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adioining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finallie, it hath pleased our most noble quæne Elisabeth to vndertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie workes, for the benefit of the realme, and commonwealth of England, hath beene so liberall, carefull, and prouident, as thereby hir glorie and renowme is spread ouer all the face of the earth, and reacheth vnto heauen, where the King of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and praiers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians liuing in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought forth and preserued in this world.

Douer the neerest place of England to France.

Douer the most conuenient place of England for a hauen.

Reasons whie a harbor at Douer would be so beneficial

The pent at Douer will maintein a hauen there for euer.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath at this present time taken order for the building of a new hauen in this place, and bountifullie imploied great summes of monie vpon the same (being begun with more probabilitie, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than euer anie of hir highnesse predecessors haue heretofore had in this case, wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is alreadie accomplished, so as there is now and euer hereafter will be a verie good hauen, except extreame negligence be vsed in maintening the same) I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partlie also to giue light & incouragement to hir successors in the crowne of England, to attempt and vndertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of farre lesse importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in euerie chronicle may appeare.

A true commendation of quæne Elisabeth.

In this discourse I thought mæt to passe ouer the antiquitie of the towne and port of Douer, with the liberties thereof; which togither with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Douer castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largelie discoursed thereupon in his booke, which is likelie to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him thereunto; and onelie giue this note (to wit) that whereas he iustlie complaineth of the miserable ruines therof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in reparing and reedifing of it; than hath beene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Julius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Aruiragus then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as Iohn Rosse reporteth) did throughlie repare it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, insomuch as it is now reduced to be a peece of great force and importance, and verie beautifull to behold. Wherin the honorable disposition of the lord Burleie lord high treasuror of England is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, & whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best souldiours of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most graue counceller. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castle of Douer, &c: I should doo him great wrong. For by his prouidence and mediation, togither with the diligent trauell and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the wals whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Douer, I will now passe to my purpose.

In perambl Cant. tit. Douer.

Douer castell reedified by quæne Elisabeth.

Edward the fourth bestowed 10000 pounds vpon reparations of Douer castell.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must giue you to vnderstand, that the verie situation of the place ministreth incouragement to the executioners, and yeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Douer cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Kaie: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north issueth a proper riuer entring into the same baie: and thense runneth through the hauen into the sea. In times past, vntill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath serued them for a rode, and at manie times in some sort hath stood the nauie (but especiallie the fisher botes) in good sted. For in a great northernlie and westernlie wind, the ships were driuen from the Downes and the foreland to repaire thither, where they might lie safelie vntill the wind blew great from by east or south, and then were they driuen to depart thense vnto the Camber at Rie (which then was a notable good rode, though now vtterlie decaied) or into the Ile of Wight. For in a sudden flaw or storme of wind at southeast, there hath bin seuen or eight ships broken all to peeces in one daie vpon

The situation of Douer harbour.

A naturall rode for ships at Douer.

The hauen of Rie decaied, whereby more need of a harboure at Douer.

Ships lost for lacke of sufficient harboure at Douer.

the

the said cliffes. To relieue & amend the same harborough, and somwhat to mitigate the foresaid inconuenience, there was a round tower built by one John Clarke, priest, maister of the maison de Dieu, about the yere one thousand fiue hundred at the south west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to defend the ships from the rage of the southwest wind, but especiallie to moze the ships which were tied thereunto. For manie great ringles were fastened to the same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be seene, sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after that corner hath bene named, and is at this daie called Little paradise. Neuertheless this was thought verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safegard of such a multitude of ships as vsuallie laie for harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the booke of Domesdaie, that Douer armed yearelie at his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the space of fiftéene daies, with one and twentie able men in ech ship.

The first benefit bestowed on Douer harbour.

Little paradise.

In the reigne of Edward the Confessor.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, one sir John Thomson clarke parson of the parish of saint James in Douer, being a man ingenious, and seeing the conueniencie and possibilitie of a good hauen to be made in that place, consulted with the chiefe and best mariners of the towne. Among whom it was agréed, that humble suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state of the towne, for his gratious fauor and aid toward the making of a good hauen there. And it was also by them all thought meet, that the said sir John Thomson should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: whereunto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a supplication in the name and behalfe of the towne, conteining the necessarie causes and reasons, deuises and instructions, for the erection and building therof. But he told them he was poze, and therefore vnable of his owne proper charges to follow the suite. In which respect they collected among themselues, and deliuered vnto him foure pounds ten shillings, which he accepted, and forthwith repaired to the court; where he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present accesse to the king, who heard his suite with great fauor, and debated with him about the contents of his plot, and liked so well of his informations that he willed him to repaire home, & without delaie to returne to his presence accompanied with some of the best mariners or seamen of the towne, and so with commendations dismissed him for that time. When the maister of the towne vnderstood his graces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselues, and made choise of Edward Vaie, Robert Justice, Richard Cowchie, and John Steward, as the fittest and skilfullest persons to vse conference, and to be imploied in that cause, being all mariners of good experience. These foure and the said sir John Thomson without further staie resorted to the court, with whom when the king had communed, he conceiued of the necessitie of a hauen to be there had, and of the probabilitie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to be performed according to their suggestion. And because his maiestie vnderstood the poze estate of the towne, he granted his gratious aid for the supplie of their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of his owne cofers vnto them the summe of fiue hundred pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a beginning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the said sir John Thomson the maistership of the maison de Dieu of Douer, which was a hospitall, valued at one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the custome and dutie of the which house was (as the ancient townesmen informe me) to interteine and relieue souldiors, and others which came from beyond the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some relefe there by the space of certeine daies gratis: which though I find not directlie set downe in record, yet dow I know assuredlie the same to haue béene put in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house is agréeable, and as it were a credible witnesse. The king at that time also appointed the said sir John to be principall surueior of the works, and vnder him the other foure to be ouerséers of the same.

Sir John Thomson priest his supplication.

Fiue hundred pounds giuen by Henrie the eight towards a beginning of Douer works.

The maison de Dieu of Douer.

Surueiors and ouerséers.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the drift and deuise of the said sir John Thomson was to erect a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre) from Arcliffe chapell being the southwest part of the baie directlie towards the east into the maine sea, about 131 rods in length: so as by that means the harborough was to be garded from the rage of all weather, comming from the north, northeast, northwest, and southwest, and so the entrance onelie at east southeast, wherinto when the ships were once brought, they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by 530 foot so farre as the foundation thereof (which is called the Molehead) was laid, which foundation consisted of great rocks, brought from a place nére hand, called Yakcliffe, or the castell Raie & Folkstone. This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, and great piles, of fiue or six & twentie foot long, set at each side close togither, which were let downe and put in certeine holes hewed in the great rocks, laid for that purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron, and driuen into the maine rocke of chalke, with a great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were combined and held togither with iron bolts, and were filled with mightie stones of chalke and with beach and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogither of great rocks of stone, which if they had not bene brought thither by a speciall deuise, must néeds haue bene extreame chargeable, for manie of them were of twentie tun a péece, and few vnder.

Sir John Thomsons deuise discouered.

The Molehead.

Douer pierre when it was taken in hand, and whereof it consisteth.

The practise of this cariage is now common, but it was before that time rare & vnknowne in England, and inuented there by a poze simple man named John Yong, who first with a nutshell, and after with an egshell, & lastlie with a small vessell, made proofe what weight those things could raise & beare in the water; and hauing by that experiment made triall, or at least a probable coniecture, that stones of great weight might be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels: he discouered his experience to such as were officers in the worke, who presentlie put in practise and execution the same deuise, & making prouision of great & strong barrels and pipes of wood, caried them to Folkstone, and at low water fastened thereto with chaines such huge stones as laie on the shore nére the low water marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so as when the floud or full sea came, the said vessels with the stones therto fastned rose vp & swam. And if the stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie casks could not lift it vp, then did they ad a barrell or two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they drag with small botes the casks and stones therunto tied, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them, and so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie (in appearance) was with most ease & least charge accomplished. And for this deuise the said John Yong had a yearelie stipend giuen vnto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this meanes was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labour these piles were filled vp.

A notable deuise to carrie great rocks by water.

Foure pence a daie.

The chalke and filling therof being brought from the north pierre, was conueied thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timberwoorke of the old pierre eightie foot in length, & ioines vpon that part of the pierre where stood a fort named the blacke bulwoorke.

A Gaboth.

Now that which was doone on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent rode or harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am crediblie informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did forbeare anie trauell which might further the woorke. For in person he purposelie repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least; yea his highnesse had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water woorks, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the woorke, the kings coffers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the woorke present, that the prouision for the future maintenance thereof was vtterlie neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Bullongne, his sickenesse at his returne, and finallie his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this woorke: which being once in the state of decaie, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigne (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the woorkmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad paiment, no paiment, & so all was giuen ouer. Sir Anthonie Aucher was treasuror in these woorks, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for Douer pierre.

The kings repaire to Douer.

Officers about the pierre.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaie of this woorke, before the end and finishing whereof there was brought along the coast from by southwest a maruellous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, wherof there had beene neuer anie seene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the blacke bulwoorke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preseruation of the said woorke, but it fell out otherwise. For beside that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and driue it from that coast, and consequentlie from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, vntill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decaieng, especiallie at the blacke bulwoorke (where the greatest abundance of beach vsuallie rested) it passed through the decaid places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a shelfe of beach from that point of the pier to the east part of the baie, hutting to the Castell Raie: so as no entrance thereinto for anie ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decaied and wared shorter, the neerer was the shelfe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bin preserued, that shelfe would soone haue beene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked vp the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place.

The ruin of Douer pierre.

Stone called beach or bowlder choked vp Douer hauen.

The decaie of the pier grew now more and more, partlie (as is said through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied therevpon, and sufficient prouision to mainteine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the porter sort of the townesmen, who dailie purloined timber, iron, and all that was anie thing worth, which they could pull or catch from the decaieng places of the pierre. And now (by means of this shelfe) the hauen wared worse than euer it was; insomuch as oftentimes, a bote that drew but foure foot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogither shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, sauing the water that soked through the beach. But the riuer, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the northeast end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, vntill a contrarie wind did stop it vp againe, and then had they no entrance at all, vntill the riuer had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanell through the beach, which manie times they were driuen to do.

Two causes of the decaie of Douer pierre.

Sometime no harborough at all at Douer.

How Douer was made desolat.

The losse of this hauen, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a braue, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolat village, reteining onlie the name and liberties of the famous port of Douer. Neuertheless, the necessitie and expedience of a good hauen in that place did still remaine, and a conuenient meane also was left for the accomplishment therof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall help and furtherance to a new hauen of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you haue heard) Douer cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests comming from northest and northwest; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and southwest winds; and the shelfe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Raie, had made such a close pent, as if anie ships could be conueied therinto, they might there rest in great safetie.

That beach which destroied the pierre helpeth now the hauen.

The roome within this close baie conteineth almost fortie acres, and the riuer (as I haue said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euerie high water, & lieng almost bare at euerie ebbe, the ouze or fleech grew to be foure-teene or fifteene foot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chalke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited thereabouts, wherof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the woorke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the queenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Douer, towards the reparing of their hauen, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barleie and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paieng either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

A bountifull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the reparing of Douer hauen.

For (beside great summes of monie alreadie leuied & imploied vpon the beginning of these woorks) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings & foure pence for euerie quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence for euerie quarter of barleie and malt;

The patent of the queenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

and

and the licence of bere being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessell, or craier, wherof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part owners, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or vpwards, loding or discharging within this realme, or passing to or fro anie forren countrie, during the space of seuen yers then next insuing from fortie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such voiage by the maister or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of three pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

The act of parlement for Douer hauen 23 Elisab.

Three pence the tun of euerie vessell allowed towards Douer hauen.

Hereby there grew great summes of moneie to be yerelie leuied toward these works, amounting to 1000 pounds yerelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeres. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and twentith daie of March, in the foure and twentith yere of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the maior of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Hentie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Wilford, and William Partrige esquiers, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisedome and iudgement, and no small trauellers in matters concerning the commonwealth: some of them maruellous expert in affaires and matters of the sea, some in fortifications, some hauing trauelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren seawors & hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissionated and authorised by those presents, to do, and foresee to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisit to be imploied about the reparing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice; and to choose officers, & assigne their stipends, and the seuerall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, spedie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

The tunnage amounted to 1000 pounds yearelie.

The tenure of the queen's commission for Douer hauen.

John True surueior generall of Douer hauen.

Now for the performance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended himselfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert enginor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolutelie promised the spedie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie nere to the shelfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulworke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkstone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose alredie perfectlie hewed of the same stone seuen thousand foot, and six thousand foot more was scapled; he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred foure score and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurors for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that hitherto hath come to anie profitable vse. But this wall if it had bene, or rather could haue bene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds; and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

The deuise of John True.

Stone hewed at Folkstone, amounting to 1288 pounds.

Infinit charge to accomplish the stone wall.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, wherof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allowed vnto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and finall purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certeine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters with his negligence, delaies, and vntowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties councell, he was dismissed.

True had ten shillings a day for his fee.

John True is dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had bene conuersant & acquainted with water works in the low countries, & had dealt much about Woolwich and Erith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming, that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should sone be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the councell. But this Ferdinando Poins, though he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be preuented by some other that would vndertake to do it by his deuises, better cheape than himselfe could afford it, and so he to lose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Woolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as monie was verie palpable and plausible vnto him.

Ferdinando Poins.

In fine, he vndertooke to make certeine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the works about the wals might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, conteining in quantitie about sixténe acres, which should be inuironed with a long wall, reaching from aboue the water gate nere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods along within the shelfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulworke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about fortie rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the shore at the northerne cliffe, not far from the towns end. And this should make a perfect pent to conteine and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluse standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

Poins his groine.

The pent 16 acres.

The length of the long wall.

The crosse wall.

The rode for ships.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continuallie surrounded

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoiance, the crosse wall also must crosse the riuer, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continuallie surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie thense into the sea (more spædilie and abundantlie) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the hauen. To the execution hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Douer hauen, to Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customes inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their crèeks and members, and the crèke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Yarmouth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yæld account thereof, as other customers vsuallie doo, hauing for his fée one hundred and three score pounds yearelie. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of frée transportation of corne and bèere, the which summes as nèd required, were by him to be deliuered to the treasuror for Douer harborough vpon the councels direction, and a warrant of six of the said commissioners hands.

One thousand pounds to Ferdinando Poins.

Customer Smith.

There might be much written in the renowme and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallie knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred; yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorer and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie paiment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwards the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriouslie, and performed some thing profitablie for the draining of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue bèene performed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would more willinglie haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the hauen consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as wals must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be wrought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a riuer, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of fresh at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same.

Varietie of deuises.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone wals verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ouze and beach shoueled and cast togither without anie more adoo. An other would haue made a coffin dam, whereof the cost would haue bèene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other coparteners, thought a wodden wall most conuenient; and presented to the commissioners a module thereof, deuised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpentar, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, exceedinglie liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intollerable. Maister Poins his workemanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and performe: but verie few could be persuaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slub and beach shoueled together, and lieng so houer: for that was his deuise. Neuertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Douer by the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that hauen with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the inning of Woolwich & Erith marshes, being also willing to doo him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platforme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well performed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferrer of that bill in the parlement house, and yælded the best reasons for a hauen to be there placed.

Sir Wm. Winter sent to Douer to surueie the harbor, &c.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namely, of one Thomas Brooker gentleman, John Stoneham carpentar, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and vaine attempts, and contrarie procèdings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and reparing of wals to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailie sæing the nature and effects therof, weieng also in his mind, that Romneie marsh wals are of greater bulke and force than these nèd to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh wals are placed not farre from thense vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not worse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozzen or twentie foot, and not find or fæle the bottome) and after he had compared these workes together, perceiuing no impediment whie one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward redilie attended on him to Douer, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to vndertake and performe what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scot reasons, ioined and confirmed with experience not far fetcht, but ratified by nære neighbours, being persons of good account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of works) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not sèke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the wodden worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them more fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to doo it by great, which the lords of the coun-

Sir Thomas Scot.

The wals of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas.

All the commissioners ioine with sir Thomas Scot, and allow his deuise.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might vnderstand the vttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the woodden wall grew to be so large (for fiue thousand and fiue hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much misliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibilitie that the same should be set fast and vnmoueable vpon the slub or sleech is fiftéene foot déepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie vnderneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the floud, that through the vnstedinesse thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and slub was thought to be so different from the condition of woodden bords and planks, whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or wether that could impech the stedie standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme coniunction betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must néeds cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would draine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the slub or sleech, which could minister no certeine staie therevnto, nor likelihood that the same should so vnite with the wood, as to stand stedie, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staid the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or stedie. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaie, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repared (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intollerable. Fiftlie, the delaie of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixtlie, they being demanded whether they had euer séene (either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, No: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would aduenture to vndertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seuenthlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Kent and Sussex (without vnrecouerable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a prouision could haue béene by no meanes procured, without the vndoing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force inough to ouerthrow a woodden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

Seuen inuincible reasons against the woodden wall.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the councell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surueior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to vndertake this woodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasuror, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marsh works; saieng that if he erred therein, as not séeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had séene and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

The lord treasurors resolution.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in déed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue béene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executioner in Woolwich breaches, being workes defensatiue against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue béene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marsh land, lieng seuen miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Erith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie, to the vndoing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good engineor; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie, for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would vtter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finallie reiected; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was commended to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir highnesse; to whome was happilie referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherin he dealt from time to time, with as great care, trauell, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be donne thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without good conference and probabilitie would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Of Woolwich and Erith breaches.

Secretarie Walsingham the chiefe director and furtherer of Douer hauen.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, requiring him to send vp some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Romneie marsh works, to satisfie the lords of the councell in all such doubts as should be obiected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the shipwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romneie marsh works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne good liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would throughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marshmen, to answer certeine obiections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the higth and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the maner of stuffe, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the vndertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfied thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scots aduise was, that (séeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daieworkers and good ouersées, than by great; wherein no man would aduenture, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certeintie of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priuie councell, that it should be donne no other waie but by great; he himselfe would vndertake it better cheape than anie other had profered to do it by fiue hundred marks, and to that effect would

Maister secretaries letter to sir Thomas Scot.

No dealing by great, in matters of excessiue charge and danger.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had bene deputed a surueior of Romneie marsh by the space of foure yeares togither; and Reinold Smith, who had beene clearke of Romneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie yeares. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer hauen, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and nerest hand be had, with pasture for horsses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceeded to the court at Richmont, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the mondaie and tuesdaie before Easter daie 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from sir Thomas Scot, conteining necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the erection of these walles, imitating as nere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Romneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a yerelie assemblie of commissioners at Douer in Easter weeke, as is by the lords of Romneie marsh at Whitsuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stuffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, faggots, nedels, keies, beetels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall sums of all officers fees, of all stuffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the cariages: which estimat was little or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, sauing that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yere, beyond promise or expectation.

Sir Thomas Scots notes.

Douer pent finished in three moneths.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (hauing perused these notes, & seene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbeit, he strictlie examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, or griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horsse and a driuer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie victels extreame dere. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuertheless to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Woolwich and Erith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made anie wals, whereby water hath beene pent to anie highth, and vpon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finallie, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortable to euerie question, they seemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoeuer was required, sauing assurance. But they knew not the order of Romneie marsh works, neither could they possiblie haue accomplished this: for they were onelie good dikers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent herevnto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his pioners of Plumsted shewed themselues in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselues was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lords of the councell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuertheless, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a finall conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewaie at the least imploied in those businesses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Romneie, touching the proceeding in the plot of Douer hauen, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdaie after Easter weeke, master Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to meet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agreed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

Sir Thomas Scots deuise allowed by the lords of the councell.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next insuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordinglie, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lords of the councell to set downe a finall resolution; after long debating of matters, agreed that Romneie marshmen should vndertake the worke; and for the better and more spedie proceeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasuror, which was sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie fiftie pounds receiued and disbursed, six shillings eight pence, and for his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. John Smith the expenditor twentie pounds yearelie, his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. The common clearke twentie marks, and each sworne man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Hindge his deputie.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expenditor, and clearke, should take present order for the inlarging of the waies for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, beetels, nedels, keies, piles, bauin, and carriages for them, before Whitsuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by purueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to doo otherwise than they could well ouercome. Hauing now discouered the first & second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending, or rather erecting of a new hauen in that place, with declaration of hir maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the manner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a hauen could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to conteine abundance of water issuing

ing from the land, which being let out at a sluse, should ofte mainteine the hauens mouth; the violence whereof should scowre it so, as neither beach, sand, nor slub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the chanell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath beene before said. The discouerie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnnecessarie for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those works, whensoeuer they sprang: but I would gladlie giue to euerie one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow too long. I thought meet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good acount.

The mention of the pent.

The question was, whether were most conuenient a more readie and spædie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in anie harbourough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a dæper hauens mouth in an other place more conuenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a southwest wind, which distresseth men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbeare to repeate the arguments of ech side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I doo the works of the pent, the description whereof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doo either in hauens or great water breaches. For both Plumsted & Erith marshes, or anie like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recouered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, sith the better sort imploied their trauell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their labor at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingnes of mind, as the like hath not beene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed anie man vnacquainted with Romeneie marsh works, from whense the patterne hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Douer. These works were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the feeld. And truelie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed on this behalfe, for there were to be imploied fiue or six hundred courts about a wall of small breadth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the works an incredible hinderance.

Woolwich breach recouerable.

Euerie degree willing to set forward this worke.

Six hundred courts imploied at once in these works.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto perteining you haue alreadie heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these works were so great, and required such expedition, as the expenditor was ouercharged with busines, though an expert man trained vp in Romneie marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euerie waie sufficient: vnto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessaries, anie waie apperteining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe purueior) a gentleman of good sufficiencie named John Reies, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yeeld willinglie anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their iust values, which was duelie answered vnto them, so as no man was seene to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the works, or rather the workers grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures nære the towne being imploied that waie, manie men were content to make their owne prouision, conditionallie to be admitted into the works, insomuch as some hired pasture for their working horsses seuen or eight miles from Douer, and neuertheless came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinarie causes in preuenting inconueniences of great and fowle tides caused them to worke longer. Diuerse brought thither courts from besides Maidstone and Seuenocke, being thirtie or fortie miles from Douer; and in the end the officers were driuen to put backe and refuse such as made sute to bring courts into the works: and yet had they for their horsse, their court, and their driuer but onelie twelue pence a daie. Which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discouer and vnfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolued and satisfied in the certeintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

John Reies gentleman chiefe purueior.

A horsse, a court, and a driuer for twelue pence the daie.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done, must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market towns notified to haue had beginning the thirteenth of Maie (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haieng time little is to be done in husbandrie; and assoone as haruest should begin, their purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull vnto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double aduantage. Nevertheless, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisit to haue two courts: for one boie might driue them both, because whilest the one was driuen, the other was filled, & the same being vnloden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euerie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his driuer, his two horsses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to seuentæne shillings the wæke. He paied out of the same for the board of his filler and driuer six shillings wækelie, and so had the owner of clære wækelie gaine for his two seruants and two horsses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

John Smith the expenditor.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horsses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imploied about the cariage of sleech, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court contained in length fiue foot, in breadth two foot, and in depth sixtæne inches: whereunto the expenditor looked

The quantitie of one court or tumbrell.

looked verie narrowlie, as also to the sufficiencie and diligence of euerie workeman and horse, so as vpon euerie default their wages was totted and defalked, or the offendors excluded from the works, or some times punished with stocks and other imprisonment.

The first entrie into the works.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and three, in the fiue and twentith yeare of his maiesties reigne, with six courts onelie at the crosse wall; & such was the towardlines thereof, as yelded so great a brute & promise of good successe, that from that daie forward there were continuallie cariages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 27 of June, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workemen. And truelie, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, or be impediment to others worke) as without the paterne of former experience the worke could hardlie haue béene performed.

Romneie marshmen chéefe directors in the works.

Herein Richard Coast and William Norris iurats, and the aforenamed Reginald Smith clearke of Romneie marsh were chéefe directors, and as it were marshals, as hauing dailie experience in the like works. For in Romneie marsh there are euerie yeare commonlie imploied at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two oxen, for whome the owners hire féeding in the marsh, as they can agrée with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and driuer but ten pence the daie. And this togither with their manner of working would be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout England, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenesse and admiration of it. For here (though at Douer it could not be so, bicause they wrought altogither with horsbeasts) the nights féeding preuaileth so much ouer the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works leane and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in verie good plight.

A benefit to man & beast.

The stuffe or substance of the wals.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the erection of the walles at Douer, was earth, being of a haselie mould, chalke and fléech, wherevnto the carriages were seuerallie imploid, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalke, which mingled and beaten togither with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for fléech, which serued for the out sides onlie.

The disposing of the works.

For the same being beaten with béetles to the sides of the wall, would by and by cleaue so fast and close therevnto, as thereby the wals were strengthened; and therevpon also the arming might be set much more firmelie than vpon anie other mould. This also preserued the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

Henrie Guilford esquier, capteine of Arcliffe castell.

There was prouided néere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Guilford esquier, being one that tooke especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the prouision of earth for the walles: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tailors yards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recouer to be as good as euer it was. At an other place also called Horsepoole sole, lieng behind S. James his church, was more earth prouided, which was altogither imploied vpon the long wall, as being nærer therevnto. Hereof euerie court brought commonlie to the walles in one daie about twelue lodes. The chalke was had from diuerse places of the cliffes, somwhat nérer to the wals than the earth, and these brought about seauentéene or eightéene lode a daie. The fléech was for the most part had at the west part of the hauen in a place called Paradise. And to these seuerall sorts of stuffe were seuerall cariages appointed and disposed, as might most conuenientlie serue the turne, and as occasion serued; for sometimes more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imploied. Sometimes also the fléech was had close at the side of the wals, and therefore fewer cariages imploied that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & therby a pent to kéepe the water in or out of a péece of the hauen called Little paradise, which place conteineth about three acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the ouze & fléech was twentie foot déepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pinstocke, and afterwards a fluse of great charge, the streame whereof méeting with the course of the great fluse increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the hauens mouth.

The beginning of the great works at Douer.

On the thirtéenth daie of Maie, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, when the courts, which (by proclamations made one moneth before in diuerse market townes) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Howbeit, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both their owne and their neighbors cariages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and giue incouragement to the execution of these works. But Romneie marshmen, and such as knew those works, were they indéed which onlie gaue light to others of the true & right maner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those works, vntill the countrie did see which waie to saue themselues, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude alreadie assembled, that (to auoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working togither at the beginning, and to doo the better and greater seruice afterwards) the whole course was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whome it was thought most meet to enter into the execution of both walles (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) togither, & to diuide the courts into two parts: with whome the said Richard Barrie esquier lieutenant of Douer castell willinglie ioined, vndertaking the charge or ouersight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen & courts did with much more conueniencie and spéed accomplish their worke.

Reasons for the difficultie of the crosse wall.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth nérer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the ouze and fléech was déeper vnder the crosse wall than vnder the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made déeper or higher, and broder or wider than the long wall. Fiftlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approching sooner, by rising high-

er, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sirtlie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogither vpon this wall, and consequentlie the water would search thereinto more dangerouslie. Seuenthlie, in this wall there was a sluse to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue indangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie vndertaken, & of more importance. For vnder fiftæne thousand pounds none euer made offer to do it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a peece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall? Trulie, had not the other commissioners bæne comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with good comfort and confidence entred vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: insomuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long Kentish miles from Douer, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that daie vntill saturdaie in the euening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to do, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was vndertaken, and all other deuises reiected. He laie in one John Spittwels house, who kept an inne in Douer, called the Greihound, and there did he and his followers and seruants, togither with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a bære hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nære to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from fiue of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to sée them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were driuen to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, & oftimes in the waters vp to the waist or shoulders. And among the rest (to whome I could rather wish a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Bowle, borne and brought vp in Romneie marsh, whose dexteritie of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult works, and whose willing mind and painfulnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue bæne honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost dailie visit the works, with as great care for the good procéedings thereof as was possible.

This worke vndertaken and other reiected by sir Thomas Scots means.

Bowle a notable good workman.

Commissioners.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the councell, treasuror for the works (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and iust account, which amounted almost to fiue thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the works, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sickenesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and vsed great diligence, in continuall ouersight and furtherance of the works, whereof Thomas Digs esquier was generall surueior commended thervnto by the lords of the councell, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the works, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a carefull sollicitor in that behalfe. Certeine of the iurats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once dailie assigned to be directors and setters forth of the carriages, and to sée the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the daie, and did neuertheless verie diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watson, John Garret, William Willis, Thomas Brodgat, &c.

Two iurats called directors.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seuerall stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the driuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward: for the default of one did make staie of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the daie.

Eight guiders

There attended also at the wals eight men called vntingers, to loose and vndo the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloding or shelving thereof, and were allowed eight pence the daie.

Eight vntingers.

Then were there eight shelvers, which pulled downe the courts as soone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlode, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the daie.

Eight shelvers.

There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after they were vnloden, and to make fast their tackle; for the driuers hasted forth without making anie staie, otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the daie.

Eight tingers.

The number of the labourers which were to shouell abrode and laie euen the earth, chalke, and flæch, as soone as it was vnloden was vncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the daie. A great manie marshmen were assigned to laie the flæch vpon the sides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the daie.

Labourers.

The number of bætlemen also were vncerteine, who serued to beat or driue the flæch to the sides of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chalke laid on the wals; as also to leuell the earth, and to worke it close together, hauing for their wages eight pence the daie.

Scauelmen. Bætlemen.

Manie marshmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were flæched, & had twelue pence, and some sixtæne pence the daie.

Armors.

The order of arming was in this maner. First beginning at the foot of the wall, they laid downe a row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they driue a nædle or stake about foure foot long, hauing an eie or hole at the great end. Then do they edder it with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and lastlie driue a keie or wodden wedge (being one foot and a halfe long) through the eie of the nædle to kéepe downe the edder, which staith downe the fagot. Also there was an inferiour purueior for fagot, thorne, nædles, keies, &c: who for his horse & himselfe was allowed for euerie daie he trauelled two shillings. The clerke of the works, who kept all the reckonings of the expenditor (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at fiue a clocke in the morning, togither with the expenditor, called euerie one that wrought

The order of arming.

Inferior purueiors.

Clerke. Expenditor.

Treasuror.

that

that daie, and saw euerie court furnished, and recorded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wages was totted at the expenditors good discretion.

The groine keeper.

There was one Juline appointed to attend vpon Poins his groins, he was a Dutchman, and more expert in those kind of water workes than Poins himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Poins his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit) whilest these workes were in hand, and better husbandrie was vsed, he had but foure grotes a daie. And thus much touching the offices and officers duties.

The maner of the wall worke.

Euerie court was most commonlie filled ouer night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they all approched orderlie to the place where the wall should be made. The first driuer for good consideration was chosen to be a sufficient and a diligent person, and that court to haue a good gelding: for as he lead the danse, so must they all follow. When the first court came nigh to the place where he should vnlode, one vntinged it, and the driuer proceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water, or as neere thereunto as they could; and bringing his horse about in his returne, when the taile of the court was turned to the water side, the shelues plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanell as he could. The driuer neuer staied, but went forth for a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth vp the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth presentlie with speed to dow likewise to another; and so doth the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being about two hundred) were vnloden, the labourers with their shouels and beetels plied to make euen the wall against another course came.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two, and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and chalke, and no increase seene at night of the worke; either in higth or length; in so much as manie supposed, that the earth was rather washed awaie than sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was carried awaie with the flood in a rough tide; for all the water in the hauen was manie times discoloured therewith; especiallie, vntill sir Thomas Scot tooke order, that before euerie flood, not onelie each side of the wall, but the end also should be armed with fagot; & in the morning or after noone (when returne was made to the works) the end where they were to proceed, should be vnarmed againe: which needed not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the weight of the wall, with the continuall passage thervpon, made the whole worke to sinke to the verie rocke; being from the top of the chanell sixteene foot, and from the face of the water at the flood, almost as much more. But in the end, it was a wonder to see how the multitude of carriages (being well plied) preuailed, euen ouer the flood: which though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the verie brinke or vppermost lane of the wall, a new course of courts came from time to time and supplied the want; which if it should haue staied a minute longer, would haue turned to great losse: for they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

How the wall was saued from being wasted.

In this maner they proceeded, vntill there was made of the crosse wall about fiue and twentie rods, which they wrought alwaies (as they went) aboue the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer haue beene performed) and so they passed through the chanell or riuer, and caried the wall beyond the same three or foure rods, so as the backe water or chanell had no issue to passe downe into the sea; but as it rose aboue the flats, and ran awaie before the end of the wall; whense they continuallie drone it further and further by lengthening the same. Howbeit, by this meanes they wrought alwaies in the water, which was verie discommodious. This riuer therefore manie men would haue had turned some other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall could not haue beene made, the turning whereof would haue beene diuerse waies inconuenient, First, for the extreame charge; secondlie, the hauens mouth would (for want hereof) haue soone beene swarued vp; thirdlie, Poins his worke, which cost one thousand & two hundred pounds, should haue bin hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the hauen (all that time) and all passage vnto Douer had beene vtterlie taken awaie, to the great hinderance and vndoing of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who imploied his head and mind to seeke all aduantages for the setting forward of this worke, and had conceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same, caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small sluse to be laid in the verie place where the chanell did first run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue naturall passage to the riuer, and to mainteine the hauens mouth: but as a bridge also for the courts to passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall; which now by this meanes remained drie and free from water vntill the flood, to the great aduantage and commoditie of the worke.

The inconuenience which would haue followed the diuerting of the riuer another waie.

A sluse made for diuerse good purposes.

This sluse was composed with two arches, in length sixtie foot (besides the splaies) at each end, in breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred marks. In truth, the laieng of this sluse was a verie dangerous and difficult peece of worke, and the executioners thereof worthie of commendation, for with great courage to dow their countrie seruice they aduentured their liues in more perill than I can well expresse. Manie were astonied to behold the dangerous case of the workemen, and diuerse departed from the place as being loth to see the poore mens destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and the Romneie marshmen dealt with great dexteritie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it ouer, persisting in continuall and extreame trauell thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night without intermission.

A difficult and dangerous worke.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the sluse was laid by peecemeale, at the direction of him and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Norris, and John Bowle, whose hands were as busie also as anie others in the doing thereof. And as they were trauelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench thereunto, and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon, made a clift or crase therein, consisting of manie hundred lodes of earth, which declined towards the cut where they wrought to laie the sluse, and was redie to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to sustaine the side thereof with shores which they supported chéefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not done with great art & labour, by the space of diuerse hours together, the wall had fallen into the place where the sluse should haue beene laid, to the destruction of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of manie belonging to the works. But these marshmen neuer gaue ouer, till euerie sticke thereof was laid, at what time ech man reioised that meant well to the works, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the workemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fauour shewed in that behalfe.

This worke being thus performed, the courts (which during that time were altogither set to worke at maister lieutenants wall) did now diuide themselues againe, and returne to worke as before at sir Thomas Scots wall, and at euerie side wrought with

Gods blessing and fauour shewed to the works of Douer.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God so fauored those works, as there were not lost in all that summer by meanes of foule wether aboue three daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or labourers were put from their worke, and in all those businesse not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie action belonging thereunto there was imminent danger, as first you heard in the laieng of the sluse. And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in the cliffe and vndermined it, so as sometimes an hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet through Gods goodnes, & their diligent care, all escaped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom great chalke rocks and much abundance of earth did fall, and yet were recouered without losse of life or of lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I my selfe haue seene a court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedition) were driuen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horsses with their courts and driuers which rode in them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselues naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and eares: but they knew their horsses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne verie much subiect thereunto, by means of throughfare and common passage, and had beene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men; yea of some of the inhabitants themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection either of townsmen or workmen, which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

Dangers happilie escaped.

Boits plaie.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordinarie businesse forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: and whersoeuer anie court was at that instant either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, and the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iest: yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

* Or fiue.

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, t'is eleuen * a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is sore, I can worke no more.

The flag of libertie.

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of officers, nor prouided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deuisers and vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort: sauing that vpon the seuen & twentith of Julie, being S. Iames his daie, the verie daie when the crosse wall and the long wall met, and were ioined together, and in effect finished (for both wals were brought aboue the high water marke, and nothing remained to be done of the same but highthening, which might be done at anie time after) sir Thomas Scot the principall piler of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was conueied thense in a wagon to his house, where he remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue, whose ladie and wife (being a most vertuous and noble matrone, & a liuelie paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of sir John Baker knight, and the mother of seuentéene children) vsed such diligent attendance and continuall care for hir husbands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir vntimelie trauell, being deliuered of a sonne and a daughter, she ended hir mortall life.

A commendation of them which wrought or had anie charge about Douer works.

Sir Thomas Scot fell sicke in Douer works.

The death of the ladie Scot.

This sickenesse of sir Thomas Scot, and that which fell out thereupon, was no small discomfiture to him and all his. And the workmen at Douer made such mone for his sickenesse, and also for his absence, that euerie street was replenished with sorow and greefe; and the people would be comforted with nothing more, nor anie waie be better incouraged to worke lustilie, than to be told that sir Thomas Scot was well recouered, and would shortlie be amongst them againe. And in truth, they translated their barbarous musicke into a sorowfull song, and in steed of calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to God for the good health and returne of their best freend sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall and continuall outcrie, euen in their old accustomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in highthening the wals, vntill they were raised about two foot higher than they were on S. Iames his daie, when the wals met togither; so as the crosse wall is ninetie foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot in the top. The long wall is seuentie foot in the bottome, and almost fortie foot in the top, in so much as vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or turne without troubling each other. The length of the crosse

The bredth, depth, length, and charge of the long and crosse wall, with the arming, &c.

crosse wall is fortie rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentie rods. The charge of these two wals, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expenditors books. If there were anie issue or draining of water vnder the wals, it was soone stopped by the perse of the wall it selfe, which neuer left sinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by some ouersight of the workemen) some part thereof were set vpon the beach, which should by order haue bene first removed, & in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the foot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might anie such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water vnder or through anie part of the wall that anie man maie perceiue or see: so as a full pent shrinketh not anie whit at all betwixt tide and tide; whereas the allowance of one foot leakage or fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the wooden wall, which being measured from the top or face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought vnpossible to be done in three yeares, was perfectlie finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine vnder the wall

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

The state of the wals.

If neuer anie thing should be added hereunto, this pent (by reason of the abundance of water reteined therein, and issuing out of the fluse would mainteine a good hauen in that place; for the violent course therof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, euen downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same threescore rods; in somuch as at this instant there maie come in at quarter floud a barke of fortie or fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of three hundred tun and vpwards. But when the two iuttie heads are once finished (which are now in hand) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, anie ship whatsoeuer maie enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie. But as at manie other times heretofore there hath bene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, one gate of the fluse being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water reteined within the pent, to scowre the mouth of the hauen, the same was so choked and swarued vp with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, or passe out of the same: insomuch as Edward Wotton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thense in an ambassage from hir maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a craier, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But assoone as the said gate of the fluse was repared, euen the next tide following, a vessell of three hundred tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereat, one pent of water had so scowred and depthened the same. Whereby it maie appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath bene vnprofitablie imploied, or vnnecessarilie vndertaken.

A sure triall latelie made of the good effect of the pent.

A gate of the fluse broken.

Edward Wotton esquire ambassador into France.

The effect of the pent.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the small fluse which was first made and laied in the crosse wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath bene declared, was taken vp after the said walles were finished, and a fluse of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Pet, who vndertooke to dow it by great, and had for the same foure hundred pounds, the laieng whereof did cost two hundred pounds more at the least. This fluse conteineth in length fourescore foot, in bredth sixteene foot, in depth thirteene, and hath in it two draw gates. It was one whole moneth in laieng, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and costlie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at starts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, vntill the full accomplishing thereof.

Of the fluse.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham hir maiesties principall secretarie was not vncarefull of this action, as being the man without whome nothing was done, directing the course, and alwaie looking into the state thereof, and gaue continuall life thervnto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when anie want approched, he neuer failed to ræ or rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these wals and fluses, there hath bene much worke and charge imploied about one of the iuttie heads, and beautifieng of the harborough, wherin one George Carie of Deuonshire esquire, and one John Hill an auditor, haue bene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet vnperformed, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall freend to these works.

Of the late works.

¶ At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourtæenth daie of March, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, and sargeant Flowedaie one of the barons of the excheker, iustices of the assises in the countie of Deuon and Exon, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sickenesse; first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Exon, & then dispersed (vpon their triall) amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much vnlike to the sickenesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford, before sir Robert Bell knight, lord chiefe baron of the excheker, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sickenesse he amongst others died. This sickenesse was verie sharpe for the time, & few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent, as commonlie the pestilence is; neither doth there appeare anie outward vlcer or sore.

The note of Iohn Hooker alias Vowell concerning the sudden and strange sickenesse of late happening in Excester.

The originall cause of this infection whereto imputed.

The originall and cause thereof diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and filthie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in a short time for the most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sickenesse, and manie die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine porte Portingals, then prisoners in the said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquier (afterwards dubbed knight) had bene at the seas, and meeting with certeine Portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he tooke them as a good prise, and brought them into Dartmouth hauen in England; and from thense they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, vnto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon.

Barnard Drake esquier.

The mischiefe of nastie apparell.

These men had bene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparell, nor laine in bed, and now lieng vpon the ground without succor or relefe, were some infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sickenesse verie soone after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease manie of them

them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their triall, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betweene men leading them; and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sickenesse diseased, moued manie a mans hart to behold and looke vpon them; but none pitied them more than the lords iustices themselues, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion tooke a better order for keeping all prisoners thenceforth in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be posted anie more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had beene staied, and paused a while in the open aire, and somewhat refreshed therwith, they were brought into the house, in the one end of the hall neere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accustomable place where they do stand to their trials and arreignments.

The assise at Excester appointed to be quarterlie kept.

And howsoeuer the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nearest to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceiued, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seized, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sickenesse; wherein more died that were infected than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees which died thereof: as by name sargeant Flowerdaie who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir Iohn Chichester, sir Arthur Basset, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Haccombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, Iohn Fortescue of Wood, Iohn Waldron of Bradfield, and Thomas Kisdone esquires, and iustices of the peace.

This sickenesse was contagious & mortall.

Principall men that died of that infection.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie: but none more lamented than these two knights, sir Iohn Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset; who albeit they were but yong in yeares, yet ancient in wisedome; vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had beene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie seene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectuall in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole common wealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reeues, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleuen.

Sir Iohn Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset bemoned and commended.

Eleuen of the iurie with other officers die of this sickenesse.

This sicknesse was dispersed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing hereof in the fiue of October, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogither extinguished. It resteth for the most part about fouretéene daies and vpwards by a secret infection, before it breake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismaid, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendement of life. So long as the plague was hot and feruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulnesse of the other; euen as it is with a companie of shrewd children, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, conformitie, and obedience.

Affliction draweth men to God, &c.

¶ In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of seruice in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his saiengs and doings, where promise did passe (by means of discoursing his death) that the reader was to looke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties gratious gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the nearenesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

An introduction to the historicall remembrance of the Sidneis, the father and the sonne, &c.

This right famous, renowmed, worthie, vertuous and heroicall knight, by father and mother verie noblie descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in nearenesse to his person vsed familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this yong prince was inuested in the kingdome and imperiall crowne, he aduanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priuie chamber. For he was then reputed for comelinesse of person, gallantnesse & liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, & good composition of bodie, the onelie od man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this good and most godlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would sildome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breth that he departed this life in his armes at Grænwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceiued of this honorable gentleman in his yonger yeares, as he was speciallie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisedome, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea sometime twise in one yere.

The note of Edmund Molineux touching sir Henrie Sidneis life and death.

His education in his youth.

His employment in ambassage.

He was foure seuerall times lord iustice of Ireland, and three times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which seuerall time, he by his wisedome and good gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actuall rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sowen and the fire kindled (though smothlie and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane Oneill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archrebels head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two graceless hopelesse sonnes Shane and Vlike Bourke.

Foure times lord iustice, three lord deputie of Ireland.

He suppressed by force and policie three actuall rebellions.

He reuiued and put in execution the lawes for the abolishing of coine and liuerie.

Immediatlie after his first arriuall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liuerie (the ancient festering sore and cræping canker of that countrie and commonwealth) to be reuiued and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a spædie relæfe to the poore oppressed people of that realme. He deuised that the remoter prouinces should be gouerned by præsidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whense he tooke his patterne, being himselfe at that time præsident, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and ciuilitie, than planting of præsidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end vniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poore might be deliuered from the wonted exactions and tyrannies of the lords and great ones (by whom they were dailie spoiled and oppressed) and tast the swæt benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discræt gouernement.

He deuised the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces.

He deuised the lawes for the distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground.

He both first deuised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground, whereby insued the currencie of hir maiesties writ, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernment aduanced and increased the reuenues of the crowne by waie of custome, impost vpon wines, compositions with the Irishrie for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds yearelie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enuie, spite, and malice of that vnhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselues all that they could, by purse or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices & desseins: an example of rare note to be duelie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in short time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repared the castell of Dubline, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stored onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a conuenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which vse it now serueth and is imploied.

He increased the reuennes ten thousand pounds yerlie.

His buildings fortifications, and other necessarie works for the benefit and good of the countrie.

He builded the bridge of Athelon ouer the riuer of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and fræ stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, togither with that spaciousnesse and breedth, as two carts may (in maner) meet afront. By building of which bridge ouer so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made fræ out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strenablenesse of the water) was not passable, which dawnted and appalled the rebells and traitors more, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then do. He likewise began the walling and fortifieng of the towne of Carickfergus in Vlster, reedifieng of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the bridge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Molingar, and walled the same about with stone, to imprison rebels, thæues, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and aduancement of seruice, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserueth so great a good and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

He built conuenient rooms for the kæping and preseruation of the records which before were neglected.

He found hir maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whither anie man (that vouchsafed his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in stæd of better litter to rub horsse hæles, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dubline, well trimmed and boorded with a chimneie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonablenesse of the weather, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & conuenient places and seuerall diuisions to laie them apart, according to their seuerall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incorragement was assigned a conuenient fee for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which laie hid and not knowen to manie (though not destroied but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discerne to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knowen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thensforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinances of his owne countrie where he was borne, which euerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, affinitie, corruption, parcialitie, as otherwise; he deuised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent ouer to supplie the chæfe places of iustice. And for the better increase of hir maiesties reuenue and profit, he praied the like to serue in the rooms of hir highnesse attorneie generall and sollicitor.

He caused the statutes of Ireland to be imprinted which neuer before were published.

He procured some Englishmen to be sent ouer, for the better administration of iustice.

No man had a greater desire to aduance the publike euerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatlie magnified & esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorable, of perpetuitie, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Whersoeuer he was bestowed to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comlinesse of person, as he gained the harts of manie, and such vniuersall liking and loouing of all sorts of people toward him, as they were euer desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked to haue him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all busines of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facilitie of spæch, flowing eloquence, swæt deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgat anie thing he either read or heard) as he was speci-

A great furtherer of all publike works. The great loue he got him in all places where he serued.

His carefulnesse in the seruice of the state.

allie

allie noted a most rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample instructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceiued and put downe in writing, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he reteined and remembred but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter inough to the purpose to write of.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull conceipted spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then bred some such) to whome he had giuen instructions to write, who afterwards brought him the same to signe, not couched in sort as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie, and discreet modestie was such, as he would neuer shew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or publikelie disgrace the writer, but bid him not be discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like instructions againe he gaue him before, but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At ech seuerall time he was sent deputie into Ireland, he was by occasion, and as time fell out, furnished with a new secretarie. The first was master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of hir maiesties councell in Ireland. The second master Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a clearke to hir maiesties councell on hir highnesse person attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie, who were in that case well able to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding was much inferiour to the other two that were before him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recompense so far behind them, as this noble gentleman (who trulie honored vertue) master to them all three, would manie times in sort lament, and deepelie bemone to his good friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not doo him good, which manie times & by sundrie means he had earnestlie attempted to doo; affirming often in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him as others, that it greeued him not a little, his fortune was so bad, to come to him now in the declination and wane of the moone: for he was the sole onelie man he had imploied about him in that neereneste and credit of seruice, wherein he had vsed him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he vsed) howbeit, he well hoped time or some good man (in respect his seruice was publike and not priuat) would repaire that then he could not doo. For he deemed the man right worthie regard and consideration, that had serued him so long (and that in his great and roiall seruices, in so painefull and toilesome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other interteinment growing to him in perpetuitie or other wais; which was either burthenous to his purse, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemans benefit, increase of credit, or further aduancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

Verie expert and able he was of a bad clerke in time to frame a good secretarie.

Of great facilitie in dispatch of common causes.

He had both a speciall care & likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing maruellous desire to be heard & dispatched by him. Therefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as more completlie to performe the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as neere as he could) he applied himselfe greatlie thereunto, and would spare no paines, but indure maruellous toile and trauell to rid and dispatch awaie sutors: which he could doo with such dexteritie and wonderfull facilitie, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a hell to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of recreation and pastime. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as laie in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie desire to doo for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so carefullie, earnestlie, and painfullie he would trauell to aduance their particular sutes, were it sometimes to speake to hir maiestie hir selfe, or to the bodie of hir graue and honorable councell, or to anie priuat councellor apart, as though he had purposelie followed his owne most weightie causes.

A great desire to doo for all men.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and louing father to his children (for none could loue and esteeme his children more than he did) and noting in them great minds and hautie courages, which drew them by degrees to excesse in expense, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie aduise them thus; that if they meant to liue in order, they should euer behold whose sonnes, & seldome thinke whose nephues they were: so he was an affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honourable master to his seruants. For he would often saie, it was an easie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once lost him. And when anie of his noble and most louing friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old seruants (for few that came to him euer went from him, but such as were first aduanced by him to better preferment) he would answer pleasantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of those thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was maruellous affable and courteous of nature, of easie accesse, and pleasantlie familiar with anie that had occasion to repaire vnto him, & strict and precise in the obseruation of good order: For he would seldome breake it in anie respect, but vpon euident, knowne, and most iust cause, or when he was ouerruled (as sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne power to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courses he alwaies vtterlie misliked, especiallie when order was peruerted, or iustice hindered, whereby the common societie of mans life is onelie preserued and mainteined; which two things speciallie purchased him such vniuersall goodwill euerie where (and namelie amongst the officers of hir maiesties most honorable household, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often wished he might haue borne honored with a white staffe, to haue borne office with authoritie amongst them.

A tender father to his children and a louing master to his seruants.

Solitario homini atque in agro vitam agenti opinio iustitiæ necessaria est.

He was intirelie beloued of the officers of hir maiesties household.

His nature was so tempered with modestie, pietie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or choler, how greeuous so euer the offense was which was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he professed friendship, and no reuengefull fo when he was offended; & hardlie would he be remooued in friendship from his friend or follower, but vpon most iust, certeine, and knowne cause, which he could not smulther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue manie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the selfe same daie sir William Cecill (then principall secretarie, now lord treasuror of England) was, by meanes whereof and that sir William Cecill was (yea euen in those daies) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundrie and singular gifts of nature, learning, wisedome, and integritie: and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie, sir John Cheeke, then schoolemaster to the king (a choise deare friend to them both) that there began such an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and intire friendship betwixt them, as continued alwais sted-

He was dubbed knight the same daie sir William Cecill was.

stedfast, firme, and vnuariable after till his dieng daie. *Nihil autem est amabilius, nec copulantius, quàm morum similitudo bonorum. In quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eademque voluntates, in hijs fit vt aquè quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso.* So that manie times in his life time he would acknowledge & confesse how greatlie he and his were bound in good will, and tied in dutie and friendship, to this right worthie and noble personage, *Verus pater patriæ:* to whome manie ages nor worlds can scarse once affoord a fellow or peere. For speciall fauours, louing courtesies, and amiable benefits & good turns they had receiued by his meanes, and at his owne hands sundrie waies.

Fortunat in warre, and no lesse happie in peace.

He was of that euen temperature, commixtion, and perfection, as it was hard to iudge, whether to attribute more commendation and praise to his gouernement in the time of peace, or to his good hap and policie in warre, he was in both so fortunat. In his iourneis he would comfort his souldiors with these words; My good friends and most louing companions: and where soeuer he came, his chiefe and principall care was to foresee their wants, and to prouide for their necessities. And when it so fell out (as sometimes it did) that he had not wherewithall to supplie the same, he would bestow vpon them so good countenance and honorable kind speaches, as the same would haue contented and satisfied them much better, than some other gouernor could haue done with halfe a supplie of that he would: so great a conqueror he was of hearts, and of the goodwils of all men, that serued with and vnder him. He was alwaies most vpright in iustice, yet of himselfe naturallie inclined to mercie (where he hoped it would worke amendement.)

Passing well beloued of his souldiors.

He was vpright in iustice, yet withall inclined to mercie.

He greatlie honored all men of science and skill, in what good art soeuer, and was most apt and readie to pleasure them: for he would manie times saie, Science was to be honored wheresoeuer it was to be found: *Nam nemo nascitur artifex.* He was so zealous in all vertue and godlinesse, as he neuer omitted in court nor campe, at home or abrode, publike morning and euening praier; which he did attend deuoutlie vpon his knees, besides his other priuat praiers & meditations euerie daie he did arise, and go to bed, which he seldome failed. He would neuer in publike assemblies, consultations, field, or feast, omit anie thing that apperteined to his office or honor: & alwaies delighted to kéepe an orderlie liberall and honorable house (greatlie to the releefe & comfort of the poore) according to the reputation & degrée of his place and calling. He had steward, treasuror, controllor, auditor, clearke controllor, clearke of his kitchen, and maister cooke, besides other ordinarie clearks and inferior officers and ministers of houshold, who could in their degrées well and skilfullie execute their seuerall rooms and places; and knew in honor, state, and ceremonie in assemblies, solemnities, and feasts, how to serue him as he should be. His knowledge in Ireland was far greater than anie one mans of our time hath béene, aswell touching the naturall conditions, guise and maners of the people generallie, as each particular prouince seuerallie: and for the perfect and sound gouernement of the whole vniuersallie, no one man could saie more. Others that haue succéeded him, haue built vpon his foundations, and framed their plots of gouernement after his deuises: but the originall came from him, it must be confessed by them all, if they vouchsafe him but onelie that apperteineth vnto him by iust desert, and most méere right.

He reuerenced all men of science.

He omitted not morning and euening praier.

Liberall and honorable in hospitalitie.

His skill far exceeded other mens in knowledge and secrets of Ireland.

And here due place is offered (although happilie to some it maie séeme a digression) to speake somewhat of the planting of presidents; because the same hath béene vnder hand obscurelie and cunninglie carried, and according to mens fansies and imaginations diuerslie reported; and some of his shadows haue séemed to cloth themselues with his vertues, and attribute his onelie seruices aswell in that, as in some other things, to their owne priuat and peculiar praises. To repeat the matter from the beginning, after this noble knight & right worthie gouernor, had found how necessarie a thing it was, the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces of Ireland; he certified his opinion ouer: which was well conceiued, liked, and digested; both of hir highnesse, and also of hir graue and right honorable councell. So that not long after, certeine speciall men were thought of to be chosen, and spédilie sent thither, as in déed there were; and sir John Perot appointed president of Mounster, and sir Edward Fitton for Connagh. The first by reason of his sickenesse, fæblenesse, and that some parts and lims of his bodie were suddenlie become benummed, neuer possessed the place he was assigned vnto; but sir John Perot was forthwith sent, and presentlie succéeded in the rome he should haue had. At whose seuerall arriuals (for the one came somewhat after the other) ech was immediatlie dispatched to his seuerall charge, with ample authoritie, commission, and instructions deriued from the deputie for their seating and placing in those two offices. And after he had in this sort stalled them both, he made his present repare into England, before whose returne againe, these two presidents were (as it séemed) for vrgent cause, and by speciall fauour, licenced to come ouer againe. So that their romes in their absence were supplied (in a sort) by interchange of commissioners; whereby not long after insued great hurt, wast, spoile, and disorder in either of those two prouinces.

He placed sir John Perot and sir Edmard Fitton presidents.

Sir Edward Fitton was afterwards made treasuror at the warres, and in that rome paied the due debt to nature; and sir John Perot returned no more to his former office. By meanes whereof, a supplie of others was thought of, and sir William Drurie was appointed president for Mounster; and capteine Nicholas Malbie, a gentleman hir maiesties seruant, was assigned for the seruice in Connagh. Howbeit, the name of lord president being thought a little too high and great for this gentleman, in respect of the meanesse of his liuing and hauiour; he bare the name onelie of colonell, and chiefe commissioner of Connagh; hauing neuertheless equall authoritie as sir Edward Fitton, late lord president there had in the said prouince. These two discréet, worthie, and expert marshall men, were placed by like authoritie, instructions, and commission, as their predecessors had béene; the lord deputie in person accompanieng them to their seuerall charges, and so left them setled. And maister Malbie, for the better credit and countenance of the place he was to enter then into, was dubbed knight in the church of Athelon, and with that addition and increase of title was left in his charge, who after did acceptable and commendable worthie seruice.

He placed sir William Drurie president of Mounster, and sir Nicholas Malbie colonell of Connagh.

But now to returne to the place where I left: as for the view and knowledge of the soile, hauens, ports, promontories, necks of lands, and créeks, or whatsoeuer secret or mysterie else was to be vnderstood; take it from the north to the south, from the east to the west: no one man (yea although he were of that countrie birth) had séene more, or obserued so much as he had done. His manie, long, and painefull iourneis compared and laid togither (if they maie be well sorted, and truelie and sincerlie reported) testifie no lesse than I haue said. For better manifestation

He had séene and knowne more of Ireland than anie one, yea of that countrie birth.

station whereof, his circular discourses (as he named them) put downe, and written with his owne hand, which are extant and to be seene, will make the matter more than euident and apparent.

The loue and affection the Irishrie bare him, drew manie of them to ciuilitie.

He often inuited the gentlemen of the better reformed Irishrie, newlie reclamed to ciuilitie, to comelinesse in habit, and clenlinesse in diet, house, and lodging; which partlie in respect of the great loue & affection they bare him, and partlie of frendlie feare to offend him, manie afterwards obserued and followed. This one thing, amongst manie others, was noted verie rare in him; that being a big, well liking, and complet full bodie; he could content nature, and satisfie himselfe with so little sleepe as he did. For he seldome kept his bed aboue six houres (if he were in health) neither after he arose would he take in the daie time anie kind of repose. And when he had occasion to trauell, were it in post for speciall seruice, or other ordinarie iourneie; he would manie times laie vp, and throughlie wearie most of his traine and companie: for he had that abilitie and strong constitution of bodie, that none could lightlie indure the continuall laborsome toile and trauell at all times and seasons as he could; nor that hardnesse of diet for the time as he himselfe would doo. Nothing euer offended him more than vnkindnesse and ingratitude; speciallie where he hoped (and the world thought) he had deserued otherwise (whereof sometimes in the course of his life he had his part) and when he was vexed and oppressed with that extreame, vnnaturall, and most cruell corrosiue fit, his reuenge was commonlie vpon himselfe, it went no further; which he could not so cunninglie hide, but manie times amongst his friends he would outwardlie bewraie it, by some shew and outward action: so that the greefe and passion of his inward tormented mind would manifestlie appeare, which was to him (as it seemed) for the time some ease and contentment.

Summa & perfecta gloria constat ex tribus hijs: si diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cum admiratione quadam honore nos dignos putat.

Little giuen to repose and ease in the night.

He would in his iourneis wearie and laie vp most of his companie.

Nothing offended him more than ingratitude.

When he had occasion offered to deale in matters great or small; his sinceritie, plaine, and naked dealing was euer such, as he would commonlie knit vp his speeches with this phrase; My word is my worke, & so they should find it. He had that passing readinesse of speech, and delectable sweet oratorie deliuerie (when he was yoong) as now and then (as occasion fell out) that he was forced to speake at length in solemne sittings or publike assemblies (as sometimes he was) that he would readilie make and coine words out of his owne forge, and could in such good sort, so apt, fashion, fit, and grace them; as albeit they were neuer either heard, vsed, or receiued before: yet his mouth seemed a sufficient warrant to others for their naturalization, admission, and common vse afterwards. He was naturallie pleasant, and verie merilie conceipted; yet withall graue, wise, discreet, expert, readie in matters of councell, both inuentiue and iudicious, a good antiquarie, skilfull in storie, pedegree, and armes, languaged (for he profited greatlie both by trauell and conference) and not meanelie learned. Which noble vertues and excellent qualities he manie times did and could well shew, as time, place, and occasion required, with an heroicall presence and maiestie. He was so stored with such sound grounds and principles for ciuill policie and gouernment, as it would greatlie haue delighted, yea the best and ripest wits to haue heard him discourse at length in those matters: and he was a speciall rare man, that learned not at euerie time somewhat from him he had not heard before worth his comming. So friendlie, courteous, and sociable he was with all his assistants, collegues, and companions; as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored him.

In his dealings his word was his worke.

He would now and then coine words.

Sociable with his assistants.

In Ireland he made speciall choise of two worthie councellors, whom for their faithfulnes in councell for the state, good will and frendship towards him, and for their integritie & sinceritie euerie waie, he intirelie loued and assuredlie trusted. One was sir Lucas Dillon who yet liueth, the other maister Francis Agard who is now departed: both these so agreed and concurred in opinion with him, and applied their wits and indeuors so dutifullie, and with so great zeale and affection to the aduancement of seruice, and the good and quiet of the countrie, as ech in emulation frendlie contended with other who should doo the best seruice. To the one he would saie, *Lucas mihi solus relictus est*: the other he commonlie called *Fidus Achates*. Much more might be said (though a great deale too little) of this complet, honorable, and right worthie gentleman, who priuat and publike carried himselfe alwaies so iustlie, vprightlie, and æuenlie, as (for the most part) noble fame went afore him, and loue followed and accompanied him as a shadow wheresoeuer he went. He had an intention, which proceeded by degrees to motion in parlement, to haue erected some publike schooles and nurseries of learning, which by degrees and in time might haue growen to an vniuersitie, for the better reformation of the barbarisme of that countrie, and offered a large yeerelie portion of his owne to the furtherance of so good a purpose. But I know not how, *Nondum venit hora*, it tooke no place in deed, though in the beginning great apparance & shew in words was made to haue verie manie venerable fautors, and more worthie and rich furtherers.

He made speciall choise of sir Lucas Dillon, and Francis Agard.

Much more might be said of this honorable gentleman.

His intention to haue erected certeine nurseries of learning.

In one thing his fortune was most hard, & he more than twise vnhappie, that his seruice (for the most part) was subiect to the eare, and not obiect to the eie, by meanes whereof his noble vertues and deserts were manie times suppressed, and seldome or neuer seene, but his faults often told and willinglie heard; and so consequentlie his seruice obedient to great misreport, slander, & calumniation. As it fell out among other matters for his last seruice in Ireland, that manie gaue out how he had taken that realme to farme, in respect of the composition he made with the quæne: so that whatsoeuer paine and trauell he tooke, either for the aduancement of the reuenue of the crowne, or maintenance and defense of the prerogatiue roiall, it was giuen out and spread abrode, that what he did was for himselfe and for his owne gaine and benefit: where in truth in that seruice he spent his yeares, sold his lands, & consumed much of his patrimonie to the hinderance of his posteritie, without anie great recompense or reward (though others perhaps that were both before him, and since haue succeeded him, haue gained by the place and countenance of that seruice.) He held both the chiefe offices of Ireland and Wales together at one time, and was likewise companion of the most honorable order of the garter (such was his speciall fauor and grace with hir maiestie) which no one priuat subiect hath held at once, and inioied so great titles and dignities together, at the least that I haue heard or read of; were he not a kings sonne, vncle, or nephue: so that his fortune in shew and apparance was great, though in respect of gaine & benefit to himselfe, nothing equiualent with his vertues. Which ample authoritie & large scope of dominion & gouernement procured him (and not his owne deserts) manie enuious, heauie, and potent enimies. Howbeit, his innocencie was euer his buckler and shield of defense against them: so that their complaints (though for a time they might and did a little hinder him) yet seldome or neuer they preuailed against him. And when he had passed ouer such cloudie mists and ouerthwart storms, he would pleasantlie saie vnto his

His seruice was subiect to the eare, and not to the eie, whereby his vertues manie times were suppressed.

He was deputie of Ireland and president of wales both at one time.

frends;

friends; *Salutem ab ijs qui oderunt nos*: for the more they contended to suppresse him, the more (like the camomill being foiled and trodden) his vertues rose vp and appeared, and their malice was both vnfolded and controlled.

He died at the bishops palace at Worcester.

This noble knight, graue councellor, complet gentleman, and most worthie and rare subiect, departed this life at the bishops palace at Worcester, the fift daie of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six (being 57 yeares old complet, wanting onelie one moneth and fifténe daies) about foure of the clocke in the morning, after he had continued seuen daies sicke of a kind of cold palseie, as the physicians decréd of the disease, which happened vnto him (as it was of manie said, and of mo thought) by reason of an extreme cold he tooke vpon the water in his passage and remoue by barge betwéene Bewdlie and Worcester, not long after he had béene purged, and his bodie not fullie setled, but his pores remaining still open (as it is most like) by reason of an extraordinarie lowsenesse which consequentlie followed the taking of his physike which could not be stopped; hauing then béene lord president of hir maiesties councell established in the dominion and principalitie of Wales six and twentie yeares complet, without anie change or alteration, or absolute transferring the rome or authoritie to anie other in the meane time.

His death greatlie bemoned.

For whose death there was great mone and lamentation (especiallie by those vnder his gouernement) as hauing lost that speciall noble man, whome for courtesie they loued, for iustice amongest them they highlie honored, and for manie other his rare gifts and singular vertues they in his life time greatlie estéemed, and at his death maruellouslie bémoned, lifting vp both hands and hearts to almightie God, and heartilie wishing, and humblie praieng a like might succéd in the place as he had béene.

And like as he liued and continued euer in much fame, great countenance, credit and honor; so his buriall was prepared & performed accordinglie. For his bodie by easie iorneies and short remoues was conueied from Worcester vnto his house at Penshurst in Kent, verie honorablie and well attended with great traine, ceremonie, and all other things apperteining to funerall order, honor, and solemnitie: where he was honorablie interred the one and twentith daie of June following. He was before imbowelled, and his intrals buried in the deans chapell in the cathedrall church at Worcester; his heart brought to Ludlow, and buried in the towne with his déere beloued daughter Ambrosia, in the little oratorie he made in the semicollegiat parish church there, wherein he erected this monument. To this towne of Ludlow especiallie, and so in like maner to Tikenhill house he carried euer good liking and affection, as might appeare by his often resort & abode at those two places in the time of his residencie, as by some other tokens & worthie remembrances he left in perpetuitie to remaine vnto them that should come after, as certeine demonstrations and signes of his former good will.

His corps was buried at Penshurst.

His affection to Ludlow & Tikenhill.

His good will to the church of Hereford.

Neither must I here forget (except I should herein forget my selfe) to speake of the church of Hereford, whome (when by occasion of iustice he was resident there with them) as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored, so he in like sort accepting and acknowledging their kindnesse and good will (such was euer the setled vertue and passing bountie of his good nature) that he presented them, and left to continue and remaine to posteritie amongst them, a speciall note of remembrance. By meanes of which honorable and friendlie gift and courteous token so louinglie bestowed, and left to that societie & companie (as the last pledge of his former affection & good will borne towards them) he hath béene since manie times honorablie remembred, and (no doubt) is and still hereafter maie and will be both estéemed, loued, honored, & held (as he alwaies deserued) in fresh and fresher memorie amongest them. With this report concerning sir Henrie Sidneie (a noble man neuer sufficientlie commended) accordeth that of C. O. set downe in his *Eirenarchia*, where amongst diuerse honorable personages, I find this note of coherence:

Henricus Sidneus.

Quid cunctos memorem, superest tamen vnus, & ille
Vndique non minima memorandus laude, parentum
Stemmate ab antiquo, sed & illis clarior ipse
Henricus Sidneus, eques gemino ordine splendens,
Quèm ter legatum dominæ vice sceptra tenentem,
Iúsque ministrantem iam vidit Hibernica tellus,
Nec vidit modò, sed sensit, verita est, & amauit,
Vt nemo vnquam alius (vulgo notissima res est)
Intrârit maiori illas cum gentis amore,
Rexerit obsequio, luctúue reliquerit oras.
Sola nec illius testatur Hibernia laudes,
Verùm etiam Albionis pars altera Cambria, cursu
Interlabentis rapido diuisa Sabrinæ,
Præfecti illius præconia grandia narrat.
Cuius præsidio iam multos tuta per annos
Floruit, vt dubium sit, eo fœlicior almo
Præside lætetúrue, an iudice gaudeat æquo.
Iampridem diues legatum Gallia vidit
(Elisabetha) tuum, præstanti corpore pulchrum, &c.

The time of my ladie Sidneis death.

The ninth daie of August next following died the most noble, worthie, beneficent, and bounteous ladie, the ladie Marie Sidneie, his onelie spouse and most déere wife, who was eldest daughter vnto that renowmed duke John late of Northumberland, and sister to the right honorable and most worthie the earles of Warwike and Leicester, most zealouslie, godlie, & penitentlie, as by the testimonie of some honorable & other graue personages is well auouched, and was intoomed at Penshurst, in the same toome with hir déere and honorable husband. During the whole course of hir sicknesse, and speciallie a little before it pleased almightie God to call hir hense to his mercie, she vsed such godlie spéeches, earnest and effectuall persuasions to all those about hir, and vnto such others as came of frendlie courtesie to visit hir, to exhort them to repentance and amendement of life, and dehort them from all sin and lewdnesse, as wounded the consciences, and inwardlie pearsed the hearts of manie that heard hir. And though before they knew hir to excéd most of hir sex in singularitie of vertue and qualitie; as good spéech, apt and readie conceipt, excellencie of wit, and notable eloquent deliuerie (for none could match hir, and few or none come nére hir, either in the good conceipt and frame of orderlie writing, indicting, and spédie dispatching, or facilitie of gallant, swéet, delectable, and courtlie speaking; at least that in this time I my selfe haue knowen, heard, or read of) yet in this hir last action and ending of hir life (as it were one speciallie at that instant called of God) she so farre surpassed hir selfe, in discréet, wise, effectuall, sound, and grounded reasons, all tending to zeale and pietie, as the same almost amazed & astonished the hearers to heare & conceiue such plentie of godlie and pithie matter to come from such a creature. Who although for a time she sæmed to the world to liue obscurelie, yet she ended this life, & left the world most confidentlie, and to God (no doubt) most gloriouslie, to the exceeding comfort of all them (which are not few) that loued or honored hir, or the great and renowmed house whereof she was descended. They left behind them yet liuing most déere pledge & noble and worthie resemblances descended of them, three sonnes, all forward, martiall, and valorous

Sir Philip, sir Robert, and maister Thomas Sidneies:

Marie countesse of Penbroke, William lord Herbert of Cardiffe.

gentlemen, and one onelie daughter, matched in marriage vnto the right honorable Henrie earle of Penbroke, whome God hath alreadie blessed with goodlie, rare, and towardlie issue: sir Philip Sidneie his sonne and heire, *Ad quem hæreditas gloriæ & factorum imitatio pertinet*, a gentleman of great hope, and exceeding expectation, indowed with manie rare gifts, singular vertues, and other ornaments both of mind and bodie, one generallie beloued and estéemed of all men, who matched in marriage with the daughter and heire of sir Francis Walsingham knight, hir maiesties principall secretarie, by whom he hath alreadie a goodlie babe, but a daughter. And if his good fortune by almightie Gods good appointment answer his noble deserts & worthinesse, he is most like to prooue a famous, great, and rare personage for the seruice of his countrie & commonwelth. And the glorie, renowme, & fame of so worthie a father can neuer die, hauing left so noble a son, not onlie to continue, but rather (in sort) to surpasse his fathers worthinesse, fame, and vertues; and therfore to be well hoped (& vndoutedlie almost expected) he may in time succeed him in his offices, or if it please God in some better and greater. To the atteining wherof he is thus farre in good degrée alreadie aduanced (imitating therein his fathers perfect paterne) that he hath bin imploied ambassador to the emperor when he was not aboue one and twentie yeres old (as his father at like age was to the French king) in which iorneie by the waie, he had on hir maiesties behalfe to visit and treat with sundrie princes, other potentats, and great ones: which he performed in such exquisit order, and aduised wise course, omitting nothing he should doo, nor supplieng anie thing he should not doo in ceremonie or otherwise, as he excédinglie therein satisfied hir maiestie, both by his letters and report, and wan to himselfe great credit and singular commendation.

The commendation of sir Philip Sidneie.

Quidam autem eas laudes, quas a patribus acceperunt, addunt aliquam suam.

He was sent ambassador to the emperor.

Not long after his returne from that iorneie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant and spare times of leisure (for he could indure at no time to be idle and void of action) he made his booke which he named Arcadia, a worke (though a méere fansie, toie, and fiction) shewing such excellencie of spirit, gallant inuention, varietie of matter, and orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluitie, eloquent phrase, and fine conceipt, with interchange of deuise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer, as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it, as few works of like subiect hath béene either of some more earnestlie sought, choislie kept, nor placed in better place, and amongest better iewels than that was; so that a speciall déere frend he should be that could haue a sight, but much more déere that could once obteine a copie of it. Which his so happie and fortunat beginnings so amplie set out both his sufficiencie for the publike, and what he can doo in exercise priuat, that manie mens eies are drawen into exceeding hope and expectation of his spéedie further aduancement, which to the honor of himselfe and his house I dailie praie for, and most heartilie wish him.

His Arcadia.

¶ This note you find here before set downe, touching sir Philip Sidneie, being a member of the discourse made of his father, was brought and deliuered to the impression before there was either speech, or could be imagination of his fatall end, which soone after happened: who for that he was reckoned for his modestie, courtesie, affabilitie, and other speciall vertues, amongest the verie prime gentlemen for his yeares that this age hath bred, or our countrie affoorded; and so complet a man to euerie perfection, as the memorie of him ought not to be forgotten, I haue entred the note verbatim, without adding or altering as it came first to my hands.

An additament.

Nihil laudabilius, nihil magno & præclaro viro dignius placabilitate, & quasi ornatus vitæ est temperantia & modestia.

This right worthie, and thrise renowmed knight sir Philip Sidneie lord gouernor of Vlissingen, hauing spent some time in hir maiesties seruice in the low countries, with great honor, speciall credit, and estimation; and withall, hauing obteined by his vertue, valor, and great policie such an entrie of entire good will, trust, and authoritie with the states, as his counsels and persuasions could much more preuaile and worke singular effect with them than anie one mans could doo in anie cause whatsoeuer that happened to fall in question or debate amongst them: therefore earnestlie following the course he then tooke in hand for the aduancement of that seruice, and to win fame (the onelie marke true nobilitie either doth or ought to leuell at) he imbarked himselfe at Vlissingen, accompanied onelie with three thousand footmen, & bending his course to Axell, which lieth in the countie of Flanders, vsed both such diligence and secrecie in this expedition, as he surprised the towne, before they could haue intelligence of his comming, without losse or hurt of anie one of his companie. By meanes whereof, the forts and sconses there néere abouts adiouning, being stricken vpon the sudden into such a feare & amazement, as doubting some further perils to them intended, than anie at the present well appeared; voluntarilie and simplie gaue themselues and their holds into his hands, and yéelded to his disposition and mercie. And so after he had well refreshed himselfe and his companie in this towne he had thus now taken, he departed thense, and remained in the countrie not far off, ten or twelue daies next following, till he had vittelled the same and put in a garrison, and left monsieur Vernon there gouernor.

Lord gouernor of Vlissingen, commonlie called Flushing.

He surprised Axell in Flanders.

Now in the meane time of his staie attending these seruices (and because he would alwaies be occupied in some honorable action) he brake a sluse, forced a trench, & cut out a banke, that made such an open passage & entrance into the sea, as since it hath drowned & destroied the whole countrie (being well néere now worne into a chanell) the same hauing béene the best & most fertill soile in those parts, & far exceeding anie territorie néere thereabouts, to so great a preiudice and annoiance of the enimie, as by common & well grounded opinion, neither by sluse, or lightlie anie other draine or deuise, that countrie can possiblie be recouered or regained. And this enterprise was atchiued without making head or other offer of offence, inuasion, or resistance by Mondragon, who was of purpose imploied with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

He drowned the countrie by making an entrie into the sea.

No resistance made by Mondragon.

Moreouer, his aduise for the seruice intended at Grauelin, (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert capteins and best renowmed and sorted souldiors) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwise by treacherie had bene most likelie to haue béene intrapped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an incounter with the enimie not far from Sutphen, where he that daie most valiantly serued (for he bare the inuincible mind of an ancient worthie Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knée, which so brake and rifted the bone, and so entred the thigh vpward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding

Grauelin.

His hurt at the incounter néere Sutphen.

The date of the death of sir Philip Sidnele.

he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seuentæenth daie of October betwæne two and thræ of the clocke in the afternoone at Arnam in Gelderland. By whose vntimelie death (to the hartie and inward sorow of manie) in the most flozishing and prime time of his yeares (for he was scarslie complet one and thirtie yeares old) there is presented vnto vs a verie rare example, and that in no common case; that father, mother, and sonne (in line of bloud and societie in that nèerenesse, as none can be nèerer) should come to their fatall ends and fall of name and familie, within the compasse of lesse than six moneths: and that each died so far off by distance of place one from another, as where they died they were but strangers, where by birth and propertie they could pretend no interest. Whereby we maie note a notable lesson to our good (though in this example we be taught to our griefe) the variablenesse of sickle fortune, and the small securitie in all humane and worldlie things whatsoeuer: *Et quòd Deus solus est in omnibus suspiciendus.*

Prima societas est in ipso coniugio, proxima in liberis.

A state for thræ liues sone determinid.

The night before he departed, leaning vpon a pillow in his bed, he wrote a line or two by waie of letter to Wierus, a verie expert and learned physician, to praie him to come vnto him. And because it maie thereby the better appeare, how sound and perfect he remained in sense and memozie (notwithstanding his most extreame griefe and paine) till he rendered his debt to nature; I thought it not inconuenient in this place to remember: *Mi Wiere veni, veni, de vita periclitor, & te cupio, nec viuus nec mortuus ero ingratus, plura non possum, sed obnixè te oro vt festines. Vale.*

Tuus P. Sidneius.

Wierus of Claue a learned physician.

Not manie daies before he sent these few words here before recited, he wrote a large epistle to Belerius a learned diuine, in verie pure and eloquent Latine (in like sort as manie times he had done before to some great ones (vpon occasions) and to others of learning and qualitie) the copie whereof was not long after, for the excellencie of the phrase, and pithinesse of the matter, brought to hir maiesties view. And surelie rare he was, aswell in that kind, as in manie other qualities of equall raritie. Yea most rare and rarest vndoubtedlie he would haue proued, if so it might haue pleased God to haue left vs so rare a iewell of vertue and courtesie. A testimonie of diuerse most famous and lerned men, who had him in speciall liking and admiration, allow him no lesse than I write of him. And amongst others, here I will remember Henrie Stephans in his epistle before his Greeke testament dedicated vnto him, who writeth thus: *Factum est enim nescio quomodo, vt quibus te videre & tua consuetudine frui datum fuit interuallis, magis ac magis propensam meam in te voluntatem senserim. Heydelbergæ primùm videre te mihi contigit, aliquanto pòst Argentorati: longo pòst tempore, Viennæ Austriæ: sed Argentorati magna facta est accessio ad illum amorem quo te Heydelbergæ prosequebar: Viennæ rursum, is etiam quo te Argentorati prosequutus fueram, magnum incrementum cepit. Nec mirum sanè meum illum in te amorem ita creuisse, quum tuæ, quæ eum excitauerant ingenij dotes, non parum creuisse viderentur Atque vtinam crescere non desinant, donec talis tantúsque euaseris, vt tuæ etiam Angliæ celebritas incrementum à te accipiat.*

He greatlie abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but chieflie in iustice & liberalitie (a worthie & most speciall note in a gouernor) which gained him heartie loue coupled with fame & honor. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, estæmed, honored, and in a sort adored him, when he was aliue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; & promised, that (if they might obteine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. As his life was most worthie; so his end was most godlie. The loue men bare him hath left fame behind him, his friendlie courtesie to manie procured him good will of all. God hath taken him, we hope to his comfort; we haue lost him, we fæle to our græse: his diuine will is done, our humane minds must be satisfied, and humblie wish (for it were a presumption to hope) to haue his life. For he had that great care and regard to the conseruation of his fame and honor entire, when he was gone; that he made a most bountifull and liberall will, which if the same be performed according to his simple, sincere, and good meaning; it will appeare he died not indebted to anie, neither to those that were nèere his person, familiars, or domesticks, nor to anie other he was indebted vnto by bond or borrowing, nor otherwise in credit for wares or merchandize, or in other degræ whatsoeuer, he had to treat or deale with him in; yea not so much as for common courtesie and goodwill: but he ordered and appointed him satisfaction, and honorable contentment. His bodie was most honorablie conueied from Arnam to London, where it remained at the Minories certeine daies, and from thense brought and remœued to the place of his interrement; where with great solemnitie and funerall honor, amongst the monuments of his most renowmed parents and worthie ancestors, he was buried.

His bountifull will.

Omnis virtus nos ad se allicit, facítque vt diligamus eos in quibus inesse videatur, tamen iustitia & liberalitas id maximè efficit.

And here behold the end of two worthie persons, who for that their deuises answered in a sort the state of both their fortunes, I thinke it not impertinent in this place to speake of. The father bare for deuise, placed vnder his armes: *Quo me fata vocant:* applieng the same to his good hap in his yonger yeares when fortune smiled, & time and friends flattered, and none more accounted of and estæmed than he. The sonne, suspecting future haps, and not trusting ouer much in present fortune, bare for his deuise, placed in like maner vnder his armes: *Vix ea nostra voco:* signifieng thereby, that he would not call those his owne, which he knew not how worthie hé was to beare, nor how long he should inioie and kæpe them; sith that both states and persons are subiect to time and mutation, as by his vntimelie death appeared. And albeit this was his last word and deuise, which accompanied his funerall; yet not sealed before as occasion fell out, & as time wrought alteration in his dæpe and noble conceipt, at iusts, torneis, triumphs, and other such roiall pastimes (for at all such disports he commonlie made one) he would bring in such a liuelie gallant shew, so agræable to euerie point, which is required for the expressing of a perfect deuise (so rich he was in those inuentions) as if he surpassed not all, he would equall or at least second the best. Wherein (as he rightlie deserued) he euer gained singular commendation.

Their words and deuises.

There are fiue speciall points required in euerie deuise to be perfect.

There grew some diuersitie of opinion (amongst their well affected friends) in one point of comparison touching the helps of nature, that were distinctlie placed in them both. Some gaue commendation to the father for his gallant tong, and others to the sonne for his readie pen; both were rare gifts in them both, and both two gifts placed in both. And when some of the fathers familiars would tell him, how men were of opinion that he could nothing so well frame his mind in writing, as he could deliuer the same in speaking: he would saie that it sæmed so onelie to them, that neuer heard him reade his owne letters.

The father commended for his tong, and the sonne for his pen.

He left (besides his other fatherlie blessings and liberalitie for increase of patrimonie) to his yonger sonnes, that happie and rich inheritance Cicero so highlie commendeth; whose words here I will recite, for better impression of the matter hereafter in their minds to whome of right it appertaineth.

The happie inheritance he left to his yonger sons.

Optima autem hæreditas à patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præstantior gloria virtutis rerúmque gestarum, cui dedecori esse nefas & vitium iudicandum est.

And thus far goodwill hath led me, and dutie bound me, to remember and commend these two noble and worthie persons the father and sonne, as perfect examples for vs to follow (for they now dwell too far off to heare their owne praises) who as when they liued, the one I long and faithfullie serued, the other I deerelie loued and greatlie honored, euen from his yonger and tender yeares: so in regard of mine owne meane fortune, albeit I must acknowledge it my great mishap and verie heauie crosse (almost at one instant) to lose two such noble patrons and furtherers of my good and benefit, on whome onelie I depended, and to whome wholie I had dedicated my good will and humble seruice: yet in respect of them now departed, to whome both dutie and courtesie bindeth me to wish and praie all happinesse (for seeking their fauours and good wils aliue with diligence: reason willeth me to esteeme their images dead with reuerence) this consideration then greatlie stirreth me vp to exceeding comfort, to speake in saint Johns words: *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur; amodò iam dicit spiritus, vt requiescant à laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.* Who as in their liues they had great honors, ample credit and authoritie heaped vpon them, the better to grace them amongst vs: so being departed hense from vs, noble fame and good report soundeth forth both their praises euerie where to accompanie their memories, to dwell & remaine still euer fresh & liuelie flourishing with vs. And they haue (by the scale of their vertues) attained (I hope) the highest type and degree of honor (which all men in this world should mightilie contend for) which is the crowne of eternall life, wherewith (I trust) they be now both decked and crowned in great glorie, ioy, blessednesse, and eternitie. And here to end the memorie of them, it shall not be amisse, to record an epitaph made and published, for the perpetuating of the name of sir Henrie Sidneie, neuer sufficientlie commended.

Blessed are the dead from henceforth, now saith the spirit, that they rest from their labors.

¶ In mortem illustrissimi viri domini Henrici Sydnei, Edwardi sexti in Galliam, Mariæ in Hispaniam, & sereniſſimæ nostræ reginæ Elisabethæ in Galliam & Scotiam, legati, aureæ periscelidis & Sancti Georgij equitis aurati, vicémque olim regiæ maiestatis Hiberniæ ter gerentis, & Walliæ 26, annis præsidis, & regiæ maiestatis à concilijs: Henricus Dillon,

LVminibus mentis perlustrans sæpe studebam,
Paruum quàm filum cuncta caduca tenet:
Sicut enim multis tribuit fortuna secunda,
Sic donat multos ista nouerca malis.
Insula nostra dijs superis inuisa videtur,
Fortunæ lapsu labitur illa simul.
Nullus patronus fidus, nec verus amicus,
Quin subito casu morte ruente perit.
Clarius hoc luna monstrat dignissimus ille
Sydneus Henricus, nominis ille decor.
Qui nos protector viuax defendit & autor,
Qui fuerat patriæ, spésque salúsque suæ.
Ter patriam curua petijt comitante carina,
Aduentus dignus laudibus ille fuit.
Palladis imbutus musis hic armipotentis,
Hostes imperio se dedidere suo.
Legibus instituit priùs armis omnia vinci,
Legibus expulsis attamen arma tulit.
Hostes sub pedibus calcauit Marte feroce,
Sedibus in summis constituítque bonos.
Henrici virtus valuit plus omnibus armis,
Aspectu primo quisquis amaret eum.
Ostendit vultu naturæ dona sereno,
Verbis erexit docta Minerua virum.
Constans & lenis minimè permobilis ira,
In bello nullis ille secundus erat.
Dapsilis in cunctos, ratio tamen omnia rexit,
Qui vulgi famam spreuit habere leuis.
In patriam tandem cursu felice reuersus,
E medio lapsus culmina summa rapit.
Wallicus en consul superis præconia fudit,
Magna sic pompa terra tegebat eum.

Laus Deo.

Sustulit è sacro me nudum fonte poëtam
Henricum Dillon Sydneus ipse manu.

Ioannes Cawell in eundem.

MOtibus aduersis versatur machina rerum,
Quolibet & moles voluitur ista breui.
Gignitur instanti quod crescit tempore longo
Diuersas formas inde subire studet.
Culmine fatali sensim deflectitur ipsum,
Interitus falcat lubrica fata sua.
Illis inseritur porro motúsque localis
Omnes amplexu continet ipse suo.
Sydneus his heros faustum produxerat æuum,
Fluctibus & nullis exagitatus erat.
Summis hic attauis cretus natione Britannus
Extendit stirpem viribus ille suam.
Posthabuit partum semper sectando decorum,
Maiorum laudes auxit honore suo.
Musarum teneros studio deuouerat annos
Auspicijs miris inde beatus erat.
Quæstor fiscalis signatus munere primo,
Térque vicem regis gessit amore loci.
Per multos præses regnauit Wallicus annos,
Distribuens æquè iura cuique sua.
Aurati fulgens equitis signitus honore,
Consilio princeps illius vsa fuit.
Tantum vitali filo decreuerat heros
In partes totum soluitur omne suas.
Sícque nouis corpus formis transfertur ad vnum,
Pars terrena perit, cœlica forma manet.
Nobilis Henricus Mæcenas verus amicis,
Hostibus armatus sæuus habendus erat.
Wallia læsa iacet, casus & Hibernia plorat,
Vertitur in luctus regia tota domus.
Ipse baro Dillon consul tum iure dolebat,
Soluitur in lachrymas nocte diéque suas.
Quorsum sic lugent, cum Sydneus alta petebat?
Turpi pro mundo sydera pura tenet.

Laus Deo.

Now to leaue matters of the dead, and to touch affaires of the liuing, somewhat out of place in respect of the moneth; but occurring in the same yeare (which preposterous course could not for the present time be auoided, but hereafter maie be redressed) you shall vnderstand, that not long after the beginning of Hilarie terme, in this present yeare 1586, for foure seuerall respects well worthie the remembrance, and therevpon præfelie to be put

downe

Thomas Louelace trecherouslie sought to spoile his nerest kinsmen of their lines to haue his lands, by example of T. S. who before had sought to spoile his eldest brother of his life, after he had defrauded him of his goods and cattels, and was neuer punished therefore.

downe in this historie, there did befall this accident that hereafter followeth. It so being, that one Thomas Louelace late of Staple Inne gentleman, had diuerse waies so wilfullie behaued himselfe toward maister Leonard Louelace esquier, his neere kinsman, as that the said Leonard Louelace was inforced to attempt a suite of wast against the said Thomas which being in course of law ordered for the plaintife: yet did the said plaintife offer verie fauorable conditions to the defendant, hauing long time beene by so manie malicious practises pursued by his said kinsman, as he deserued to find no fauor at all at the plaintifes hands. But yet so deepelie had an old cankered & inueterat hatred possessed the heart of this defendant, that these new fauours towards him could nothing mollifie or remoue the same. Which vngratious humor, hauing long boiled in his vnquiet brest, he conceiueth this course to put it on foot, sounding in the highest degree of danger, to the liues and persons of his two nerest kinsmen, and pestilent to their whole posteritie.

Considerations wise enough, if they had beene accordinglie vsed and applied.

For considering with himselfe, that the late laws of king Henrie the eight do giue vnto the crowne the lands and possessions of tenants intaile atteinted of treason, so long as there be anie issues remaining vnder the same estate intaile; and weighing with himselfe, that the plaintife in the foresaid suite might by his verie late mariage be likelie to haue children (during whose liues he could by no colorable meanes make himselfe waie to the whole inheritance of his said cousin) he now obserueth it to be the onelie due season, aswell to cut off his kinsman from his life, and all other things which we hold pretious in this world; as to make himselfe capable of all his liuing, by colour of a remaindor limited vnto him and his line by the will of one John Louelace esquier. For full accomplishment of which intent, because the life of maister Richard Louelace, next brother to the plaintife, was a barre to one part of his purpose; he calleth him likewise within the compasse of the same danger, and frameth his drift after this manner.

Note the manner of his drift.

A third brother of the plaintifes, desirous of seeing the vniuersities abrode for the studie of the ciuill law, and being latelie noised to haue beene professed in religion there; from him he deriueth the groundworke of his desperat deuise, counterfeiting letters to come from the third brother to the plaintife, and the said maister Richard Louelace; which letters did set forth an intent of most dangerous treasons against hir maiesties most gratious person, whereof the plaintife was put downe to be the compasser, and the said maister Richard Louelace the executioner. Then it was compacted betweene the defendant, and a certeine lewd fellow, who was before manie waies beholding to maister Leonard Louelace, that he hauing accesse without suspicion, should either leaue these letters in the plaintifes studie, or else bestow them vnseene in some other place; which being so done, there should no time be left by the defendant for such present proceeding as such causes required. But maister Leonard Louelace, being gone from his London lodging before this messenger came, he returning homeward, and not well aduised what to do, thought better to hazard the successe of his message, than to seeme to do nothing at all: and therefore not far from Grauesend, did suffer the same letters to fall from him, as was sufficientlie perceiued by an honest poore man, who was not far off about the topping of a tree.

Note how God will haue lewd dealing and ill meaning reuealed.

These letters were presentlie taken vp by a boy, who was by the said fellow allured by monie, to make deliuerie according to their direction. This boy being seruant in a vittelling house, did carrie them home & cast them vpon a cupbord, as papers spotted with mire and of no valure. There comming that night a waifaring man, did esteeme of them accordinglie, and carrieng them to an house of office, going ouer a few lines, did find them to conteine a dangerous intention of most weightie importance; and therevpon carried them to the lord Cobham, who with requisit speed directed the same to the lords of the councell. Who according to the qualitie of the cause, hauing in their due respect of preseruing hir highnesse safetie, a verie honorable care ouer the gentlemens good fame and credit, who were to be touched in so foule a cause: whose former good course of life had cleared them from anie slender suspicion of so great a villanie, as the lord Cobham had likewise before informed: they therevpon thought good to refer the ordering of this so strange a case to the lord treasuror; who for his great wisedome was likelie soone to discerne (for his most tender well wishing of hir highnesse well doing) and most spedilie to preuent all danger; and for his singular zeale to iustice, to deale indifferentlie with the parties in question.

The lord treasuror had the discussing and sifting out of the matter.

The lord treasuror in the absence of maister Leonard Louelace, hauing called before him maister Richard Louelace; and being by him informed of such sensible circumstances, as did directlie induce his lordship to be of opinion, that all this villanous practise should proceed from the defendant, he in courteous and honorable manner, without baile, bond, or maineprise, did dismisse the said maister Richard Louelace to his owne libertie; and did giue present direction for the apprehension of the defendant, and other his complices: who as vpon his comming before their honors, did by manie aduised oths make colourable purgation of this obiected action; so yet by some amazednesse of his countenance, and by certeine repugnances in his owne answers, he left a more setled suspicion that it should be his doing. Whereupon the lord treasuror well regarding and perusing the letter, and finding by the close couching and setting togither of the same, that although the indicter lacked not a malicious kind of learning; that yet in his orthographie there were certeine such slips committed, as by a custome of negligent writing were likelie to grow into an habit with him. Those verie words did his lordship interlace vnder the forme of another matter, and bad him to write the same; who keeping his former custome, did verie iustlie fulfill his lordships expectation. Which being well conceiued and compared with the former forme of letters, did seeme to haue some difference rather in policie than in substance: but the same slips & imperfections of orthographie did clearelie discouer the workeman of this whole matter.

What we are to gather for our owne benefit, by the former declaration.

The conclusion of the former points premised in the beginning, must be this short aduertisement of good substance. First, to what desperat dispositions and most inhumane actions, that cankered humor of malice driueth them vnto, whome it hath deepelie touched and attached. Secondlie, how wonderfull is the working and goodnesse of God, in preseruing innocencie from the most dangerous and subtill drifts of the aduersarie. Thirdlie, how profitable it is to those countries & commonwealths, where the councellors do rather seeke with sharpenesse of iudgement to discerne and discouer the qualities and causes, before they aplie the princes displeasure, or the heauie burthen of laws to the first apperance of anie suggestions. Lastlie, how necessarie it is to the good estate of gouernments, that iustice be dulie deliuered: which in this case was in so due and honorable manner performed, vpon the hearing of the

cause

cause before the lords in the Star chamber; as that the posteritie to come maie from thense fetch a right fruitfull president, to take hæd of such odious practises. And now to set downe the matter according to the record: thus it followeth.

In camera stellata coram consibidem, 11 die Februa. anno 28 Elisabethæ reginæ.

On this daie (to wit the eleuenth of Februarie) Thomas Louelace was brought to the bar, as a prisoner from the Tower; against whome hir maiesties attorneie generall did informe, that the same Louelace, vpon malice conceiued against Leonard Louelace & Richard Louelace his cousine germans, had most lewdlie, falslie, and diuelishlie, contriued and counterfeited with his owne hand, a verie traitorous letter in the name of Thomas Louelace, another brother of the said Richard and Leonard, now resident at Rome (as it is supposed) purporting in shew, that the same Thomas, now resident beyond the seas, should thereby incite and prouoke the said Leonard, to procure the said Richard his brother to worke and execute hir highnesse destruction, with manie more verie wicked and horrible circumstances of treason in the highest degree, specified in the same letter: as by the contents therof, which was this daie openlie read in court, most euidentlie appeared. And yet not so contented, either cast or let fall, or caused the same letter to be cast or let fall in the open high waie; pretending thereby, that vpon the discouerie thereof, his said kinsmen, Leonard and Richard, should be drawne in question for the treasonable matter against hir maiesties person in that letter conteined, euen in the highest degrée. For which offense, hir maiesties said attorneie praied on the behalfe of hir maiestie, that the said Thomas Louelace the prisoner might receiue condigne punishment.

Thomas Louelace condinglie punished by iudgement of the honorable court in the starchamber: a notable and praise worthie example of iustice, the like whereof is to be wished to the like offendor.

Herevpon the court demanded of the said Louelace what answer he could make to the said accusation. Who immediatlie confessing his said lewd and diuelish offense, to be by him committed, in such maner and forme as is before expressed, humblie submitted himselfe, and praied the fauor of this honorable court. Whereupon the court had therefore conuicted him thereof, by the full and whole consent of all the persons there sitting: and haue adiudged him to suffer such corporall punishment and imprisonment, as hereafter followeth. That is to saie: that he shall be remitted to the Tower from whense he came, that he shall be caried on horssebacke about Westminster hall with his face to the horsse taile, and with a paper on his backe, wherein shall be written these words: For counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his owne kindred, conteining most traitorous matter against hir maiesties person: and from thense shall be carried in that manner, and set on the pillorie here in the palace at Westminster, & there shall haue one of his ears cut off: and shall also be carried in like manner on horssebacke into London, and set on the pillorie on a market daie in Chepeside with the like paper on his backe: and after that, shall be carried downe into Kent, and at the next assise there shall be set openlie in the pillorie, in the place where the assises shall be kept, with the like paper on his backe, and there shall haue his other eare cut off. And also that he shall be set on the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and one other market daie at Rochester in the said countie of Kent, with the like paper on his backe (as afore said) at either of the same places. And it is further ordered, that in euerie of the foresaid places, where he shall stand on the pillorie, the order taken by this honorable court, touching his said offense and punishment, shall be openlie read and published. Thus far the record, the sentence whereof was dulie executed.

An offensiue sermon at Pauls crosse.

Upon sundaie being the first daie of March 1586, the preacher appointed to supplie the place at Paules crosse failed therein: by occasion whereof, one George Closse (a preacher of the citie) was procured to supplie his roome that was absent, and in his sermon intreating vpon iustice, reproued the maior of London particularlie being there present, for shuffling vp a cause (as he termed it) that came before him; and whereat the said Closse was also present the fridaie before he preached. Herevpon grew much varietie of talke and rumors amongst the people, coniecturing and scanning diuerslie vpon the cause. And the daie following, the maior, aldermen, and councell of the citie entered into consultation about it; and vpon tuesdaie, the preacher was warned to answer the cause before the maior, aldermen, and councell of the citie, in the Guildhall. Where, after much debating of the matter, it was finallie concluded, that certeine of the aldermen of the citie, with the recorder, should commense complaint hereof before the archbishop of Canturburie. And in the afternoone the same daie, it was ordered by the archbishop and other his collegues in causes ecclesiasticall; that because the said Closse had delt so particularlie against the magistrate, he should be inioined to preach in the same place againe the 27 daie of March following (being Palmesundaie) and in his sermon should make his submission, which the common people called a recantation.

The preacher is troubled for his sermon, and driuen to a submission commonlie termed a recantation.

In the meane space were dispersed sundrie rumors and great diuersities of reports of the matter, and great expectation of the daie appointed. And at the daie and place prefixed was gathered such an assemblie and concourse of people, as by estimation had not beene seene there at anie rehearsall sermon. This confluence of people grew the greater, for that the preacher who supplied the said place the verie next sundaie following, did intimat to the people (commanded so to doo) that the said Closse, whose sermon was offensiuelie taken, as tending against the chiefe magistrate, was verie sorie for that which he had doone; and was to signifie no lesse vpon Palmesundaie insuing in another sermon, which he was appointed to make in forme of submission. Now by the waie of parenthesis, before we come to shew how the said Closse did acquite himselfe; we are to declare, that vpon the same sundaie, that this inioined submission was imparted to the people, there stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, in the verie eie of the multitude, a most heinous malefactor in a white sheet, with a rod of about halfe a yard long in his hand, and about his head a paper fastened, with the inscription of the offense for the which he did penance. This lewd fellow (hauing a wife) did notwithstanding for the space of fiue yeares past, kéepe in his house an harlot or strumpet vnder the name of his maid, whose bodie he vnlawfullie vsed; insomuch that she bare him certeine bastards, which in time were made awaie and murthered, this horrible déed still remaining vndisclosed; vntill the last whome she bare and slue, which was then bewraied, and she of the fact by course of law orderlie conuinced, was executed at Tiborne the last sessions next before the publication hereof by the preacher.

A fowle offendor, or heinous malefactor did penance at Pauls crosse, his companion hauing bene executed at Tiborne not long before.

Now (saith the preacher) although the law haue acquited this heinous malefactor, and released him from the gallows: yet is it not likelie that he can be excusable from priuitie in the offense. For it cannot be, but that as he was not, nor could be ignorant of the harlots being with child; so must he néeds know what became of them after their procreation and bringing forth into the world. Neuertheless (saith the preacher) although he haue escaped the like

execu-

execution as his fellow offendor hath suffered: yet except he dw hartilie repent, and be inwardlie sorie for the same, he is certeine to hang in hell fier. In signification therefore of his heartie repentance, he was inioined to make open confession of his fault, the forme whereof was deliuered in writing to the preacher, he reading it, and the offendor saieng after him the same, with as lowd a voice as conceiued shame for so grœuous a trespasse would admit.

The offendor openlie confesseth his fault with a lowd voice.

Now vpon this repentance and confession, the preacher toke occasion to aggrauat the dangerous sinne of fornication and adulterie, shewing by sundrie examples what punishments haue bëne inflicted vpon offendors in that kind, by the laws of diuerse nations: as of the Tartars, Turks, Jews, and Aegyptians, &c: some stripping the man that was giltie, starke naked in sight of the people, who receiued a thousand yerks vpon his flesh; the woman had hir nose cut off, and so liued with a perpetuall note of infamie, bearing a visible badge of hir former lewd life. Among others it was sentenced by law, that the wife offending, should be stripped naked, and whipped from stræt to stræt, euen of hir owne husband; who was appointed the executioner of that punishment. This fault was likewise reuenged with stoning to death, and other corporall smarts and torments; all which shew how odious a sinne it is, both in the sight of God and man.

Laws for adulteris and fornication sharplie executed.

Hauing waded so far in the argument, the preacher spake verie honorablie of the dignitie of marriage, and against the frequented vice of vsurie, whereof he deliuered examples verie dreadfull, intending an amendment of that enormitie. And imputing the lacke and neglect of forbearing to sinne, vnto the idle hearing of the word; the preacher shewed that some hearers there are, who after they haue heard their lewd liues vehementlie inueighed against, for a moment of time entring into a consideration of the horror of the same, go home, sëeme somewhat sorowfull; and for one, two, or thrëe daies appeare verie forwards and towards in reformation. On the first daie they can saie, *Gloria patri*; on the second, *Et filio*; on the third, *Et spiritui sancto*: but on the fourth, *Sicut erat in principio*; and so they become as bad as they were in the beginning; naie much worse, and so continue to their latter ending. Thus much by waie of interpolition, touching that sundaies worke, being a note none of the worst in the booke, and maie dw much good by Gods grace, if it be well marked and throughlie thought vpon.

How people are affected in hearing of Gods word, and therefore no marueil though vnfruitfull.

And now to returne to the continuation of the report of the said Closse, who during the time of respiration, furnished himselfe for the place which he was appointed to supplie, and for the time of expectation now approching and at length present. When & where (as aforsaid) thousands were gathered together of each age & ser; some comming to sëe, some to heare, and some to obserue what was said and donne. The most part of the maiors officers, the children of the hospitals, and manie other were there, to write and take notes of the sermon. Besides, there were six preachers appointed to heare the sermon, and to certifie how he discharged his designement. During the time of the sermon was vsed great silence, but much and secret whisperings, strange countenances, often lookings to and fro of the people, and some intercourse of spëech among the aldermen, especiallie when the preacher entred his discourse of the matter of expectation; wherein he made report of the whole cause as it had passed before the maior, alleging sundrie reasons diuine and humane, which had mooued him in his former sermon to deale so particularlie.

The report of George Closses matter continued.

The preachers sermon is noted.

The matter of expectation.

In conclusion, the sermon finished, the auditorie departed with generall approbation and applause to the preacher, and the maior with greater discontentment: insomuch as after Easter, when the sermons at the spittle and other businesse was ouerpassed; the maior by his brethren renewed a further complaint before the archbishop of Canturburie. But in the meane space, the said Closse had obteined from the archbishop and others his collegues of the ecclesiasticall commission, sentence of dismission from further molestation touching this cause; vpon a certificat made from the six preachers before mentioned, whereof there were thrëe doctors, and thrëe bachellors in diuinitie, which had made report vnto the bishop of London (according to his appointment touching the sermon) that the said Closse had fullie in all good sort satisfied the order of the archbishop: so as the complaint and accusation of the maior could not be anie further admitted. Then was the matter complained of vnto the lords of the priuie councell, and a commission granted by them to haue the cause further examined.

Further complaint renewed against the preacher, who is dismissed from further molestation.

Commissioners were appointed by the councell, thrëe ecclesiasticall persons, & fiue temporall lawiers, namelie the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Salisburie; the lord chiefe iustice of the common plëas, the maister of the rols, the lord chiefe baron, the quënes attorneie generall, and the maister of saint Katharins. The cause being heard vpon articles preferred and answered, it was finallie thought conuenient by the commissioners, vpon conference with both parties, to draw them to a priuat reconciliation; wherevnto after the preacher had assented, the maior would in no wise accept it: but vrged a certificat to be made to the councell, and after some suspense of his request, at last he obteined of the bishop of London, & others of the temporall commissioners, a certificat to be made, and the matter was continued in suspense till his maioraltie was expired.

The matter brought before the councell, and ordered by commissioners.

A priuat reconciliation of the partie offended and offending intended.

This yeare on the seuentëenth daie of March, a strange thing happened, the like whereof before hath not bëene heard of in our time. Maister Dorrington of Spaldwike in the countie of Huntington esquier, one of hir maiesties gentlemen pensioners, had a great horsse that died suddenlie; & being riped to sëe the cause of his death, there was found in the hole of the heart of the same horsse a strange worme, which laie in a round heape in a kall or skin, of the bignesse of a tode, which being taken out and spred abrode, was in forme the fashion not easie to be described in words, but in picture. The length of this worme diuided into manie grains, to the number of fiftie, spred from the bodie like the branches of a trëe, was from the snowt to the end of the longest graine seuentëene inches; hauing foure issues in the grains, from whense dropped forth a red water. The bodie in bignesse round about was thrëe inches and a halfe, the colour whereof was like vnto a mackerell. This monstrous worme found in maner aforesaid, crauling to haue got awaie, was stabbed in with a dagger and died: which after being dried, was shewed to manie honorable personages of this realme.

A strange worme found in a horsse heart.

In the sessions of oier and terminer holden at London in the iustice hall, on the eightëenth daie of Aprill, William Tomson *alias* Blackeborne, made priest at Reims in France by the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, and remaining within this realme after the terme of fortie daies after the session of the last parlement, was condemned of treason. Also Richard Lea *alias* Long, made priest at Laon in France (as aforesaid) and remaining here in this realme after the terme aforesaid, was likewise there condemned for treason: which said William and

Seminarie priests executed at Tiborne.

and Thomas, were both on the twentith daie of Aprill drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, according as they before had receiued iudgement.

The note of Iohn Waller concerning the arreignement of a witch.

At a great session holden in a towne of Kent called Feuersham, being a towne incorporat, and a lim or member of Douer; vpon the nineteenth daie of Aprill, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, before Thomas Barning, then maior of the same towne, and others; Ione Cason late the wife of one Freeman, was accused, attached, indicted, and arreigned for witchcraft; but condemned & adiudged to die, and executed for inuocating of wicked spirits, according to a statute made *In 5. Elisa. cap. 2:* for that she, the statute aforesaid not at all regarding, vpon the first of Aprill, in the seuen and twentith yeare of queene Elisabeth, and at diuerse daies and times since, the art of witchcraft and inchantment had vsed, and vpon wicked spirits had inuocated and called, contrarie to the peace of our souereigne ladie the queene; and namelie, that she the second of Februarie in the eight and twentith yeare of queene Elisabeth, had bewitched Jane Cooke of the age of three yeares, who by hir inchantment languished and died. Hereupon seuen women and one man gaue euidence against hir, who though they were all verie poore people, yet were they the rather admitted to accuse hir, for that they were hir nere neighbors, and hir offense verie odious.

The euidence of Sara Cooke against Ione Cason.

The first and principall deposition was made by Sara Cooke, mother to the bewitched child in these words following (that is to saie) that after hir said child had béene sicke, languishing by the space of thirteene daies, a trauellor came into hir house, to the end to drinke a pot of ale (for she kept an alehouse) who seeing the lamentable case and pitious griefe of the child, called hir vnto him, saieng; Hostesse, I take it that your child is bewitched. Whereunto she answered, that she for hir part knew of no such matter. Well (said the ghest) if you thinke it to be so, doo no more but take a tile from ouer the lodging of the partie suspected, and laie it in a hot fier: and if she haue bewitched the child, the tile will sparkle and flie round about the cradle where the child lieth. Now she, conceiuing that trauellors haue good experience in such matters, did steale (as she deposed) a tile from the house of the said Ione Cason (though not from ouer hir lodging) and laied it in the fier besides the cradle, which soone after sparkled about the house, euen according to hir said ghests information. And within short space, the saide Ione (being the suspected partie) came into this deponents house, to see how the child did, which (soone after hir comming) looked full in hir face, and had not lifted vp hir eie, nor looked abroade all the night precedent; but within foure houres after died: so as by the circumstance of that euidence, she thought it might plainelie appeare to the iurie, that the said Ione had bewitched hir child to death. Neuertheless, the prisoner did absolutelie denie anie thing doone, or purposed by hir to haue béene doone in this behalfe.

A pretie point of witchcraft.

Howbeit, to pursue this matter to proofe, and hir to death, the other seuen persons were all deposed; by whome it was affirmed constantlie, and approued manifestlie, that to the house of one Freeman (whose wife the said Ione Cason then was) not latelie but diuerse years since resorted a little thing like a rat (but more reddish) hauing a brode taile, which some of them had seene, and some had heard of. Insomuch as one heard it crie in the wall like a cricket, another like a rat, another like a tode, another that it ran vnder a tub, and spake these words (that is to saie) Go to, go to, go to. And it was further deposed by one goodwife Offild (the substantiallest person of them all) that hir cat could not kill it.

A. Reim.

All these depositions were made and taken, to proue Ione Cason a witch; and consequentlie, that she had through hir inchantments, and by the helpe of this vermin or spirit, killed the said Jane Cooke. But she (with great attestations) pleaded not giltie, alleging diuerse matters and instances of the malicious dealings of hir aduersaries against hir, reciting also certeine controuersies betwixt hir and them, wherein they had doone hir open wrong. But although she satisfied the bench and all the iurie touching hir innocencie for the killing of hir child, denieng also that she had anie skill in the art of witchcraft; she then and there confessed, that a little vermin, being of colour reddish, of stature lesse than a rat, and furnished with a brode taile, did diuerse yeares since (but not latelie) haunt hir house, and manie other houses in the towne; & further, that she (as she imagined) heard it crie sometimes; Go to, go to, go to; sometimes, Sicke sicke; sometimes, Come, come. Whereby she gathered, that it charged hir to see hir maister Masons will performed; which she had not executed according to the confidence he had in hir; to the trouble of hir conscience, and vexation of hir mind. And yet she honestlie confessed, that he had the vse of hir bodie verie dishonestlie, whilest she was wife to hir husband Freeman.

Hir accusers hir professed enimies.

The iurie meant well.

Vpon these foresaid depositions, and vpon this hir owne confession, the iurie was charged, went togither; and being loth to condemne hir of witchcraft (which they knew to be fellonie) they acquitted hir thereof, and found hir giltie vpon the said statute, for inuocation of wicked spirits; thinking thereby to haue procured hir punishment by pillorie, or imprisonment, and to haue saued hir from the gallowes. So as when the verdict was giuen vp by the iurie to the maior and his brethren, sitting on their iudgement seat, togither with their learned counsell; the said maior vttered this speech following: (that is to saie) Ione Cason, for so much as it hath pleased God to shew such fauor this daie vnto you, as to put it into the hearts of the iurie, to acquite you of the fellonie, whereupon you were arreigned; it behoueth you to render most humble thanks to God and the queene, and hereafter to beware that you giue no such occasions of offense againe. And you shall doo well, hense forwards to serue God better, and to resort to sermons oftener: whereby you maie learne your obedience to God, and your dutie to your neighbors.

The first sentence of the maior of Feuersham.

A gentleman (being a lawier, & of counsell with the towne, sitting vpon the bench with the maior, to assist, or rather to direct him in the course of law and iustice) hearing this mild iudgement to proceed out of the maiors mouth, kept vnto him, and told him, that (vnder correction) he thought him to erre in the principall point of his sentence (that is to saie) that instead of life he should haue pronounced death; because inuocation of wicked spirits was made fellonie by the statute whereupon she was arreigned. Then (quoth the maior) goodwife Cason, you must be conueied from hense to the Whitehouse from whense you came, and from thense to the place of execution, where you must be hanged vntill you be dead; and so God haue mercie vpon you.

The maiors second sentence.

Then was she carried back to their prison, which they call the White house. And because there was no matter of inuocation giuen in euidence against hir, nor proued in or by anie accusation, whereby the iurie might haue anie colour to condemne hir therfore: hir execution was staied by the space of three daies after iudgement was giuen. In the meane

time

Jone Casons confession.

time, she was persuaded by sundrie preachers and learned men to confesse it. But no persuasion could preuaile, to make hir acknowledge anie other criminall offense, but hir lewd life & adulterous conuersation with one Mason, whose house she kept whilest he was in health, and whose person she tended whilest he was sicke; with whome she was conuersant at the houre of his death, mainteining his concupiscence all the daies of his life; & in the end abused the trust reposed in hir, touching the disposition of certeine bequests, which he made hir onelie priuie vnto. For he died of the plague, for feare of which infection none other durst repaire vnto him; so as she vsed that matter according to hir wicked conscience. In which respect, she said in hir confession vpon the gallowes (taking hir death that she died giltlesse herein) that the iudgement of God was in such measure laid vpon hir, and therewithall made so godlie and penitent an end, that manie now lamented hir death, which were (before) hir utter enimies. Yea some wished hir aliue after she was hanged, that cried out for the hangman when she was aliue: but she should haue beene more beholding vnto them that had kept hir from the gallowes, than to such as would haue cut the rope when she was strangled. Neuertheless, they extended to hir as much fauor herein, as their combarons of the ancient towne of Rie shewed to a neighbour of theirs named Foule. Which storie being not altogither impertinent, and certeinelie performed about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie & seuen, I thought it not vnfit to be in this place inserted; especiallie, because both these townes are ruled by one kind of gouernement, for they are of the ports.

Jone Cason taketh hir death that she died giltlesse.

The storie of Foule of Rie, hanged for robbing his wife.

There haunted to the house of this Foule, in respect of the good will he bare to his wife, a little honest man, whose name I will not discouer, who committed vnto hir custodie a bag of monie, amounting to the summe of ten pounds sterling. Fouls wife locked it vp in hir cupbord. Howbeit, she handled not the matter so couertlie, but hir couert baron espied it, and (in hir absence) either picked or brake open the locke, and tooke out the monie; wherewith afterwards he plaied the good fellow all the daies of his life. For immediatlie his wife accused him (not of subtill dealing) but of plaine theft, regarding more hir friends losse, than hir husbands life. Hereupon, the maior of Rie (at the next sessions) caused him to be indicted and arreigned, and being conuinced of the fact, he was condemned and adiudged to death. For whose better execution, there was presentlie a new paire of gallowes erected, whereupon without further delaie he was hanged vntill he was dead; which gallowes hath beene euer since called by the name of Fouls mare. And now he cared not so much for the maior, as the maior did for him. For Foule was skant cold, but manie murmured at the maiors hastie proceedings; which moued them to doubt and whisper, that Fouls fault was no felonie.

Fouls mare.

But the maior (although it be said that portsmen maie tell their tale twise) could not now deuise, how (Foule being dead) he might reuerse this foule sentence. Neuertheless, he sent vp with all speed to one maister Ramsie of Greies Inne, who was of counsell with the towne, to learne what the law was in that case: who hauing fullie weied and conceiued thereof, told the partie directlie, that the matter was without the compasse of felonie. Whie sir (quoth the messenger) goodman Foule is alreadie hanged. Goodman Foule (said he againe) whie came ye then to me for counsell? But what was he for a man (said maister Ramsie?) A bad fellow (said the messenger.) Well (quoth he) go thou thy waies home,

Counsell asked too late.

then there is but one knaue out of the waie. Such conclusions are manie times made in the ports, who sometimes vse the priuilege of their liberties, not as they ought, but as they list, seldome times applieng their authoritie to so good purposes as they might: for commonlie they vse more circumspection in their expenses, than in their sentences.

Henrie Ramelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

On sundaie the eight daie of Maie, an ambassador, named Henrie Ramelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arriued at the Tower of London, A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion: verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tongs, as Latine, French, Italian, and Germane; but also in diuerse sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thense through Tower street into bishops gate street, and so to a faire and large house called Crosbies place, where he was lodged, and remained.

The Danish ambassador honorablie interteined.

The said Ramelius, during the time of his tariance, had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imploied about him to and from London, the court then being at Greenewich; whither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be shewed. Which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptablie to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsunweeke; at what time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapell, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiouslie said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue beene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapell with the rest of the quier bending themselues, both with skill and zeale, that daie to honor their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditorie doing such obeisance with knee and countenance, as the presence of so gratious a souereigne as they had in their eies did require.

The maiestie of the English court.

Heauenlie musike in the queens chapell.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner: where standing neere to a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication now with one, and then with another English lord, as the lord Charls Howard lord admerall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c:) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carrieng couered dishes, all of siluer & gilt verie beautifull; themselues in veluet and silke sutable in each respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worne; the trumpets sounding, and the drum plaieng thereunto: a maruellous delightsome thing to heare, and a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations, as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceipted; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordinglie affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were

The ambassador of Denmarke seeth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

Recreations and disports for prince and people.

not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a græne verie spatious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting and bulbaiting (tempered with other merie disports) were exhibited; whereat it can not be spoken of what pleasure the people toke.

Bearebaiting described.

For it was a sport alone of these beasts, to sée the beare with his pinke eies læring after his enimies, the nimblenesse and wait of the dog to take his aduantage, and the force and experience of the beare againe to auoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; and if he were once taken, then what shift with biting, clawing, roring, tugging, grasping, tumbling, & tolling he would worke to wind himselfe awaie; & when he was loose, to shake his eares with the bloud and slauer about his phisnomie, was a pittance of good relæfe. The like pastime also of the

Bulbaiting and an old ape on horsseback.

bull, & the horsse with the ape on his backe, did greatlie please the people, who standing round, some in a ring vpon the græne, other some aloft, and some below, had their eies full bent vpon the present spectacle, diuerse times expressing their inward conceiued ioy and delight with shrill shouts and varietie of gesture. Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors therein wearie; the ambassador withdrew to his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesies elsewhere, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassador, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirtith daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his voiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

This Crosbie was a knight, sée his gift to the citie of London, pag. 702, a 50.

The ambassador departeth home towards Denmarke.

Lord Edward earle of Rutland ambassador into Scotland.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, and on the fourth daie of June, a commission was directed from the quæns maiestie then at Græenewich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betweene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth quæne of England, and James the first of that name king of Scots, vpon certeine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and daungerous times, wherein the princes nære adioining, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues dow knit friendship, for the roting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other forren kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

The quæns maiestie hath speciall care of christian religion to be preserued and propagated.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should sæme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie indeuour to mainteine and vphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne: the said princes, for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people doth depend; and for the preseruation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now profesle; haue thought good that a stricter bond of mutuall and sociall league, than at anie time hitherto hath bæne agræd vpon betwæne their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and deseruing the poets report

——*nomen virtutibus æquat,*
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)

the lord William Euers, and also Thomas Randolph esquier; who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadors of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissionated: the articles of the said league in all and euerie part sufficientlie confirmed, on the fift of Julie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, wherevnto (for the auoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

See more of this ambassage in the historie of Scotland, pag. 456. b, 60.

And here (by the waie) hauing entered into a remembrance concerning Scotland, it is noteworthie, a little to glanse at the present state of the same, whereof let the wise consider, how soeuer the lesse aduised passe it ouer. The king himselfe we omit as touching his port be it as it is, neuertheless by name to be thought vpon: *Vtpote nomen minimæ felicitatis, maximi verò infortunij perhibetur.* For if a man tosse ouer the Scotish historie, and cast an eie vpon the succession of their kings; not medling with anie of anie name, sauing such as were of the same with him now in state of principalitie; he shall sée *Fatale quoddam malum nomini innatum* For certeine conspirators forceablie breaking vp the first kings chamber dore, hauing before died their hands with the bloud of the kings fauorers, did now also with like continuall bloudthirstinesse murther their souereigne, inflicting vpon his bodie manie cruell and deadlie wounds at eight and twentie seuerall blowes.

James the first slaine, sée the Scotish historie, pag. 266. b 40, 50.

Compare this murther with that of Brutus and Cassius vpon Julius Cesar.

The second king of that name, hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune he was slaine by the slice of a great pæce of artillerie; which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat nære it, but also hurt the earle of Angus with others. The third of that name banded himselfe against certeine rebellious lords, who had made their forces so strong, that they durst enter a pitcht field; and in dæd so did: where after great slaughter and murther made of an huge multitude, the king being put to the worst, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left starke naked.

James the second slaine, sée the Scotish historie, pag. 278. a 20.

James the third slaine, sée the Scotish historie. pag. 287. a 40,

The fourth of that name, with no lesse infelicitie than the former, ended his daies. For in a battell attempted, tried, and fiercelie fought with the English (notwithstanding manie prodigious chances as forewarnings of misfortune to befall both prince and people, as an hare start among them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, & other things flong at hir with great noise and shouting, yet escaped she from them all, safe and scotfræ: the buckle leather likewise of the kings helmet was gnawne with mise, & the cloth or veile of his inner tent of sanguine red) yet nothing moued with these extraordinarie accidents, nor the persuasions of such as were nære to & about him, he made against the English; & breaking his araie of battell (more hardie than wise) rushed forward (with a companie of noble men) and accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the English manfullie standing at resistance. In fine it fell out verie fatallie against the king & his power, by meanes that the English comming forceablie vpon them, and both sides for a long space fighting verie cruellie, at length the victorie inclined to the English; king James being there beaten downe and slaine.

Forewarnings of misfortune and ill lucke to befall.

James the fourth slaine, sée the Scotish historie, pag. 300 a 60. 301. a 10.

A league betwæne England and Scotland confirmed.

The

The fift of that name, a man neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, eger to reuenge iniuries, and of an high stomach; hearing of the discomfiture giuen vnto his people in a conflict by the English, was maruellouslie amazed: and therewithall such an impression of pensiuenesse surprised him, that he suspected a conspiracie of all his nobilitie (vpon probable reasons) to haue beene intended against him. Insomuch that he tooke such a vehement and deepe displeasure, increased with a melancholicall thought, that he departed suddenlie from place to place, and at last to Falkland, where he remained as a man desolat of comfort, sore vexed in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue accesse vnto him, his secret and familiar frends onelie excepted: so that in a short tract of time he died euen in the vigor of his manhood and strength, at the age of thirtie and three yeares. Now, in how little time the reigns and ruines of these forsaid princes were concluded, we leaue to such as list to looke into the course of the Scotish historie, where they are to obserue not onelie that point, but also manie matters of good consideration.

James the first his end, see the Scotish historie, pag. 329. a 60, b. 10.

The sixt and last of that name, of rare qualitie, and now in roialtie (the sonne of Marie Dowager malicious and murtherous, of whome in discourse hereafter, as occurrences of consequence shall direct our pen) what dangers he passed, &c: by search into the Scotish annals maie appeare: what remaineth behind we leaue to the Lord Gods counsell and working. Touching the countrie it selfe, it is diuided into factions; a plague to kingdoms, and a verie entrance to ruine and desolation. As for the tumults and seditions (which haue often happened) they haue had their begining from a pretended care of religion, which diuerse times hath beene altered, not in profession but in discipline; and which at this present (bishops remooued) is in the power of superintendents; neither can the same, by meanes of old hatred remaining in seed, be at quiet. How the people are affected, the nobles inclined, the officers disposed, the king obeied, the commons gouerned, law administred, religion reuerenced, dutie generallie exhibited, and Gods holie name honored,

Touching this James the first, see at large in the table of Scotland, and so in the historie.

Eloquar an sileam? grauis est in vtroque querela.

Howbeit, by the report of the * author of the Blacke booke, bearing shew to be printed at Cullen, and dedicated vnto the foresaid Marie the Scotish queene, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and fiue (whome this deuiser intituleth high and mightie princesse) euen then it was said that the commonwealth of Scotland was past hope, &c. To which purpose Cicero verie aptlie saith, that such commonwealths as are readie to be ouerthrowne, and haue all things forlorne and desperat in them, fall into this miserable issue, that they whome the laws condemne are restored, and iudgements giuen are reuoked and broken. Now when such things come to passe, let none be ignorant of this, that destruction is at hand, neither can anie man iustlie conceiue hope of safetie. From which remediless mischeefes God defend this realme of England! But enough of this, and now to matters of our owne.

* Thomas Ieneie the Scotish quenes orator as he writeth himselfe.

A sure token of a desperat commonwealth, and declining to destruction.

This yeare vpon the seuen and twentith daie of June, at the sessions of oier and terminer at iustice hall in London, a lewd fellow named Henrie Elks clerke, for counterfeiting the D. signet manuell to a presentation of the parsonage of all saints in Hastings, directed to the archbishop of Canturburie, or to his vicar or commissarie generall (the see or diocesse of Chichester being void) that he might be instituted parson there, was condemned, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled, & quartered: who was accordinglie on the next morrow, being the eight and twentith daie of June, executed at Tiborne, in companie of ten other prisoners that were hanged for felonies by them committed. About this time also a lotterie, for maruellous rich and beautifull armor, was begun to be drawen at the great west gate of saint Pauls church in London, in a house of timber newlie erected for that purpose, which lotterie continued drawing daie and night for the space of two or three daies.

Elks executed at Tiborne for counterfeiting the queens signet manuell.

A lotterie for armor in London.

¶ In the moneth of Julie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discouered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherin, as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeefous deuise, and to ouerthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certeine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so farre therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long vndetected) order was taken for a verie strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension.

The horrible conspiracie of Babington & other his fellow traitors discoursed by A. F.

In the execution whereof, such officers, as vpon whome the charge was imposed, demeaned themselues so preciselie (and speciallie the constables of London, to their praise be it spoken) that they spared not their next neighbors houses, but indifferentlie and without partialitie did search them; proceeding so farre by vertue of their office & present commission (wherein they had a speciall regard by their seruice to iustifie their allegiance and faithfull subiection to the whole world) that they went into the verie bedchambers of manie a welthie and worshipfull person, not forbearing the drawing of the curteins, &c: which was offensiuelie taken for the instant, vntill that the reason of their so seuere inquisition was aduisedlie considered.

The faithfull and feruent seruice of such as were in office in and about London in searching for the conspirators.

This search continued for certeine nights, with watch and ward conuenient, to the terrifieng of the conspirators whom the same principallie concerned, and draue them to such a perplexitie, that being ferretted from place to place, they wist not in what corner to take vp their safe repose. Neuertheless, great and diligent search hauing beene made daie and night, and the expected issue failing, peoples minds grew vnquiet and discontented: so much the rather, for that now the rumor of the said hainous attempt was so ranke, that the same was noised and voiced by verie children: insomuch that double diligence was vsed in a further inquirie, and indeed such circumspection had on all hands, that hedge and bush was so beaten, as at length some of those noisome birds were vnnested and surprised.

The conspirators distressed and succorlesse are put to verie hard shifts by inquisition and pursute.

The sound hereof rang byrn in diuerse places, and people thronged togither to see the vnnaturall beasts that were attached, whose hearts were ouerwhelmed with horror, and their faces couered with confusion; their consciences inwardlie exulcerated and galled with the guilt of their offense: which how damnable it was, the whisperings, communications, and lowd speaches of the multitude, pointing at them with the finger of infamie as traitors of singular note (some saieng, Looke, looke, yonder go the errant traitors that would haue killed our queene, yonder go the wretches that would haue burnt our citie, that would haue alienated the state of the land, that would haue laid all open vnto bloudshed, slaughter, desolation, and spoile: yonder they go whome heauen aboue doth abhorre, the earth below detest, the sun, moone, and starres be ashamed of, all

The conspirators apprehended and detected, to the great reioising of the citizens of London, &c.

creatures doo curse and count vnworthie of breath and life) might make them conceiue, euen to the extreme torment of their minds, which were now to meditat vpon nothing more than compunction of spirit, repentance, submission to the law and sentence of deserued death, with reconciliation to God, whome they most shamefullie betraied in betraieng his annointed, euen good quæne Elisabeth, the Lords lieutenant and vicegerent generall ouer vs.

No malefactor so odious as a traitor.

O caitiues most execrable, begotten and borne to miserie! How much better had it beene for you, neuer to haue beene conceiued, to haue proued an vntimelie frute, to haue beene ouerthrowen in your cradles, to haue perished in your swathling clowts; than in so vnhappie an houre, vnder so infortunat constellations, to so vnluckie a life, and so reprochfull a death to be reserued; whome none can pitie without suspicion of impietie, none lament but with lacke of loialtie, none fauorablie speake of without great note of ingratitude and prime trecherie? To this effect tended the interchangable speeches of the people, all with one voice disclosing the conceipts of their mind, against these eminent traitors: a most odious name and flat against all humanitie, the pernicious plague of kingdoms & commonwealths, hated of God and man, wherewith periured persons being bewitched, feare not to betraie themselues, so they may betraie others also, and their countrie. Whereupon they become intollerable to euerie one, yea euen to those that vse them to serue their owne wicked turns in disloiall & lewd actions, receiuing in the end the reward due to their execrable impieties.

Proditionem amo proditores odi: Treason I loue, but traitors I hate: the saieng of Cæsar Augustus.

For this is the common affection that men beare towards such people, so to sæke them out (which notwithstanding is not the propertie of a noble heart) when they stand in feare of them, as they that want gall or the poison of some venemous beasts: afterwards to giue them ouer and to reiect because of their wickednesse. If a man be called slouthfull, he maie become diligent; if talkatiue, silent; if a glutton, temperat; if an adulterer, continent; if furious, dissemble; if ambitious, constant; if a sinner, amend: but he that is once called a traitor, there is no water to wash him cleane, nor meane to excuse himselfe. And in truth, what man of anie good iudgement will trust such a one, as betraieth his prince, his benefactor, his citie, his countrie, his kinsfolks and frends into the hands of tyrannie and thraldome, from the which (aswell the one of bodie as the other of conscience and religion) good Lord deliuer vs. But to proceed in our discourse, you shall vnderstand, that by meanes of common report both in street and lane, the conspirators diabolicall purposes being knowne, there was such an excesse of ioie bred in the peoples hearts vpon their apprehension, and preuention of the imminent mischiefs, through Gods almightie goodnes, that neighbor with neighbor and friend with friend, yea familiars and strangers by companies fell in talke of the present accident, diuerse diuerslie discoursing thereof, some wishing a whole weeks exquisit torment, others renting in peeces with wild horsses, and the mildest (for conclusion) not forbearing imprecations of extreme bitternesse against the traitors.

Diuers kinds of reioisings among the people.

Now besides these were a sort of people of an other disposition, in whom the present occasion forced such a sudden impression of ioie, that they made the bels in steeples witnesses of their inward conceipt; the same being so strong & destrouslie sought to be testified, that some galled themselues with ringing, chosing rather to loose a little lether, yea a portion of their fat and flesh, than not (as time moued, and leasure was made to serue) to giue a signe of their good affection. This liked them well that misliked the ill, the euasion whereof was the cause of this mutuall reioising.

Beyond this the well affected of the citie did passe certeine degrees: for besides that some wearied themselues with pulling at the bell ropes, which were rong both daie and night, as vpon the daie of his maiesties coronation; so others deuised a further testification of ioie, insomuch that although wood was then at a verie extent of price, yet they spared not their stacks or piles, were the same little or great; but brought (we thinke in conscience) euerie house a portion, where fires might conuenientlie be made and without danger. Memorandum that none were more forward herein than the meaner sort of people, who rather than they would omit to ad little or much to a fire, being vnprouided of fuell, parted with a penie or two to buie a few sticks by retaile. Insomuch that now by common consent this action grew to be generall, for few places might a man see in the citie, of anie spaciousnesse or compasse, where a cleare fire was not made.

No sparing of wood to make bonfires, albeit the price was verie high.

And surelie infinit was the wood spent for the present time, as maie appeare by the number betwixt Ludgate and Charing crosse (fires made in biturnings, lanes, yards, &c: excepted) amounting vnto aboue three score, by count of the writer hereof, who went of purpose to view them, and indeed did note them all. The people hauing thus done, did not so staie their inward reioising; but bringing out their square and round tables into the open streets, like neighbors sitting together, and furnishing the boords with such prouision as the present time afforded, made merrie in comelie and honest sort. Where (by the waie) this is not worthie, that manie times an euill thing doth effectuat a good.

The pore peoples disposition in this exultation.

A true and iust obseruation of the writer.

Neighbors make merrie in the open streets for ioy of the conspirators detection and apprehension.

An euill thing doth procreat a good.

For by the breaking out of this conspiracie, whereupon insued this remembred reioising; it so came to passe, that manie a priuat reconciliation was procured by this mutuall meeting of neighbors betweene diuerse that before had beene at ouerthwarts and in secret grudge, all which was washed awaie with a cup of merrie go downe for hir sake, that *Secundum Deum est columen salutis nostræ.* In some places the people sang psalmes, and made such melodie as their skill could deuise, with tabber and pipe marching about their fires, and giuing manie a showt, that the aire rang withall. Now by this president hir maiestie is to be comforted, and also persuaded, that she hath subiects in this hir citie, to whome hir health and safetie is more pretious than life or life, and who could be content to spare the best blood in their heart, so hir little finger might not so much as ake: in which mind they liue, and so meane to die, herein saieng by waie of deprecation:

The queens maiestie may persuade hirselfe that she is not without thousands of faithfull hearts, &c.

Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis:
Seu tua te Windsora capit, quæ sydera lambens,
Subiectas alta despicit arce domos:
Quæque præit formæ reliquas, Hamptonia, quamuis
Pontificis fuerat, regibus apta domus:
Seu te Londinum cunctorum regia regum
Detinet, & gremio certat habere suo.
Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
I, comitante Deo, quo duce sospes eris.
Ah pereat! quicunque tuo linescit honore,
Quisquis te nolit, qualis es, esse diu.
Viue (precor) decus excellens, spes vna tuorum,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis.

Now by reuelation of this pestilent practise, & apprehension of the conspirators in seeking to escape, the minds of people latelie perplexed, were presentlie disburthened of manie mistrustfull douts, & their hearts yerwhile heauie, grew forthwith somewhat lighter by the extenuation of feare & suspicion, where-

The hearts and minds of the people greatlie quieted and eased.

with

with before they carefullie trauelled; and some that before could not sléepe, not so much for their priuat as their princes and publike estate disquieted, did take their wished rest; most persuading themselues that as a traine of gunpowder, being fiered but in some little part, ceaseth not till it be vtterlie consumed: so would it befall these traitors vpon their descrie and apprehension.

Treasons and conspiracies can not be so closelie wrought but they will out at last.

But as after a pleasant summer followeth a sharpe winter, and the greatest pleasures haue their ouerthwarts: so fared it with this ioie of the multitude, which (as the bright sun in a clære daie ouercast with clouds) was dawnted with a sudden dread, & the necke thereof in a sort broken with the brute of an arriuall of forren enimies vpon the coasts of Sussex. For towards the euening, there were séene fiftie ships houering to and fro before Brighthemston, and sailing towards the towne, as though they had purposed to haue come to the shore: whereof the towne within a few houres aduertised the lord Buckehurst, the messenger adding ten to the number, and bringing word that threéscore ships were descried; and that if they ment to come on land, they would do it within an houre following, which if they did, then they would send him further word; but supposed they would not land till the next morning, the tide then seruing verie conuenient. Thereupon alarums were rung, and messengers sent out to giue notice to the other parties to be in a readinesse: but expresse charge to fire no beacons, vnlesse they had warrant so to do, and that the enimies were first landed.

After mirth heauie chære.

The lord Buckehurst redilie arming his men, gaue spædie direction what should be done, & went out and laie on the downes all night with the companie, betwéene a village called Rottingdeane and Brighthemston, whither resorted vnto him about one thousand and six hundred people, readie there to do their dutie, if néed required. His presence greatlie confirmed the people somewhat troubled with this rumor; but yet with great alacritie they flocked from all parts in heaps, and made towards the coast. The Kentishmen likewise with all celeritie assembled, and with no lesse willingnesse addressed themselues to march in good order, well furnished and prepared to haue come downe, had not contrarie news of all things quieted béene brought. For not long after, the coast was cleare, & no more but ten ships with a pinnesse séene a far off, about sixtéene miles in the sea, against the downs, betwéene Newhauen and Brighthemston; whereof two were said to haue come somewhat nére to the shore about Salt Deane, and to haue discharged two péces of ordinance. Afterwards being descried what they were, by a vessell manned forth for that purpose by the lord Buckehurst to parle with them; it was found they were Hollanders come out of Spaine loden with merchandize, and bound to Holland, who (by reason the wind had continued easterlie) were forced to houer alongst the coast, their making towards Brighthemston being onelie to get the wind, and that they were frends and no enimies. Beacons were none fired (although the contrarie were reported) but one at Burrish (as was said) from which error some perhaps might in like sort be fired in Kent, but yet verie few.

The redinesse of the lord Buckhurst to repell the enimies, if anie such arriuall as was noised had bene.

Upon what occasion the false voice of forren arriuall did grow.

At the same time that this rumor of tumult was so rise, a great mariage (wherat the bishop of Chichester made a sermon in the chapell) was solemnized at the lord Mountagues house; whereat the earle of Worcester, the countesse of Southampton, the ladie Marie Arundell, the ladie Greie sister to the said lord Mountague, with diuers other knights, ladies, gentlemen & gentlewomen of great traine & attendance were present; insomuch that the number was so great, as it was thought there were not ten gentelmen of Sussex, which might dispend two hundred pounds lands by yeare, that were absent: which number as they were great, so was their tariance long in that place. Now as the said companie was redie to sit downe to supper, sudden news came that Newhauen was burned, & the lord Buckhurst with a power gone to Brighthemston to saue the towne from forren inuasion, intended by certeine ships redie to make arriuall. Which although it was a mere lie and vaine report (as by the premisses appeareth) yet notwithstanding it bred such an abashment in the minds of the multitude, from the best to the worst, that thereupon a partile dissolution of the companie was procured, to the number of a hundred horsse making awaie vpon that occasion: howbeit, there supped (as it was said) fiftéene hundred people in and about the said house, the same night that these troublesome news arriued. Which might well be true: for the bére tap neuer left running, during the space of foure daies; a time wherein a great part of the good prouision was spent, to the founders praise and the féeders relése.

A great mariage solemnised at the time of the false voice of forren arriuall.

These false news came flieng from diuerse places.

Hospitalitie commendable.

But to let that passe, you shall vnderstand, that when the truth of this whole matter was knowne, all former feare, whereto false report had made passage into the minds of men, was forthwith put to flight; and though for a season, being sudden, the present conspiracie (so grene of memorie) gaue it force for the time; yet neuertheless at length, like a cloud in the aire, or a dreame in slépe, it vanished quite awaie, and the rumor thereof was the restoring of the people to their former reioising, ingendring likewise in them an expectation of deserued iustice against the troublers of Israels blessed peace. Howbeit (a matter of great moment, and at no hand to be omitted) hir maiestie hauing intelligence of hir louing peoples demeanor, in such sort as you haue heard, did most gratiouslie accept of the same, and conceiued no small comfort in heart, that God had giuen hir a people so studious of hir safetie, and toifull for the same. Insomuch that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as hereupon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor tittle proceéding from so singular a souereigne, is to fall to the ground vnregarded) we are in dutie bound trulie to anner them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a brése oration of maister James Dalton, one of the councellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The reioising of the people for hir maiesties preseruation commeth to hir eares, &c.

The oration of maister Iames Dalton, &c.

KIght worshipfull, my good countriemen and citizens of this most noble citie of London: since the late brute and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awaie the life of our most gracious souereigne (whome God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall ioie of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuerse of that most wicked conspiracie alate declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the quéens most excellent maiestie such a gratious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie and his brethren, hir most noble and prince-

lie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as thereby maie appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioised at the most happie escape of the wicked mischiefe intended against hir owne person, as at the ioie which hir louing subiects, & namelie you of this citie of London toke at the apprehension of the practisers of that intended treason.

By occasion whereof, hir highnesse brought to a thankefull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable with anie prince or creature in the world, no worldlie thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subiects manie waies, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great ioie in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioising maie the more appeare vnto you; it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among vs, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue & goodwill of hir subiects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good meanes that apperteine to a christian prince, to seeke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifullie affected subiects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowen vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare vnto you all, that they doo heartilie reioise and thanke God for the happie daie of the good acceptation of this your great ioie; and my lord himselfe hath willed me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull behauiours haue gotten to the citie so noble and worthie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble and worthie a queene. Now, for so much as Gods blessings woonderfullie abound, & one ioie commeth vpon another, let vs not be vnthankefull to God, but acknowledge his goodnesse, and attribute the same (as in deed we ought) to the sincere religion of almightie God, most godlie established by the queens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught vs to know God aright, our dutie to our souereigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient subiects, reioising at all good things happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble seruice, the true effects of a true and good religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and superstitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inuenters of mischiefes, bruters and spreaders abrode of false and seditious rumors, such as ioie at no good thing; but contrariwise reioise at euerie euill successe, the badges and marks of their profession, who haue before this, in this realme and in other hir highnesse dominions, stirred vp rebellion, forren inuasion, and manie times practised the verie death & destruction of the queene hir selfe; the ruine & subuersion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romish religion.

We haue beheld all these things, and seene in our daies the ruine and mischiefs inuented against others, fall vpon the inuenters themselues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of diuerse of them, diuerslie to kill and murther themselues, when most traitorouslie they would, and most happilie they could not, slea the Lords annointed. As we haue knowne all these things, so God be thanked, that by a better religion, hauing beene better taught, we haue beene no partakers of their wicked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as occasion hath serued; and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and deuisers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue beene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse now so gratiouslie accepting onelie of our reioising at the apprehension of hir enimies, euen the least part of the dutie of a good subiect to so good a queene) will be readie euerie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues, spedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villanouslie and traitorouslie attempt or put in vre anie mischiefe to hir noble person; and in the meane time will haue a better eie and eare to all suspicious and miscontented persons, to their saiengs and doings, to their false brutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers companions, aiders and mainteiners. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increase our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so worthie a prince; and root out that wicked and Romish religion, that hath made so manie disloiall and traitorous subiects; to whome is both odious and irkesome the long life and prosperous reigne of our most noble queene Elisabeth. God confound all such traitors, and preserue hir highnesse long to liue & reigne ouer vs. ¶ Hauing thus spoken, the multitude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties letters, and read the same with a verie distinct and audible voice, as followeth.

Sir Wolstan Dixie lord maior of London, Anthonie Ratcliffe and Henrie Pranell shiriffes.

To our right trustie and welbeloued, *the lord maior of our citie of London, and* his brethren the aldermen of *the same.*

RIght trustie and welbeloued, we greete you well. Being giuen to vnderstand, how greatlie our good and most louing subiects of that citie, did reioise at the apprehension of certeine diuelish and wicked minded subiects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God haue beene detected, to haue most wickedlie and vnnaturallie conspired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a generall rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vnto you the great and singular contentment we receiued vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you, that we did not so much reioise at the escape of the intended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great ioie our most louing subiects toke at the apprehension of the contriuers thereof: which, to make their loue more apparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward shew, that by anie externall act might witnesse to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause with all thankefulnesse to acknowledge Gods great goodnesse toward vs, through the infinit blessings he laieth vpon us, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet doo we not for anie worldlie blessing receiued from his diuine maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subiects, euen from the first beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer subiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it doth in verie deed) to seeke with all care, & by

all good means that apperteine to a Christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifullie affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we mate in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish & continue their loue & good will towards vs, but also increase the same. We thinke méet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemblie to our most louing subiects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsor, the eightéenth daie of August 1586, in the eight and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Thus you sée hir maiesties mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse of and for dender and bounden dutie: a propertie of princelie imitation, and wherein hir highnesse father of famous memorie king Henrie the eight did excell; who in the fift yeare of his reigne, managing wars in France (at what time also the English forces, vnder the conduct and gouernment of the earle of Surrie, the kings lieutenant generall, atchiued manie notable exploits against the Scots at the battell of Bramyton, to the enimies great discomfiture, both by slaughter and captiuitie) where he heard how happilie his people had demeaned themselues, to the renowme and credit of their natiue countrie; but speciallie to his roiall contentment: insomuch that at his returne into England from his conquest of Terwin and Tornaie, he forgat not the acceptable seruice of his said people donne in the Scotish wars; but verie thankefullie estéeming thereof, wrote vnto them his louing letters, leuened with words and clauses of such singular liking and passing fauour, that euerie man thought himselfe sufficientlie rewarded. Euen so blessed quéene Elisabeth (a naturall branch of that spreading vine) treading the steps of hir great progenitor, gaue like publike testimonie of heartie good will and gratious acceptance, of hir peoples forerememb̃red reioising. Which as it is a note of no common exemplification, so it cannot but excite and stir vp much matter of multiplieng and ratifieng all dutifull kindnesse and seruiceable submission to hir highnesse: wherein as we doubt not anie neglect, when occasion is ministred; so we leaue hir to the Lords holie hand, the onelie hope of hir and our helpe; purposing now for a while to leaue the conspirators in safe custodie, and to touch the next occurrence comming to hand, as course of time offereth direction.

Quéene Elisabeth a right patterne of king Henrie the eight.

About this time, returned into England, sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowledge in nauigation, & verie fortunat in the euent of his enterprises, after manie feats of good seruice accomplished in forren countries (as at Baion, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagena, &c: to the admiration of all people amongest whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon supposall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they séemed lightlie to estéeme anie purposed force of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of annoiance. Howbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of autumne, when as the leaues begin to fall. For they were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as also doubting a totall wast by fire and sword, that they were glad to yéeld to composition. And here, because mention is made of Hispaniola, it shall not be amisse to honor this voiage with an historicall report of that countrie.

Sir Francis Drake his returne into England after his last voiage finished.

Hispaniola (of some affirmed to be Ophir, whereof mention is made in the third booke of the kings) is of latitude fiue south degrees, hauing the north pole eleuat on the north side seuen and twentie degrées, & on the south side (as they saie) two & twentie degrees; it reacheth in length from east to west, seuen hundred and foure score miles, being distant from the Ilands of Gades (now Cales) nine and fortie degrees and more, as some saie. The forme of the Iland resembleth the leafe of a chesnut tree, with a gulfe towards the west side, lieng open against the Iland of Cuba. But the expert shipmaister Andreas Moralis describeth it, from the east and west angle to be indented and eaten with manie great gulfes, and the corners to reach forth verie farre, placing manie large and safe hauens in the great gulfe on the east side. It may be compared (without shame or blame as some saie) to Italie, sometimes quéene of the world. For if the quantitie be considered, it shall be found little lesse, and much more fruitfull. It reacheth from the east into the west foure hundred and fortie miles, according to the computation of the later searchers. It is in breadth somewhere almost three hundred miles, and in some places narrower, where the corners are extended. But it is surelie much more blessed and fortunat than Italie, being for the most part thereof so temperat and flourishing, that it is neither vexed with sharpe cold, nor afflicted with immoderat heat. It hath both the staiengs or conuersions of the sun called solstitia in a maner equall with the equinoctiall, with little difference betwéene the length of the daie and the night throughout all the yeare. For on the south side the daie ascendeth scarslie an houre in length aboue the night, or contrariwise: the cold is accidentall, and not by the situation of the region, their spring and summer is perpetuall, their ground of maruellous fruitfulnesse, their oxen and swine of exceeding bignesse, & fed with mirobalans, an eare of wheat with them as big as a mans arme in the brawne; great plentie of cattell, wholsome waters, & gold euerie where; for there is in maner no riuer, nor mounteine, and but few plaines that are vtterlie without it.

Iolomon king of Ierusalem had his great riches of gold from hense, and that his ships sailed to Ophir by the gulfe of Persia, called *Sinus Persicus.*

Hispaniola compared to Italie.

The temperature of Hispaniola.

The equinoctiall.

The bignesse of an eare of wheat.

This Hispaniola is reputed the head, and as it were the principall mart of all the liberalitie of the ocean, hauing a thousand and a thousand faire, pleasant, beautifull, and rich Nereides or Ilands, which lie about it on euerie side, adorning this their ladie and mother, as it were an other Thetis the wife of Neptune, inuironing hir about, and attending vpon hir as their quéene and patronesse: and therefore aptlie denominated and likened vnto the earthlie paradise. Where, by the waie might be touched who first inhabited Hispaniola, how it was first named, the peoples maner of learning, their ballads and rimes, their singing and dansing, their songs of loue and mourning, their prophesies, familiaritie with spirits, their serpents, their riuers and poles, their prouinces, their delights and pleasures, and how they can abide no labor nor cold, what gold is yearelie brought from thense into Spaine, namelie the summe of foure hundred, and sometimes fiue hundred ducats of gold, as may be gathered by the fift portion due to the kings ercheker, amounting to an hundred and fourescore, or fourescore and ten thousand castellans of gold, and sometimes more. Here also might be discoursed the manifold and admirable things in that countrie, the variable motions of the elements, the colonies & villages which the Spaniards haue builded, the sundrie goodlie Ilands round about it, as Arethusa, Sanctus Johannes, Cuba, Jamaica, Guadalupea, &c: the suger presses wherwith great plentie of suger is made, the canes or reeds wherein the same groweth, being as big as a mans arme in the brawne, & higher than the stature of a man by the halfe, the like whereof is in no

A particular description of the Iland of Hispaniola.

What gold is brought yearelie from Hispaniola into Spaine.

The suger of Hispaniola.

It is supposed that Sa-

place: the wheat, wine, with infinit other commodities and circumſtances; and ſpeciallie the cheefeſt gold mines, how the ſame is fined and diſtributed, as alſo that onelie in the melting ſhops of the two golden mines of Hiſpaniola, are molten yerelie aboue three hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold: ſo likewiſe might we ſaie much of Sancto Dominico, the chiefe citie and head of Hiſpaniola, reported in hiſtorie, as touching the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, *Tanto pro tanto*, no not Barſalona, that is to be preferred before it generallie. For the houſes are for the moſt part of ſtone, as are they of Barſalona, or of ſo ſtrong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a ſingular and ſtrong binding. Touching the ſituation thereof enough is extant in bookes of nauigation, whereto we remit the readers. We might alſo ſpeake of Carthagena, of the authoritie of the viceroie of Hiſpaniola, the mother and principall of all other lands and Ilands, of the ſenat and iudges there, who giue lawes to all the inhabitants of theſe tracts. But if we ſhould take that courſe, there would be no end of our worke. Onelie this we haue ſaid in honor of the knight, who with extraordinarie fortune trauelled to the places aboue ſaid: and vnto whome with his companie much maie be aſcribed by waie of commendation, becauſe that they haue made knowne vnto poſteritie ſo manie thouſands of Antipodes, which laie hid before and vnknowne to our forefathers.

Sancto Dominico the chiefe citie in Hiſpaniola.

And now reſuming the perſon of him, whoſe valor did induce vs vnto this remembrance; note this, that hauing augmented his former renowme with new acceſſe of praiſworthie ſeruice, he grew ſo famous in places far & nære, that among nations abrode his name grew verie common, inſomuch that ſome of the learned ſort maligning his honorable atchiuements, euen againſt their owne conſciences & knowledge did report verie ingloriouſlie of him and his actions, againſt whoſe obloquies the truth is a ſufficient target. But thus much by the waie to the ſlanderer, who hath learned the peſtilent precept of Medius giuen to backbiters, who taught that they ſhould not ſpare to nip boldlie, and to bite with ſtore of ſlanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten ſhould be cured of the wound, yet the ſkar at the leaſt will ſtill remaine. Howbeit true it is, that this comfort can not be taken awaie from good men, namelie to be perſuaded, that the ſleights of backbiters and ſlanderers are able to preuaile but little againſt the inuincible tower of ſacred vertue, and of an aſſured hope well grounded, which (whatſoeuer commeth to paſſe) triumph alwaies, and victoriouſlie hold enuie and backbiting vnder their feet. In the meane while, it is the greateſt griefe in the world to ſee the honor of a good man in the mercie of a venemous toong: and true is and will be the common prouerbe, *Non è alcuna perſona ſi libera, a chimanchi il ſuo bargello*. As for the opinions and conceipts of people at home concerning him, they were extraordinarie: inſomuch that after his arriuall and being in London, manie did flocke about him in the open ſtreets, with admiration as a worlds wonder: yea the report of his exploits abrode did ſo rauiſh their minds, that leauing preacher and ſermon, they ran apace to behold him: ſuch force hath magnanimitie, wherwith this worthie knight tempered all his enterpriſes, ſorted to a verie proſperous iſſue.

There is no man ſo free that hath not his perſecutor or enimie.

Now hauing touched (though not with conuenient dignitie) the laſt voiage of this ſingular gentleman, it were not amiſſe to anner in this place a memoriall of a former voiage by him attempted, namelie on the thirteenth daie of December, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſeuen: at what time accompanied with fiue tall ſhips well manned and appointed, he ſailed into the weſt Indies: and by the ſame aduenture (moſt luckilie accompliſhed) eterniſed his name. At what time the king of the Moluccaes admiring his order, and aſtonied at the hearing of the peales of Engliſh ordinance, roring like thunder (which he there at his arriuall valiantlie and liberallie diſcharged) receiued him right honorablie, cauſing foure galliaſſes to conduct and bring his ſhip into the ſureſt harborough, and himſelfe with his companie to his preſence. In this voiage he diſcouered a countrie erſt vnknowne, which he named Noua Albion, where by his courteous deling he ſo allured and woone the hearts of the inhabitants, that twiſe they crowned him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chilie, where it hath bæne heretofore thought that nothing had bæne but continent and firme land, he found ſundrie Ilands, the furtheſt wherof lieng moſt ſouth, he called by hir maieſties name Eliſabetha. Now after manie a ſingular note of his incomparable valorouſneſſe exhibited in places where he came, and purpoſing to make his aduenture profitable, he neglected no meanes that might ſtand with his honeſtie & honor; returning home into England with great riches the ſix and twentith of September, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and eightie; with one ſhip onelie. For of the fiue, wherwith (at his firſt ſetting forth) he was furniſhed, he was forced to ſet two on fire, the third periſhed, the fourth came backe and went not forwards at the firſt. A voiage of great aduenture and proſperous ſucceſſe, contrarie to the ackward and frowning hap of ſundrie worthie gentlemen, whoſe attempts albeit honorable and commendable, yet matched with miſfortune, or at leaſt defectiue in deſerued and hoped iſſue: a ſore diſcouragement to gentlemen of trauell, and not a little impeaching the art of nauigation. For with what corage can men put in practiſe the rules of their knowledge, when they ſee the ſucceſſe of their ſkill and actions inferior vnto the tediouſneſſe of their labors, oftentimes accompanied with loſſe of life? A forceable motiue to withdraw mens minds quite from all deſire to ſea, and to breed in them a good liking of the land, yea of their owne houſes and ſmoking chimnies: whereby in fine might follow a contempt of nauigation, and a neglect of all profit that trauell might afford.

The returne of ſir Francis Drake into England with great riches, &c.

Manie voiages of great difficultie haue bæne vndertaken, but failed in the iſſue.

To which purpoſe Fabatus the conſull is worthy the noting, who in ſeuentie yeares which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to go to Meſſina, which was but two miles off by water. And when one aſked him the cauſe whie? The barke (quoth he) is fooliſh, for it alwaies ſtirreth vp and downe; the mariner is fooliſh, for he neuer abideth in one opinion; the water is fooliſh, for it neuer ſtandeth ſtill; the wind is fooliſh, for it runneth continuallie. Now if we vſe to go from a fole when we mæt him vpon the land; what reaſon were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the ſea? But if all men had bæne of Fabatus his mind, or vpon ſome ouerthwart caſualties and fatall accidents ſhould grow into a miſlike of ſhip and ſea (as diuers both wiſe, graue, and aged philoſophers were of the contrarie opinion, then would not Plato, after he had bæne well inſtructed by Socrates, ſought out the Magies & wiſe men of Egypt, by whoſe means he ſaw the bookes of Moſes: then he went into Italie, to hear Architas Tarentinus, the moſt renowmed philoſopher of that countrie. Apollonius, who matched in learning all the philoſophers of his time, trauelled ouer all the three parts of the world, to ſee and conferre with all the ſkilfull men of his age: and being returned into his countrie, inriched with

Fabatus an old conſull, but no trauceller, ſpeaketh according to his ſmall ſkill.

Philoſophers haue bæne great trauellers for knowledge, &c.

wonderfull knowledge, he distributed all his goods (whereof he had great abundance) amongst his brethren, and to the poore: and withdrawing himselfe into the field, he liued with bread and water onelie, that he might haue his mind free for the contemplation of heauenlie things. Wherein we are the more willing to vse the authorities of philosophers, because they were counted wise, and no mens iudgement in the world more consonant to the truth, as likewise their examples are of force to persuade.

The benefits of nauigation or trauelling by sea, &c.

And surelie as wisdome with experience is purchased by trauelling; so wealth and worship is thereby obteined: all which are most vrgent prouocations to draw men forwards to great and doubtfull aduentures: besides a carefull and louing regard of common vtilitie, which to a valorous mind is a verie spurre. Wherefore we may iudge that Frenchman scarse well aduised or affected, who vpon a light ghesse concludeth, that want of prudence and ambitious desires did first inuent the art of nauigation and sailing into farre countries: a thing ordeined of God, and time out of mind vsed amongest men, as may appeare by the words of the prophet Dauid, They that go downe to the sea in ships, and occupie their businesse in great waters: these men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. But to end with him at whome this present note toke beginning, it were to be wished, that in memorie of this gentlemans incomparable atchiuement, some monument might remaine to succeeding ages: and none fitter than the brittle barke wherein he arriued safe and sound, which a knight of good account and rarelie qualified, thought meet to be fixed vpon the stumpe of Paules steeple, in lieu of the spire, that being discerned farre and neere, it might be noted and pointed at of people with these true termes: Yonder is the barke that hath sailed round about the world. The emperor Adrian toke such glorie and pride in all execrable vices, that he commanded a temple with a sumptuous tombe to be made for a naughtie man named Antinous, whom he had miserablie abused in his life. The gentleman whome this remembrance concerneth, preferring the honor of his countrie before his owne life, with magnanimitie vndertooke vnwonted aduentures, and went through the same with wonderfull happines: were it not then iniurie to burie his name in obliuion, matters of no moment in a manner compared to this noted in our annales? Wherefore till time produce a more sufficient commemoration of him, let this serue the turne: whereto we will adde a few verses written in his fame, and so leaue him vnto the blessed successe whereunto he is by Gods most gratious appointment (no doubt) reserued:

Nauigation in vse before Christs time: note psalme 107.

The words of a knight concerning the barke wherein sir Francis Drake sailed about the world.

The obseruations in all his voiages remaine in writing, &c.

T.N. Ciceſt.

Ante Dracum multi heroes freta multa Britanni
Non ſine laude citis ſulcârunt ſalſa carinis,
Nec potuere tamen votis potirier: alti
Nec reſerare vias pelagi (ſors omnia verſat)
Quamuis mente pia imbuti atque ingentibus auſis:
Dracus at ex multis (gallinæ filius albæ)
Quem decorat Pitho, quem Suada venuſtat amica,
Quem pia relligio, quem dia Modeſtia adornat,
Omine felici cuncta incipit, omine fauſto
Perficit, & patriæ ſeruit, viuitque fidelis,
Colla petulca domans, & opima trophea reportans.

And now back againe to our former stop in the conspiracie; the processe whereof who would not willinglie heare, the same being so odious & vnnaturall? The mischiefes against hir maiestie and the bodie of the land preuented, and the imaginers thereof now in durance: the honorable lords of the councell (whose vigilancie hath beene alwaies most wonderfull for the tranquillitie and securitie of the state) did now enter into the discussing and winnowing out of such vnnaturall treacheries, as the conspirators had in their lewd conuenticles consulted vpon, & in their seditious letters solicited. Wherein although the offendors had capitallie transgressed, and in a degree so eminent as none aboue, and therefore deserued what rigor (were it neuer so sharpe) might be thought vpon, or vsed: yet not so much as falling into a conceipt of anie such proceeding, they so dealt with the conspirators by clemencie, circumspection, & persuasion; that whatsoeuer concerned their attempt in that heinous kind, they discouered, and vpon hope of fauour (which it were sin against God to grant to malefactors so mischiefoullie bent) opened the whole forme of the action, with the circumstances of the same. By which their voluntarie confession they satisfied the examinants, whose wisedoms in a course of that kind it is impossible for a giltie conscience to outreach.

No rigor vsed against the conspirators, whereby anie thing might seeme to be violentlie extorted in examination.

Matters thus far passed, and the greater states much quieted, the people were in dailie expectation & desire to heare some report of the conspirators now by their owne confessions sufficientlie conuicted: whereupon a preacher at Pauls crosse was commanded from authoritie, to deliuer some notice to the assemblie, answerable to the knowledge which he himselfe receiued by care at the best hand; namelie, that diuerse of the traitors were apprehended, and without anie torture or torment confessed their treasonable intentions; which were, to murther hir maiestie, and procure meanes for the arriuall of forren powers, whereby the land might be ouerrun, heauen and earth confounded, and all things turned topsie turuie. It was not the policie of man (said the preacher) that caused this discouerie, but *Digitus Dei*, the finger of God that found them out. Thus much being intimated to the people in that publike sermon, they gaue God thanks for the same; as surelie we cannot sufficientlie magnifie his diuine maiestie, who of his infinit mercie hath preserued hir highnesse from manie imminent mischiefes, and wrapped the wretched imaginers and intenders thereof in their owne snares, to their foule shame and confusion.

The conspirators vow voluntarilie confesse the plot of their purposed practise.

How this great conspiracie came to light is signified by the preacher.

Now after voluntarie confession, and examination by hir maiesties wise councellors, being hir eies and eares, there seemed no further euidence or proofe requirable for their conuiction: the giltinesse of their conscience inducing them to the discouerie of their intollerable treacheries: than the which there cannot be a hell of more extreame torment. And surelie true it is, that the conscience of a malefactor is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnesse, a iudge, and a hangman: the scripture importing no lesse, in saieng, that the wicked shall tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, and be as if their life hong by a thread. Which violence of mans conscience we ought to be persuaded commeth from God, who causeth his enimies (which be such as oppose themselues against his annointed) to feele his iudgement and furie in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselues: as we see notablie exemplified in these conspirators, who being now scarselie the shadows of men, and all hope of life or mitigation of deserued death quite extinguished, were to thinke vpon their present downefall into destruction, restlesse in bodie, troubled in soule, heauie in heart, and wholie ouerwhelmed with waues of most wofull miserie. And doubtlesse, if at anie time, most likelie now were they touched with compunction and remorse, euen to the quicke, if the grace of God were not vtterlie exiled out of their hearts.

The queens wise councellors are hir eies and hir eares.

The wretched state of the conspirators now waiting for the award of iudgement and death.

Now had they iust cause and fit time to curse their vngratious meetings, their execrable consul-

tations,

tations, their diuelish deuises, the vnhappie houre of giuing consent to effectuat, or anie waie to prefer a practise of so pestilent a plot; & finallie the dismall daie of their destruction, the mindfulnesse whereof could not but so terrifie and torment them, as that no meane could relæue them, no place succor them: being not vnlike vnto fearefull men at sea subiect to casting, who thinking to be better in one place than in another, go from the sterne to the stem, then to the bottome of the ship, afterwards to the highest part, from thense into the skiph, and in the end returne into the ship, without anie amendement of their euill, because they carrie alwaie about with them both feare and græfe. And surelie thus it must be by the inevitable decrée of God, with all such as insurge and rise against their souereigne (in whome is power to prescribe laws vnto all in generall, and to euerie one in particular, and not to receiue anie but of God; who is the iudge of princes, as princes are the iudges of their people) and labour to dissolue the societie of men, which is the bond of life; nature spurning against such malicious minds, whose ordinance tendereth the preseruation of all creatures in their kinds, whether earthie, waterie, aierie, or flieng, tame or wild, they all seeking after fellowship of like with like to liue togither; as sheepe by flocks, kine, oxen, harts & hinds feeding by heards; horsses & mules by companies; choughs, stares, cranes, & other birds by flight; fishes both in fresh & salt waters following one another in sholes; bees dwelling in hiues, pigeons in dowehouses, ants in little hills, &c.

The remembrance of death is dredfull to all traitors.

The societie of men is the bond of life, which who so seeketh to dissolue is worthie of death.

What a mischiefe meant these, shall I saie men, naie monsters of men, to transgresse the limits of all loialtie in such an outragious sort? The wretches might well thinke, that God establisheth no principalitie, but he will by his power support the same, euen to the confusion of all them that seeke either directlie or indirectlie to supplant the same. But these men troubled their minds with no such cogitations, which might haue reuoked or restreined them from their attempts, or forewarned them of dangers insuing vpon consultations held against princes, of plots laid against the whole state of a kingdome, of innouations, of alienations, of intrusions, and confusions. Wherein it is to be wondered, what legion of diuels possessed them, that professing the name of christians, and linked with the societie of Jesus, they should so degenerat as to kicke against the rule of christianitie, which teacheth that princes and potentates are to be obeied, speciallie souereignes and monarchs, who in their seuerall territories and dominions are like the sun, which is as king among the starrs, the moone as quéene, the eagle among birds, the lion among beasts, the whale in the sea, and the pike in poles among fishes: finallie, as the heart in a liuing creature, which giueth life to the whole bodie, because it is the founteine of bloud and vitall spirits.

God establisheth no principalitie but he supporteth the same by his omnipotencie.

The rule of christianitie teacheth obedience and loialtie.

Princes whereto compared in their dignities.

Now to enter either into consultation or action against a person of such excellencie, what is it else but to pull the sunne out of heauen, and to teare the heart out of the bodie? Wise men will ground their affections and enterprises vpon right and equitie onelie, knowing that they ought not alwaies to be measured by their euent and end, which oftentimes séeme to fauor vniust counsels and doings; and offer some colour and occasion to the wicked to prosecute their dealings, hauing no care of violating right and iustice: but howsoeuer it be, a miserable end bringeth them an ouerlate repentance. There is no action but hath his originall intention, no intention but issueth from a premeditation, no premeditation but proceedeth from a conceipt: all these concurring with their accessaries, make a complet action: as we see in sciences and arts, as in grammar, which taketh beginning from letters, geometrie from the point, arithmetike from vnitie, musike from the minnem and semibreefe; and also in things naturall, as plants and trées, which rise and increase out of a verie small seed. And therefore let men take héed how they giue place vnto a wicked thought, much more to a mischéefous déed. In which respect it is worth the noting that is reported of Diogenes, who beholding one of his scholars in a publike place talking verie earnestlie with a young man, that was suspected wanton and effeminat, demanded what communication they had: To whome the scholar, answered that the other rehearsed vnto him a notable tricke of youth, which he had plaied the night before. Then Diogenes said to them both; My will and commandement is, that each of you haue fortie stripes with a whip within the amphitheater or plaieng place: thou (quoth he to his scholar) for giuing care vnto him, and he for the follie committed; because a philosopher deserueth as much for hearkening to follie recited, as doth the vagabond that rehearseth it.

Euerie thing taketh his being of a small beginning.

Communication with a lewd person reproued, and iudged punishable.

Now if this were the punishment sentenced against these two, in this case of lightnesse and follie: what iudgement might a wise man déeme, would haue béene awarded by Diogenes against conspirators, whose conuentions and consultations are the whetting of daggers and swords, to thrust into the bowels of their sweet natiue countrie? But whither wade we? Trulie the matter in present discourse is so ample, and therewithall so odious, that the further we saile, the more sea we see. Wherefore to draw nære to the verie subiect, this maie not be omitted, that the conspirators, who had wouen the web of their owne wo, being now forlorne, as hated of heauen, and irkesome to the earth, séeing no hope of life, but deserued death imminent and hanging ouer their heads, occupied their wits in dolorous deuises, bemoning their miseries, of the like stampe to this here annexed, sauouring more of prophane poetrie than christianitie, of fansie than religion:

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of ioie is but a dish of paine:
My crop of corne is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine:
The daie is past, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
My fruit is falne, and yet my leaues are greene:
My youth is spent, and yet I am not old,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seene:
My Thred is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

I sought my death and found it in my wombe,
I lookt for life, and saw it was a shade:
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tombe,
And now I die, and now I was but made:
My glasse is full, and now my glasse is run,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

Tichborns elegie written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution, printed by John Wolfe. 1586.

The like elegies also did the rest (and namelie Babington) deuise, with letters supplicatorie for fauour of high estates, whome he had most greeuouslie offended: which because the copies are common (but yet neuer authorised for the print) we will omit, onelie touching in superficiall sort the tenor thereof. As first his asking of grace and fauour with all humilitie, to acknowledge his vnadui sed offense (as he termeth it) wherein he pretendeth certeine motiues to compassion, as his vncoloured petition, his gentrie, his brainsicke yeares, the order of his behauiour and plaine course of dealing in his confession, his most heartie repentance, his inward vow of assured seruice hereafter, both to hir grati-

What it is to attempt euill against the person of a prince.

A fable or tale which Babington applieth to his present case of wretchednesse.

ous maiestie and his countrie. Furthermore, to procure the spedier commiseration (in his fansie) he falleth into a familiar tale of a certeine man, that hauing a great flocke of sheepe, moued either with a sheepish vnrulinesse, or for his better commoditie, threatened euerie daie by one and by one to dispatch them all: which he dailie performed according to his promise, vntill such time as the terror of his accustomed butcherie strake the whole flocke into such a feare, as whensoeuer he came and held vp his knife, aduising at that instant but the slaughter of one, the whole number of them would quake, fearing each one his particular chance. Which tale he applieth vnto himselfe, being one of the brutish herd (as he confesseth) that for their disordinat behauiour the law iustlie condemneth, and threatneth to dispatch one after another, &c. Lastlie, suing for his life, he saith, that to take it, were as if one should take out of the sun beame a mote, or from the sea a spoonefull of water: but to saue it, were by his vowed seruice to hir highnesse happie estate to merit more, than the losse thereof could procure: and so with remembrance of the lamentable conditions of his peruerse estate, &c: he concludeth.

What good seruice was to be hoped for at this wretches hand if he had liued, who did what he could to procure his princes death:

These and such like were the studies and meditations of those dangerous wits, too sudden to be sound, and wanting prudence, which preuenteth too late repentance. But with what face, with what heart might this enimie to all humanitie (hauing deserued a death of exquisit cruelitie) aske, seeke, or hope for fauour, much lesse for pardon, who with his complices had conspired to be an actor in a tragedie of bloudshed and slaughter vniuersallie, pesle mesle to be perpetrated? By the law of nature men should doo as they would be doone vnto; a precept which prudence inuiteth them to put in practise, as she moueth them to nothing that is either vnduti-full, or not beneficiall. For she is amongst the rest of the vertues, as the sight amongst the fiue senses; thereby giuing vs to note, that as the eie of all the other senses is most beautifull, subtill, and pearsing: so the vertue of prudence by hir quicke and cleare light, directeth and conducteth all vertues in their good and commendable operations. It is by hir that a man is clothed with a mild and setled disposition, whereof he standeth no lesse in need, than a ship floting on the sea doth of the presence of a pilot, that he maie prudentlie vndertake and wiselie execute whatsoeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation & consideration of all the circumstances of the fact. So that if these men had beene guided by prudence, which is said to haue three eies, namelie memorie, vnderstanding, and prouidence (with the first beholding the time past, with the second the time present, with the third the time to come) they would neuer haue fallen into conceipts of common confusion, much lesse haue entred into consultation, or giuen consent to further the action, or so lightlie yeelded to become desperat workers of the same; knowing that the state of a land is not so negligentlie regarded, as that the deuises and diuelish practises of some few helhounds (content with nothing that standeth not with their liking) can violat the same.

The necessarie vse of prudence in all attempts and actions.

The conspirators had liued true subiects if they had not wanted prudence and hir three eies.

But to returne. These fellows hauing so heinouslie offended against the laws of nature and nations, drawing out their sword of furie and cruell outrage against the bodie of the commonwealth; now after the preuention of their purpose, detection of all their treasons, and guilt of conscience, seruing in lieu of a thousand peremptorie witnesses; seeing no waie with them but the halter and the hatchet, like prophane persons laie the cause of their fall vpon cruell and ineuitable destinie, accusing that to excuse their owne fault. Wherein we maie compare them to blind folks, who are angrie, and oftentimes call them blind that vnawares doo meet and iustle them. They should rather, if they had meant to liue alwaies happilie, haue propounded to themselues and desired things possible, and to be content with things present: they should haue preferred their countries safetie before their owne prosperitie, & haue frequented the academie of philosophers, and the temple of mercie, whereby ignorance of dutie might haue beene abandoned, and whatsoeuer sauoring of crueltie trodden vnder foot. Wherein it were to be wished, that all such as are anie waie leaning to a life of that qualitie as these men lead; would be taught by the example of Pythagoras, to absteine from crueltie and iniustice; who was so tender hearted, and so farre estranged from desire of bloudshed and death, euen of creatures resonlesse, that he requested foulers, when they had taken birds, to let them flie againe; and of fisher men he bought their draughts, and caused all the fish to be cast into the sea aliue: he also forbad all his disciples to kill a tame beast at anie time. But these conspirators had not the grace of a heathen man granted vnto them, whereby they became subiect to sinne as to a tyrant: and no remedie but submitting themselues therevnto, it must needs reigne in their mortall bodies, yea though it haue hard entrance at the first into the heart. For as a wedge maketh but a small cleft in the beginning, but afterwards the cleft being greater sundereth all in peeces: so the sufferance of all vnlawfull things, how small so euer it be, leadeth men by little and little to an vniuersall licentiousnesse: and therefore men had need beware how they make passage for sinne into their thought, which (without the assistance of Gods grace) commonlie breaketh out into action. As we see exemplified in these desperat persons, in danger of death & destruction; to whose arreignement, as tract of time moueth, we will now proceed: and so to the sequele of the tragedie: wherein this would be remembred as a comfort, that they were passiues and not actiues; as is to be wished all of that stampe and leuen maie be.

that their owne villanies might be excused.

Christian men disuaded from crueltie and iniustice by the example of an heathen man.

The nature of sinne after it hath once found passage into the heart.

On the seuenth daie of September, certeine of these diuelish and wicked subiects were led from the Tower of London to Westminster by water, hauing neuertheless manie an eie gasing vpon them, as spectacles odious to God and man; manie a tong talking of the greeuousnesse of their offense; and manie a true English heart wishing their present cutting off from the face of the earth, as wretches vnworthie to inioie the common aire: all which the vnnaturall beasts could not but conceiue, to the kindling of manie a pinching passion in their minds and consciences. But to let all that passe, to the place aforesaid at last they were brought, where they were indicted; first, for intending treason against the queens owne person; secondlie, for sterring ciuill warres within the realme; and thirdlie, for practising to bring in forren power to inuade the land. Seuen of them appeared at Westminster on the thirteenth daie of September, who all pleaded giltie, and therefore had no iurie, but were condemned, and had iudgement on the next morrow.

Traitors indicted, arreigned, and condemned at Westminster.

I. S.

The first seuen condemned without anie iurie.

On the fiftenth daie of September, other seuen of them were likewise arreigned at Westminster, who pleaded not giltie, were tried by a iurie, found giltie, and had iudgement accordinglie. The effect of whose treasons shortlie to touch were these. John Sauage, remaining long in France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Gilbert Gifford, that great honor should redound to him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to

The effect of the last seuen their treasons notable.

Destinie commonlie accused of malefactors and offendors,

inuade

inuade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the quæne of England, and to proclame the Scotish quæne, and set hir in hir place. All which Sauage promised to dоw, or else to lose his life, and therevpon returned into England; where he imparted his purpose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid therein. Then John Ballard, priest, also persuaded the said Babington to the purpose before expressed, promising him aid of three score thousand men that secretlie should be landed, and told him both how & when (as he thought.) Whereupon Babington promised and concluded to make a slaughter vpon the councell of hir maiestie in the Star chamber, then to haue sacked London, to haue burned the nauie & chiefest ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights and magistrats, that remained true subiects to our right and lawfull quæne & realme, and also to haue cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These were their purposes.] But God, disappointing their diuelish deuises, prepared for them the reward of iniquitie, namelie death in a dreadfull sort; which when they had heard denounced against them by the mouth of the iudge, they were conducted backe againe to the place of safe custodie, all the waie replenished with horror and feare, wishing that the water, whereupon they were rowed, might swallow them vp, the earth open and they sinke thereinto, or some sudden end betide them, that the time of their heauie execution might be preuented.

God being the founteine of iustice abhorreth vnrighteousnesse: *Ergo, &c.*

But God, who is the founteine of iustice, as he is the founder of princes and principalities, hauing proportioned out for them a due and ineuitable punishment, and being the author of all godlie desiers, vouchsafed them no such fauour of anie element, wherby the course of iustice might anie waie be stopped or hindered. So that remaining two or three daies in durance after their condemnation, and definitiue sentence thundered against them (a time of respiration giuen them to humble their hearts, and reconcile their souls to God; a speciall end which the execution of iustice in England respecteth, in fauour of all malefactors) they were all that while (if touched with anie remorse) not destitute of greeuous agonies. For what man, if he consist of flesh & bloud, knowing himselfe, after the law hath passed against him, to be a mere dead man, but must nеds tremble & quake at the remembrance of his end, through the vehement affects of feare possessing his heart? With which feare they nеded not haue bene surprised, if a former feare, grounded vpon a good discourse of reason and iudgement, had preuented them in all their actions. Which feare was so estеemed and honored of the ancients, that in the citie of Sparta there was a temple dedicated and consecrated vnto it: the same (as was affirmed) better maintеining and preseruing the state of commonwealths, than anie other thing whatsoeuer; because thereby men were lead to stand more in aw of blame, reproch, and dishonor, than of death or greefe. But what should we speake of that which they wanted, who were indued with nothing, either godlie or honest? Let vs therefore proceed in the residue of this discourse, hauing attеined now after a long tract, to the time of their execution; whereof when there was a report among the people, a wonder it was what reckoning they did make before hand to heare and see them put to death.

What feare is necessarie in euerie christian subiect.

Now when the twentith daie of September was come, and therewithall their fatall hours, the two shiriffes of London, assisted with the officers of the citie, and other attendants in great number, with weapons answerable to the maner of an execution, came to the Tower, into whose hands and charge seuen of the said conspirators were committed, who being combined & laid on hurdels fast bound (Ballard excepted who laie alone as a notable archtraitor, and first of the ranke) were drawne from the said Tower through the streets of London to the place of execution, the magistrats and officers, with a multitude of others conuenientlie appointed, seeing them conueied thither, and the censure of iustice dulie administred. Now it is no question whether there wanted people at this publike spectacle, no more than it is to be doubted whether their treasons deserued death. For there was no lane, street, allie, or house in London, in the suburbs of the same, or in the hamlets or bordering townes neere the citie, (and like enough that they would come from far, both by water and by land, to see that and the next daies worke dispatched) out of the which there issued not some of each sex and age; in somuch that the waies were pestered with people so multiplied, as they thronged and ouerran one another for hast, contending to the place of death for the aduantage of the ground where to stand, see, and heare what was said and done: the traitors all this while beholding this infinit assemblie, and the further they were drawne, the nеerer to their end.

Seuen of the traitors are laid on hurdels and conueied to their execution.

A scaffold and gallowes of extraordinarie height erected.

Now when they were come within sight of their destinie, where they might discerne their dolefull downfall; in what agonies might we imagine these most vile malefactors fell; if they were not vtterlie Stoicall and senselesse? For besides the present obiects of terror that were in euerie beholders eie, although of low stature, as the scaffold and gallows of extraordinarie altitude and height, they might, as they did successiuelie ascend and attend their fatall turns, take full view of the instruments ordeined and prepared for their dispatch; as the executioner with the halter, hatchet, and knife, whereby they were to be seuered, dismembred, and quartered; the fier wherein their bowels were to be burned; the stakes whereon their heads were to be fastened vpon the gallows, and what else belonged to the accomplishment of that tragedie: thousands of people with earnest eie present, and purposing to tarrie out the verie last act. The least of which motiues (much more all togither) had bеene sufficient to haue rent a stonie heart in sunder; and what affections were wrought in them thereby, he best knoweth from whome no secrets are hid.

Concordat cum libro approbato.

But that this execution maie be deliuered in some orderly discourse, we will (for the satisfieng of manie thousands) note the maner thereof, with the behauiors and spеches of these traitors at their last end; according to a copie of credit from a present obseruer and marker of this great execution. Touching the full number of these ranke traitors, that sought to bereaue the quæns maiestie of hir life, they were fourtæne, who made their confession at the gallows, and receiued a iust recompense of their vnnaturall disloialtie. For our eies saw their traitorous harts burned, and their bodilesse heads aduanced, to the view and comfort of manie thousands of people: a happie sight for the quietnesse and safetie of hir highnesse, a generall comfort to all good subiects, and a fearefull example to all conspirators.

The sum of the traitors intended practises, agrеeing with the course of their indictment.

The nature of iustice requireth that punishments and offenses should be proportioned.

But forsomuch as they offended in the highest degrее of treason, as traitors resolued to kill hir highnesse, to spoile hir nauie, to cloie the ordinance, to kill the honorable lords of the priuie councell, to moue a generall rebellion, and (what in them laie) to procure forren inuasion: all which being treasons of such danger (as the least of them shut vp the fluses of mercie) it seemeth conuenient that their executions should be with more seueritie, than the common iudgement of traitors. Howbeit, the limits of law were in no sort transgressed, though the same

accord-

according to the preciſe rule thereof were charplie adminiſtred.

The firſt ſeuen were executed with leſſe fauour than the laſt, as ſhall appeare by the ſequele of this narration, & the conſideration of their iudgments; namelie to be drawne to the place of execution, there to be hanged till they were halfe dead, their bowels to be burnt before their faces, &c. And trulie the firſt ſeuen as the moſt malicious (if there be anie difference in treaſon) were executed nære the ſeueritie of laws definitiue ſentence; but the other ſeuen were ſo fauorablie vſed, as they hung vntill they were euen altogither dead, before they ſuffered the reſt of their iudgement. Now touching the names of the traitors, their behauiours and ſpeaches, with the maner of their executions, you ſhall vnderſtand, that vpon the twentith daie of September, being tueſdaie, John Ballard a prieſt, and firſt perſuader of Babington to theſe odious treaſons, was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and ſix others two and two in like ſort, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto a field at the vpper end of Holborne, hard by the high waie ſide to ſaint Giles in the field, where was erected a ſcaffold for their execution, and a paire of gallows of extraordinarie hight, as was that whereupon haughtie Haman was hanged for his ambition, &c: the place likewiſe ſo railed to kéepe off horſſemen, as the people might plainelie ſée the execution.

Paria delicta pari pœna compenſanda, niſi inſtituerit aliquis mitigationis cauſa.

John Ballard prieſt perſuader of Babington to theſe odious treaſons executed.

The place of their execution was ſometime the mæting place of their conſultation.

And although the thouſands were thought (& in déed ſo ſæmed) to be numberleſſe: yet ſomewhat to note the huge multitude, there were by computation able men enow to giue battell to a ſtrong enimie. Howbeit, one thing was ſpeciallie regarded, that although the aſſemblie were wonderfull great, & the traitors all gwdlie perſonages, clothed in ſilkes, &c: and euerie waie furniſhed to mœue pitie, and that the order of their execution was in euerie mans eie; yet the odiouſneſſe of their treaſons was ſo ſetled in euerie mans heart, as there appeared no ſadneſſe or alteration among the people, at the mangling and quartering of their bodies. Yea the whole aſſemblie without anie ſigne of lamentation ſtedfaſtlie beheld the ſpectacle from the firſt to the laſt.

The multitude ſheweth no motion of pittie at the execution of the traitors.

On the firſt daie the traitors were placed vpon the ſcaffold, that the one might behold the reward of his fellowes treaſon: Ballard the prieſt, who was the firſt broacher of this treaſon, was the firſt that was hanged, who being cut downe (according to iudgement) was diſmembred, his bellie ript vp, his bowels & traitorous heart taken out & throwne into the fire, his head alſo (ſeuered from his ſhoulders) was ſet on a ſhort ſtake vpon the top of the gallows, and the trunke of his bodie quartered and imbrued in his owne bloud, wherewith the executioners hands were bathed, and ſome of the ſtanders by (but to their great loathing, as not able for their liues to auoid it, ſuch was the throng) beſprinkled. This Ballard, at the verie time of his death not denieng his treaſon, died an obſtinat papiſt, and in his proteſtation doubtfullie ſaid, that If he had offended the quéens maieſtie, or anie man elſe, he was ſorie, and ſo conditionallie deſired forgiueneſſe. The malicious affection of his heart towards hir highneſſe appeared in the trembling paſſage of death, that whereas his treaſons were impious, odious, and damnable, as the moſt wicked (to wit his confederats for the moſt part) confeſſed (as the common fame goeth) that they exceeded the greatneſſe of hir maieſties mercie, which maie not be meaſured, where there is anie meaſure in offending. And yet in his deſire of remiſſion at hir highnes hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubted if he had offended hir perſon.

The order of the traitors execution.

How Ballard was affected at his death.

Ballards ſophiſticall aſking of the quæns maieſtie forgiueneſſe.

Next vnto this prieſt, Anthonie Babington was made readie to the gallowes, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a ſigne of his former pride was to be obſerued. For whereas the reſt (through the cogitation of death) were exerciſed in praier vpon their knées and bareheaded; he (whoſe turne was next) ſtood on his fét with his hat on his head, as if he had beene but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papiſt. His treaſons were ſo odious, as the ſting of conſcience compelled him to acknowledge himſelfe a moſt grieuous treſpaſſer againſt the diuine maieſtie, and the quéens highneſſe. Next vnto Babington, Sauage was likewiſe prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the fame goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Giffard at Paris; and by the confirmations of the Engliſh fugitiues at Rhemes was reſolued, and reſolutelie determined to kill the quéene. It is likewiſe ſaid, that vpon the apprehenſion of Ballard the prieſt, Babington accellerated and haſtened this Sauage to diſpatch his reſolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a courtlike ſute of apparell.

Anthonie Babington eſquier executed.

A note of Babingtons pride at the verie inſtant of his execution.

John Sauage gentleman executed.

The frutes that iſſue from liſtening to the counſell of Jeſuits, Romaniſts, and Rhemiſts.

When Sauage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obſtinate papiſt, who for his treaſon made conſcience his beſt excuſe; howbeit a rotten conſcience, which was infected with the murther of a vertuous quéene; which ſith it was ſo bad, few there were that heard him, but forbad their conſcience to pitie him, otherwiſe than charitablie to be ſorowfull for his offenſe, deſeruing ſo ſhamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Tichborns turne was ſerued, a proper yong gentleman, whoſe humilitie and mone mœued much compaſſion. He was not ſetled ſo much in papiſtrie as the others, but ſo far gone with the proud humor of Babington, as his head could no longer hold with his ſhoulders. In his mone (which was verie well marked) he compared his ſtate to Adams, who ſaid he was placed in paradiſe, & there inioied all the pleaſures of the earth; he was onelie forbidden to eat of the frute of one træe: but for his tranſgreſſion he not onelie procured wretchednеſſe and miſerie vpon his owne head, but vpon the heads of all his poſteritie: ſo (quoth he) I wanted nothing, but had health, wealth & frends, and ſo might long haue liued, if I could haue forborne to haue bene vntrue to prince: But alas! by mine offenſe I haue brought my ſelfe vnto this miſerie, whereby my good mother, my louing wife, my foure brethren and ſix ſiſters, yea our whole houſe (neuer before attainted) is infamed, and our poſteritie for euer like to be vndone.

Robert Barnewell gentleman executed.

Chriſtocke Tichborne eſquire executed.

Tichborns lamentation moued manie to commiſeration.

In this mans confeſſion thus much is to be obſerued, that in comparing his offenſe to Adams, was implied a reſembling of hir highnes to the pleaſant and glorious frute, ſo pretious in Gods eies, as he forbad Adam & all others to laie violent hands vpon. And thus by the mouth of hir enimies, God cauſeth hir ſacred excellencie to be blazed. Tilnie one of the quéens maieſties penſioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthie of death, who went about to take awaie hir highneſſe life. In ſtatute law it is pétie treaſon for a ſeruant to murther his maiſter or miſtreſſe, being but a ſubiect; how deteſtable a treaſon is it then for a ſworne ſeruant to laie violent hands on his annointed prince? The offenſe being in the extreameſt degrée, the puniſhment ought to be according to the ſeureſt cenſure of iuſtice.

Hir maieſties praiſe by hir enimies.

Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos, Touch not my Chriſts or annointed.

Charls Tilnie a penſioner executed.

The laſt of theſe ſeuen that ſuffered was Edward Abington, whoſe father was an officer of good credit in hir

Edward Abington &c.

squire executed, his threatning speech.

in hir highnes house, and for manie aduancements was bound to saie; God saue good Q. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, and an archtraitor, who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this spech, that there could not chuse but be great effusion of bloud in England verie shortlie. But Gods prouidence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors proue not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie and peace of England should be turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the date of that diuination is out, & they both (as maie betide the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seuen that were executed, and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

Throgmortons prophesie and Abingtons of like truth in euent.

Now when these venemous vipers were thus hewne in peces, their tigers hearts burned in the fire, and the sentence of law satisfied: their heads and quarters were conueied awaie in baskets, to be fixed vpon poles and set ouer the gates of London, that all the world might behold the iust reward of traitors. Then decreased the multitude, and withdrew to their mansions and abodes: howbeit the fields were frequented all that daie of the weaker sex, as womenkind, with the yonger and tenderer sort: who albeit they could not with wished opportunitie see the execution of these traitors, when it was at the quickest: yet they satisfied their eies with beholding the fier wherein their bowels were burned, & the scaffold stained with the tincture of their bloud, diuers diuerslie talking of that dismall daies worke, according as they were for that present time passionat: but all giuing God thanks, that the commonwelth was discharged of such putrified members, whose maladie was of such malignitie, that it was altogither desperat, and not to be helped but by extremities of cauterie or incision.

An ingression to the second daies execution.

Now making a period or stop at the dispatch of these first seuen, let vs addresse our pen to the description of the remanent, who being in continuall trauell of terror at the meditation of iustice still proceeding against them by moments and degrees, till the last act were ended, were miserablie tormented with multiplicitie of imaginations, fearing euerie knocke at the prison dore to be a messenger of deth: insomuch that their hearts could not but be ouercome with horror & heauinesse, the same beating and thumping (as the smiths hammer doth the anuill) euen till it pant. In which irrecouerable distresse of theirs, whether they bethought themselues of their soules, defiled with the fog and slime of their ouglie sinnes; or of their bodie, which was made a pretious tabernacle wherein the image of God should haue bene inshrined; but now become a dongeon of discomfortable obscuritie and darkenesse: he onelie knoweth, to whome it is proper to giue that speciall grace. But to leaue all iudgement to the iudge of all, we will now proceed, and (as we haue in the former) shew what the last seuen said at their sufferings.

Thomas Salisburie esquire executed.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentith daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and other six, two and two in like maner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seuen the daie before; sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, euen at the point of death, yet he mildlie acknowledged his greeuous offense against the quæne, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (for so he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbad them all maner of violence.

The last seuen traitors executed with great fauour.

Salisburie acknowledgeth his greeuous offense: a note of repentance.

Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was stripped into his shirt, and seemed penitent for his greeuous offense: who after that with verie earnest persuasions he had likewise disuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthilie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a competent vocation; as appeared by this his vaine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the kings bench office, among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Whereupon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall. When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he dissuaded Salisburie from this odious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humor of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the quæns maiestie. For he neither would himselfe discouer this treason of the highest degree, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to preuent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions: yea when the odiousnesse thereof brake out into publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall duetie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as hee might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuertheless, which moued manie to pitie him aboue the rest, was, bicause with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so deerelie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie forren enimie, French, Italish, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian duetie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

Edward Jones esquire executed.

Forren inuasion reproued by Jones.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two men (as it seemed) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their

John Trauers and John Charnocke gentlemen executed.

praieng